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THE

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OR

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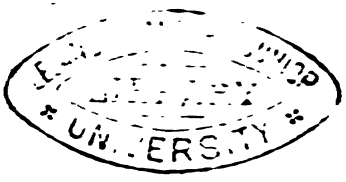

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EDINBURGH REVIEW.

APRIL, 1840.

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2. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh; with some Account of the Period in which he lived.* By Mrs A. T. THOMSON. 8vo. London: 1830.

3. *The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh; founded on authentic and original Documents, some of them never before published. With a vindication of his Character from the attacks of Hume and other Writers.* By PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, Esq., F.R.S. and F.S.A. Second Edition. 12mo. Edinburgh: 1833.

4. *Lives of the British Admirals.* (*Vol. 4th. Sir Walter Raleigh.*) By ROBERT SOUTHEY, LL.D. 12mo. London: 1837.

5. *The Court of King James the First.* By DR GODFREY GOODMAN, Bishop of Gloucester. Now first published from the original Manuscript, by JOHN BREWER, M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1839.

THE name of Sir Walter Raleigh is unquestionably one of the most renowned and attractive, and in some respects the most remarkable in English story. He acted a part in all the various functions of public life, military, naval, and civil; and was illustrious in all. He was a projector on the grandest scale, an improver of naval architecture, a founder of colonies, a promoter of distant commerce. As the introducer or disseminator

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of two important articles of subsistence and luxury,* he in a vast degree contributed to augment the food, and to modify the habits of all the nations of Europe. His fortunes were alike remarkable for enviable success and pitiable reverses. Raised to eminent station through the favour of the greatest female sovereign of England, he perished on the scaffold through the dislike and cowardly policy of the meanest of her kings. To crown all, his fame in letters, particularly as the author of that memorable work with which 'his prison hours enriched the world,' placed his name in glorious association with those of Bacon and Hooker, as it otherwise was with those of Essex and Vere, of Hawkins and Drake.

The appearance, within the last ten years, of a uniform edition of his extensive works, and of three different histories of his life, seems to show that the public interest in regard to him has not abated; and, at the same time, to make a call for critical examination which has too long, perhaps, been overlooked. Some recent publications, connected with the same era, and presenting farther information respecting Raleigh, have forcibly recalled our thoughts to the works alluded to; and, if our notice of them comes somewhat late, the delay has at any rate enabled us to survey them from a more commanding point of view than could have been attained at any earlier date. In now proceeding to consider them, we are sorry to be obliged to say, that a life of Raleigh, written upon sound principles, and possessing all the attainable information, is still a *desideratum;* as is an edition of his works, in which the authenticity of every piece has been thoroughly sifted, the objects and character of each adequately explained, and the whole arranged with the requisite care. We are not without the hope of being able, in the course of this article, to furnish some information, calculated to aid the labours of any one who, either as biographer or editor, may be induced to make another attempt to supply *desiderata* so much to be regretted. If we should be successful in this, we shall hope to be excused for the length to which we mean to extend our observations; especially when it is considered, that there are manuscript materials of very considerable value unknown to, or untouched by his biographers; that all the more important and interesting transactions and occurrences of his life are involved in obscurity, or perplexed with doubt; that his views, in his greatest undertakings, are liable to question; and that the usual tendency of biographers to easy faith and

* Potatoes and Tobacco.

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indiscriminate praise has in his case been carried to the greatest extremes.*

The early biographical publications of Naunton, Prince, Fuller, Wood, and Aubery, contain some valuable notices of Raleigh; but the first account of his life that was given to the world upon an extended and elaborate plan, was that by Mr Oldys; originally published alongst with a new edition, being the eleventh of his great work, which appeared in 1733. Prior to this performance, there appeared successively two detached lives by two obscure writers, named Shirley and Theobalds. Oldys's work has not, even at the present day, any thing in the line of biographical writing of superior merit, in as far as merit can be derived from careful and extensive research. It is rich in curious information; and refers to a greater number of rare tracts, than any other piece of biography in our language. But with these recommendations its merits cease. The style is feeble and uncouth, as well as affected; and the author's judgment never once exercises itself in any rational or independent estimate of the actions and conduct he narrates, however questionable or censurable. Gibbon has truly characterised it when he describes it, with reference to these defects, as 'a servile panegyric, or a flat 'apology.'

A new biography of Raleigh was one of the early literary projects of this celebrated writer; but which he, after a good deal of enquiry and hesitation, ultimately abandoned, from finding such a want of information, as well regarding some of the most important parts of his public, as regarding the whole of his private life. Details concerning the latter are still nearly as scanty as ever; but some new and valuable materials for the illustration of the former have, from time to time, been brought to light, both from national and private repositories. Dr Birch availed himself of such additions as had then appeared, particularly of the anecdotes contained in the Sidney and Bacon Papers, in the brief account of Raleigh with which he prefaced a collection of his miscellaneous writings, published in 1751. In other respects, this piece was a mere abridgement of the voluminous performance of Oldys, without any marked superiority either in respect of judgment or style. These two lives, either from ignorance of their literary character and defects, or a singular destitution of biographical resources, have been prefixed, without alteration or emendation, to the

* Such considerations can but rarely concur to induce us to depart from the practice, favourable to variety, which we have generally followed, and to which we are determined to adhere.

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edition of Raleigh's works published by the Directors of the Clarendon Press.

After the lapse of more than half a century from Dr Birch's publication, Mr Cayley produced a life of Raleigh, which, judging from its bulk, (two volumes octavo,) might well be expected to furnish some important additions to his history; but its size is found to arise from its being interlarded with republications of all those pieces, in which either Raleigh himself, or others employed by him, were narrators;—on the ridiculous pretext that they form parts of his history, for which the reader ought not to be sent to any other quarter. The work is not, however, without value; for it contains some original papers of considerable importance as materials for history. His own use of them, and of the other publications connected with his subject that had appeared in the preceding half century, was by no means skilful; and his narrative, in other respects, is in no degree superior to those which preceded it.

It is not therefore surprising, that in a period of so much literary activity, a subject so inviting as the life of Raleigh should be resumed; but were it not that it also is a period in which books are produced, not so much in consequence of any inborn whisperings of independent ambition, as for the purpose of aiding those literary projects to which the ingenuity of publishers so largely gives rise, we certainly should have been greatly surprised to see three new lives so executed as to leave the subject as open as before to farther competition. The details into which we propose to enter, will enable our readers to judge whether this is a just opinion; but before proceeding further, we shall make one or two general remarks on these publications; leaving particular observations to the sequel of our enquiries.

The first in the order of time is that of Mrs Thomson, a lady honourably distinguished for her love of historical pursuits. All we mean to say of her present attempt is, that it is written in a good spirit; and that her industry in collecting materials is favourably evinced in an appendix, which contains several letters of importance never before published.

Mr Tytler's work was undertaken mainly, as he says, to defend Raleigh against the imputations cast upon him by Hume and others; particularly with respect to Guiana, the conspiracy of which he was accused, and his general character; and if extreme unwillingness to see or to allow any blemishes in the conduct of his hero, and an unvarying strain of eulogy, make a consummate biographer, it cannot be denied that the claim to that distinction is by him made good. In point of composition, his narrative is clear and pleasing; but though illustrated with

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some new information gleaned from the public archives, its merits in this respect are by no means so high as the pretensions put forth in the title-page and preface had led us to expect.

Dr Southey's performance forms only one of a collection of 'Lives of the British Admirals,' contributed to an extensive and useful encyclopædical miscellany; but it is compiled upon a scale of sufficient extent for separate publication. That it would have been a far more perfect production, had it been prompted by his own selection of the subject, we cannot for a moment doubt; but as it stands, it is a piece of mere task-work, executed by a practised and skilful artist no doubt, but with that economy of labour and thought which may be generally expected to characterise such undertakings. His extensive acquaintance with Spanish literature has, however, enabled him, at little cost, to diversify his narrative with a few illustrations derived from the Spanish historians of America; and it is only in that respect that his work has any pretensions to novelty; for he has evidently contented himself with the materials nearest at hand, and made no attempt whatever either to correct or to amplify the existing stock of information by any researches amongst unpublished documents. In one respect Dr Southey differs materially from all the other biographers of Raleigh—namely, in the freedom of his strictures upon his hero's conduct; but these, though in general substantially just, are expressed in a tone which savours more of the acrid temperament of the censor, than of the judicial dignity of the historian.

Raleigh was born in the year 1552, at a place called Hayes, in the parish of Budley, in Devonshire. His father, a gentleman of ancient lineage but small fortune, had been thrice married, and Walter was the second son of the last of these marriages. Of his early life and education, all that we know is, that he was entered a commoner of Oriel College, Oxford, where he remained two or three years, and greatly distinguished himself; being, according to Wood, 'esteemed a worthy proficient in oratory 'and philosophy.' He quitted the university, however, on the very first opening that presented itself to an active life. Queen Elizabeth had authorized the formation of a company of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, to serve in France, in aid of the Huguenots in their memorable struggle for religious liberty; and of this distinguished body of British youths Raleigh was enrolled a member, and proceeded with it to France, under its commander, Henry Champernon, who was his near relation. There he served for five years, and was engaged in some of the greatest battles of that memorable period; upon which he made and treasured up sundry observations, showing his genius for the

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science of war, and which were unconsciously destined to be afterwards recorded in his 'History of the World,' where he recurs, wherever he has an opportunity, to his own military experiences. He appears, after a short interval, to have also served for some time in the Netherlands, under Sir John Norris; but his biographers have not been able to recover any account of his services in that quarter, nor has he himself made any allusions to them, as in the case of his French campaigns.

Raleigh had as yet done nothing to connect his name with the immediate service of his country, when the outbreak of a rebellion in Ireland induced him to resume his sword in that 'lost 'land—that commonwealth of common woe;' as he, in one of his letters, described it. We accordingly find him, in 1580, commanding a company of the royal troops; and he speedily became distinguished, both for valour and skill, in those sudden and rapid movements and surprises which the service required. His exploits were so conspicuous, as to be particularly and circumstantially recited by the historians of the period. He continued in this employment for several years, solely for the purpose of recommending himself to notice; for in a letter to the Earl of Leicester, then Elizabeth's prime favourite, by whom he appears to have been patronised, he says plainly, that were it not for his hopes that way, he would disdain such a service as much as he would to 'keep sheep.' Its poverty was not its worst characteristic. It was marked throughout by ruthless cruelty; but the massacre, in a fort erected by them, of some hundreds of Spaniards, who had fought in aid of the rebels, and surrendered at discretion to the Lord-Deputy Gray, was a fouler and more revolting act than ever stained the name of England; and the recollection of which ought to have shut the mouths of those who, in a long subsequent age, railed so stoutly against the massacre of the Turks at Acre, by the command of Buonaparte. It is mortifying to think that Raleigh was one of the officers to whom the execution of this atrocious deed was committed; and yet more so, that another of the great literary ornaments of that age—the author of the 'Faerie Queene,' who was then secretary to the Lord-Deputy, and who had not the apology of being under military command—has attempted to justify it; for in his otherwise beautiful and statesman-like piece on the 'State of Ireland,' he unscrupulously avers, that 'that short way was the only way to dispose of 'them.' There is no authority, in as far as we know, for allowing Raleigh the honourable distinction of having differed in opinion with his commander, in regard to this unhallowed transaction. Mr Tytler would fain believe that he did. That the Queen strongly disapproved of it is certain; as it also is, that some difference had arisen between Raleigh and the Lord-

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Deputy, which, after their return to England, was discussed at the Council-Board, in her Majesty's presence; and that the former there maintained his cause with such consummate ability, as well as grace, that, to use the words of Sir Robert Naunton, 'he got the Queen's ear in a trice.' But this writer, whose authority, had he so expressed himself, would have been perfectly conclusive, does not in the slightest degree intimate either that the point in discussion before the Council related to the massacre, or that the highly favourable impression which Raleigh then made upon the Queen, was owing to his having upheld his disapproval of it.

This was one of the most important and decisive moments of Raleigh's life. His future fortunes were owing chiefly to the feelings which then arose in the breast of his sovereign. Personal recommendations went far with that great princess; and the brave soldier, whose intellectual accomplishments thus 'gained her ear,' was no less remarkable for his imposing exterior. The romantic incident detailed by Fuller as the immediate cause of Raleigh's introduction to and favour with the Queen, is known to all readers of history; and it presents to the imagination a picture so pleasing, and so much in harmony with the characters of both, as to beget a strong reluctance to doubt its reality. But though there seems no reason either to question the fact, or its having produced sentiments favourable to Raleigh, his rapid progress in Elizabeth's esteem was much more probably ascribable to the opportunity afforded for the display, both of his personal qualities and his commanding talents, in the discussion referred to by Naunton. To whatever cause, or combination of causes, his good fortune was owing, the effects were alike speedy and marked; for within some two or three years from the period when he was first noticed at court, he was Knighted, made Captain of the Guard, Seneschal of the county of Cornwall, and Lord Warden of the Stanneries; and these honours were accompanied with the substantial grant of twelve thousand acres of the forfeited principality of the Earls of Desmond, whose rebellious attempts he had assisted to quell; besides a lucrative patent for licensing the venders of wine throughout the kingdom.

Maritime expeditions and colonization were the favourite undertakings and projects of the more enterprising and active speculators of that stirring period. The ocean and the new world attracted all their actions and thoughts. The more daring and adventurous fitted out cruisers to intercept the Spanish ships, on their return with rich cargoes from the colonies; whilst those who aimed at plantations, and the extension of commerce, looked to the northern parts of America as the appr-

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priate field of their nobler exertions. Raleigh participated strongly of both characters; for though abundantly disposed to the courses of the maritime spoiler, his mind was deeply impressed with the more elevated views of the colonial projector. Some of the richest prizes brought into England were captured by ships fitted out by him, or in which he was a sharer. His colonial schemes constitute a marked portion of his singular history.

Some years before that period of his life at which we have arrived—namely, in the short interval which elapsed between his military services abroad and in Ireland—he appears to have engaged to accompany his celebrated half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in a voyage to North America, in prosecution of the patent or commission of plantation—the first granted to any British subject—which the latter had obtained from the Queen. The voyage proved abortive; for the ships were forced to return to port, after encountering various disasters. Soon after the commencement of Raleigh's favour at court, Sir Humphrey had resolved to make another attempt to avail himself of his patent; and his rising half-brother, who was now in a situation to furnish useful aid, was not slow to prove how strongly he participated in the noble views entertained by the other. Thus, in a letter written from Court in May 1583, it is stated that 'Mr Raleigh, 'the new favourite, had made an adventure of two thousand 'pounds, in a ship and furniture thereof,'* to form part of the fleet collected by Gilbert for his new expedition. Raleigh's presence at Court was too necessary to allow him to accompany his adventurous brother, who received from the Queen, through 'the new favourite's' hands, a golden anchor to be worn at his breast;—the only contribution of this great princess to an expedition intended to transplant the arts of England to the waste regions of the new world. The ship built and manned by Raleigh, at so much cost, and which bore his name, joined Sir Humphrey before his departure from Plymouth in June 1583; but within a few days after sailing she left him, and returned to port; the sickness of her crew obliging her, according to the common accounts, to put back. Captain Hayes, the historian of the voyage, expresses himself in somewhat sceptical terms as to the necessity for this separation; and, if sickness was the cause, it would appear, from a brief note written by Gilbert to Sir George Peckham, that the disappointed Admiral was as ignorant of it, as he was indignant at the proceeding. This note, which has been overlooked by Raleigh's biographers, was written in August, after Sir Humphrey's arrival at

* Birch's *Memoirs of Q. Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 34.

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Newfoundland, and is thus expressed: 'I departed from Ply-'mouth on the 11th of June with five sail, and on the 13th the 'bark Raleigh ran from me, in fair and clear weather, having a 'large wind. I pray you solicit my brother Raleigh *to make* '*them an example to all knaves.*' * This expedition also proved abortive, and its brave leader perished in a storm by which he was overtaken on his return. He was one of those vigorous and versatile characters peculiar to an age which produced numbers who united in equal degrees the faculties which make men alike fit for speculation and for action. Though the name of his uterine brother, who was considerably his junior, has obtained, and justly, a wider and higher fame, there were strong points of resemblance between them; and the example and instructions of the elder had, in all probability, considerable influence upon the mind and pursuits of the younger. His treatise on the 'North-'West Passage' displays, as Dr Robertson has observed, 'much 'of that enthusiasm and credulity which excite men to new and 'hazardous undertakings;' but it might have been added, that he here points out, on just and enlightened principles, the advantages of foreign settlements in proper situations;—representing them as means of extending and enriching commerce, and of furnishing employment to 'those needy people who trouble the common-'wealth through want at home.'

The fate of his kinsman had no effect in diverting Raleigh's thoughts from those colonial undertakings to which the former fell a victim. Availing himself of his favour with the Queen, he solicited and obtained a patent, investing him with ample powers to appropriate, plant, and govern any territorial possessions he might acquire, in the unoccupied parts of North America. According to information procured by Mr Oldys, this patent was preceded by a Memorial addressed to the Queen and Council, setting forth the utility and policy of the undertaking. Mr Gibbon specifies the want of details respecting his Virginian schemes—which he justly viewed as a characteristic portion of his history—as one of his reasons for abandoning the idea of a life of Raleigh; but there is, in regard to some other important portions of his life, far greater reason to regret that want; for in as far at least as respects the different attempts to plant, made at his expense and under his direction, the narratives reprinted in the invaluable collections of Hackluyt and Purchas furnish full details. It is matter of regret, no doubt, that the Memorial to which Oldys alludes has not been preserved; but Raleigh's general ideas with respect to coloniza-

* Purchas, vol. iii. p. 808.

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tion, are otherwise sufficiently known. They were the same, in fact, with those entertained by some other enlightened projectors of that period, whose peculiar views and merits have been entirely overlooked by the writers who have commented upon the origin of our American colonies. In Dr Robertson's sketch of their early history, the views of their founders are left unnoticed; and Dr Smith has characterised them as being in no respect different from those of the military adventurers who established the colonies of Spain. The 'thirst of gold' was, as he truly observes, the only principle of action amongst the latter; but when he says that all the other nations of Europe, the English not less than the rest, were solely actuated by the same desire, he does great injustice to some who, in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, endeavoured to rouse their countrymen to a sense of the advantages to be derived from colonization. It is due to those men, to commemorate with deserved praise the enlightened views disclosed in their writings. The acquisition of mines of gold and silver was not, by any means, the recommendation to colonial enterprise which they held out. New fields of labour in new and propitious climes—new means of employing a superfluous population—new articles of exchange, new markets, and great augmentations of shipping—were the beneficial results which they expected to realize from the plantation of colonies in the new world. We do not mean to say, that these views were constantly and systematically enforced; but only that they constituted with many the grand recommendations to colonial enterprise; thus widely differencing the English projectors from those Spanish adventurers, 'whose 'first enquiry on landing in any new country was, whether there 'was any gold to be found there; and who, according to the in-'formation they received concerning this particular, determined 'either to quit the country or to settle in it.'*

That some of our early colonial adventurers were wholly actuated by the hope of discovering mines, is not to be denied; but that there was a more enlightened class who advocated the utility of foreign settlements upon the grounds we have stated, is equally unquestionable. Of this, the treatises written by Gilbert, Peckham, Carlisle, Harriot, and others, and to be found in the collections above named, furnish decisive proofs. When mines are mentioned, they are not by any means represented as paramount objects; they make less figure, by much, than the ordinary objects of industry and commerce; and those who view them as the grand sources of national wealth, are treated with derision and reproba-

* Wealth of Nations, B. iv. c. 7, Part 1.

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tion. These facts have not, in as far as we know, been noticed by those who have been curious in tracing the faint and scattered lights which show the first beginnings of Political Economy—a science to the history of which they undoubtedly appertain. Sir George Peckham's treatise was written in recommendation of Gilbert's project of colonizing in Newfoundland; and both it and that of Carlisle are remarkable productions for their day. Harriot's name is well known as one of the most illustrious of the early mathematicians of England; but he appears to have also possessed large views in regard to the extension of industry and commerce; and Raleigh's appointment of such a man to survey his new settlement in Virginia, was a choice which clearly showed the superiority of its founder's views and understanding. The wisdom of that choice was well illustrated in the methodical and instructive Report which he published in 1587, after his return from the colony. It is one of the earliest, if not the very first extensive specimen in the language, of a statistical survey—for such it was, in as far as there were materials in the country described for such a production; and it furnished an example which was beneficially followed in some other publications respecting the same region. As coming within the scope of the foregoing observations, we may mention an anonymous piece written somewhat later than the period alluded to, but not later than the early part of next reign.* It has been preserved by Purchas, a compiler known to all the world, but of whose special information connected with their own subject, the present biographers of Raleigh seem, as we shall presently see, to have been wholly ignorant. Though the extravagance of its conclusions respecting the importance of Virginia, and the poetical dress of its statements, may now provoke a smile, it is impossible not to be struck with the reach and soundness of its general views, and its indignant repudiation of the notion, that the precious metals alone constitute wealth, and give their sole value to colonial possessions. 'The very name of a colony,' says the author, 'imports a reasonable and seasonable culture, and planting, before 'a harvest and vintage can be expected.'—'Though gold and 'silver have enriched the Spanish Exchequer, yet their store-'houses hold other and greater wealth, whereof Virginia is no 'less capable, namely, the country's commodities.—What mines 'have they in Brazil and in the Islands, where yet so many 'wealthy Spaniards and Portuguese inhabit? Their ginger, 'sugar, hides, tobacco, and other merchandise, it may be boldly

* It is entitled *Virginias Verger*. See Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1809.

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'affirmed, yield far more profit to the generality of the Spanish 'subjects than the mines do, or have done, this last age.'— 'Who gave gold and silver the monopoly of wealth, or made them 'the Almighty's favourites?—That is the richest land which feeds 'most men. What remarkable mines hath France, Belgia, Lom- 'bardy? What this, our fertile mother England?'—'Do we not 'see that the silks, calicoes, drugs, and spices of the East, swallow 'up all the mines of the West?' These strike us as remarkable observations; and as sufficient, when viewed in conjunction with the other pieces to which we have referred, to show that justice has not been done to the primary founders of our colonial empire; and that Dr Smith has greatly erred in charging them with the same blind passion for gold, that inflamed the Spanish adventurers.

From such enquiries Raleigh's biographers have kept far aloof, although they have—particularly Mr Tytler—diverged upon topics much less intimately connected with their subject, and in regard to which there was nothing to be told that had not often been told before. In other respects, their treatment of this portion of Raleigh's history is lame and faulty; for they have left some points unnoticed in which his conduct and character are materially concerned; and as both are, unfortunately, very questionable in some after-parts of his career, it was the more necessary to do him full justice where blame cannot, with any fairness, be held to have been incurred.

Raleigh's Patent was granted in 1584, and by him transferred to other hands in 1589. His particular situation could not but augment the difficulties and chances of failure that must have been experienced in any case, where a body of cultivators and artisans was to be planted, for the first time, in a far-distant and unknown region. Many of his disappointments seem, accordingly, to have been occasioned as well by the unskilful management of those to whom the execution of his plans was intrusted, as by the perverse conduct of the colonists; for his position as a favoured courtier, and his public avocations, stood in the way of his leaving England, and exercising that personal superintendence which was so much required. His presence and talents would have lent aids and securities which could not in any other way be so effectually obtained. But all such means as he could furnish were largely afforded. His first material step was to fit out an expedition of observation and enquiry as to the particular spot where it would be most advantageous to plant; and the accounts brought home by the commanders of the vessels employed in that service, were such as greatly encouraged him to a vigorous prosecution of his design. It was these accounts, too, which induced Elizabeth to

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bestow the name of 'Virginia' upon the country destined to receive the adventurous colonists. In 1585, the first body that sailed from England was safely planted in that region, under the immediate government of Mr Ralph Lane. He was accompanied by Harriot, who was commissioned to make the survey and Report to which we have already referred. That survey, and the importation for the first time of the tobacco plant, were the only fruits of this expensive undertaking; for the misconduct of the colonists, and the hostility of the natives, rendered it necessary to re-embark the whole body within a year from the time of its leaving England. Raleigh, nowise daunted by the unfortunate issue of this attempt, took active measures to collect and send out a second body, which sailed and took possession in 1587, under the government of Mr John White. But his praiseworthy designs were again defeated;—chiefly through the misconduct of the colonists themselves. The Governor was obliged to return to England for additional supplies, and new powers and instructions suited to the circumstances that had arisen; and though, on his arrival, he found Raleigh, like all the other leading men of the kingdom, busied with preparations to meet the Spanish Armada, the pressing wants and concerns of the colonists were not overlooked. Two small vessels were speedily equipped, and dispatched to their aid; but they were unfortunately rifled at sea, and obliged to put back. Soon thereafter, Raleigh made an assignment of his Patent to a company of merchants; and thus ended a great and favourite scheme, after much loss to the projector, and the destruction of the unhappy beings who remained in the country, in expectation of the supplies for which their Governor had proceeded to England. The project of colonizing Virginia was suffered to languish in the hands of the new patentees during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign; and twenty years elapsed before any permanent settlement could be said to have been effected.

Raleigh's abandonment of so grand a design, in which he had embarked with so much ardour, and in furtherance of which so many of his countrymen had been induced to quit their homes and native land, has not passed without censure; though, judging from their silence, his present biographers do not seem to have been aware that any question on this head had ever been stirred. Some have ascribed his conduct to a natural levity of disposition;* others to the intervention of more alluring objects.† To us it appears that he gave up his Virginian design, simply because he found from experience that his own means were too

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* Chalmers's *Annals of the Colonies.* † Robertson's *Hist. Am.* B

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limited, and the times not sufficiently favourable, to allow him any longer to flatter himself with the hope of being able to prosecute it to a successful issue. The proceeding does not appear to have been blamed by his contemporaries. It was acknowledged by even the enthusiastic Hackluyt, 'that it would have required a 'prince's purse to have it thoroughly followed out.' The absence of the alluring prospect of mines, was a damping consideration with the more vulgar class of adventurers. To such, the predatory war then in activity against the shipping and commerce of Spain, held out far more tempting baits; and the direct course of navigation to North America, by which the voyage came afterwards to be so much shortened, had not yet been discovered. In a word, we are strongly inclined to think, that Raleigh's assignment of his Patent was fully justified by the necessity of the case; and that the act ought not to deprive him of the glory of being viewed as a worthy leader in 'the ancient and heroical work of 'plantations,'* and of having opened the path to that colonial empire which England established in the New World.

But there is another point connected with this subject, both more interesting in itself, and more important as concerns Raleigh's character; yet as to which Mr Tytler is altogether silent, while Dr Southey expresses himself in terms as injurious to the subject of his narrative as they are inconsistent with historical truth. We here refer to the very natural question, whether he made any attempts, after the assignment of his Patent, to ascertain the fate of, or to withdraw the ill-starred adventurers, in number about a hundred, who remained in the colony, in expectation of supplies from the mother country? The duty of making an effort to withdraw, or provide for them, of course devolved immediately upon those to whom his obligations with his rights were transferred; and it is in the last degree discreditable to them, that in as far as is known, they made only one attempt of the kind, which having proved ineffectual, they left them to their fate. That the Government of Elizabeth made no effort to rescue such a body of her subjects from the certain destruction that awaited them, if left to the tender mercies of the American savages, is a fact that affixes a deep stigma upon her much-vaunted reign. The names of these deserted martyrs to the cause of England's commercial greatness—for such we may be permitted to designate them—stand enrolled in the pages of Hackluyt, calling aloud upon impartial history to condemn the unregal conduct, and ruthless inhumanity of a sovereign, who so dealt by so numerous a body of her people. But, fortunately for Raleigh's character, he merits

* Bacon.

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none of the censure which would justly have attached to his name, notwithstanding the transfer of his colonial rights, had he done nothing towards the relief of those who quitted their country under that banner of adventure and promise which he unfurled. His exertions, whether contrasted with the conduct of others, or viewed with reference to their long continuance, amidst all the distractions of his busy career, deserve especial notice and honour. But what does his latest biographer say on this subject? After mentioning the abortive effort of the patentees, Dr Southey states, that '*no further attempt was made to relieve the colo-nists, nor to ascertain their fate; and of these persons nothing was ever afterwards known.*' He recurs to the subject to add, '*that the abandonment of these poor colonists must ever be a re-proach to Raleigh.*' There are here two gross mistatements, —the last a highly culpable one, as directly criminating the man whose actions he records. Of the unfortunate persons, of whom he so confidently says that 'nothing was ever afterwards 'known,' we are shocked to learn that Powhatten, a Virginian sovereign, whose name is well known in the history of that country 'confessed to Captain Smith *that he had been at the 'murder of the colony*, and showed him certain articles which 'had been theirs.'* Will Dr Southey, after reading this dread-ful confession, say that 'nothing was ever known' of these ill-fated colonists? And what will he say of his far more re-prehensible mistatement, that no further 'attempt was made to 'relieve them, nor even to ascertain their fate,' if we shall place before his eyes historical proof, that five different attempts to succour them were made by the man whose utter neglect of them he represents as a lasting reproach to his memory? The proof is contained in a remarkable notice preserved by Purchas, of the date of 1602, bearing, that 'Samuel Mace of Weymouth, a very 'sufficient mariner, who had been at Virginia *twice before*, was '(in this year) employed thither by Sir Walter Raleigh, to find 'those people which were left there in 1587, *to whose succour he 'hath sent five several times, at his own charges!*'† Had Dr Sou-they consulted Purchas, he would have been saved the mortifica-tion of these criminal inaccuracies; and he must pardon us for telling him, that we shall hardly be able again to view him as a pains-taking enquirer; for nothing but culpable remissness could have allowed the appalling confession of the Indian chief, or the above satisfactory testimony of the 'sufficient mariner,' to escape his observation.

For some time after the abandonment of his Virginian schemes,

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* Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1728. † Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1653.

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Raleigh's chief occupations seem to have been those of a favoured courtier, an active member of Parliament, and a large sharer in those naval enterprises and privateering expeditions against Spain, which, as Hume observes, 'were scarce ever intermitted by the 'Queen or her subjects during one season.'* As was to be expected, he experienced considerable vicissitudes, in respect of loss and gain, in these uncertain adventures. In some curious papers of accounting, preserved in the British Museum, it appears that he complained bitterly of the shares assigned to him, even in cases where the Queen herself had been a joint adventurer.† Neither the wealth nor the morals of the country were much benefited by these plundering expeditions. They were strongly condemned even by some men of the sword who lived near the time. 'They indeed occasioned,' says Sir William Monson, 'great loss and 'damage to the Spaniards, but no profit or advantage to the 'English. There are not three men in this kingdom who can 'boast they have succeeded their fathers in any quantity of goods 'so gotten.'‡ The attempt to take vengeance on Philip by placing Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal, was an adventure of a nobler and more romantic description; and Raleigh, with some other distinguished men, was honoured by the Queen with a gold chain, in token of her approval of his services in this memorable but unsuccessful expedition.

One of the most pleasing incidents of this period of his life was his meeting with Spenser, during a sort of compulsory visit to Ireland, occasioned by some temporary eclipse of his favour at court. They are supposed to have become acquainted before, during the rebellion of the Desmonds; but their subsequent intercourse led to a friendship which proved as beneficial to the poet, as the exercise of his patronage was honourable to Raleigh. This meeting is beautifully described by Spenser himself, in the pastoral of 'Colin Clout,' which he represents in his dedication to Raleigh—who is figured as 'the shepherd of the Ocean'—as 'agreeing with the truth in circumstance and fact.' Spenser was then residing at Kilcolman, an ancient castle of the Desmonds, situate on the banks of the Mulla; and the scene which he delineates in the opening of the piece is in the highest degree interesting and pleasing; but it is still more agreeable to find him recording the fact of his introduction and recommendation to the Queen by Raleigh, after his restoration to favour.

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* *Hist. England*, c. 43.

† *Burghley Papers*, Bibl. Lansdown., vol. 70, No. 94. Ibid. vol. 73, Nos. 10 and 11.

‡ *Naval Tracts*, in Churchill's Coll., vol. iii, pp. 211-12.

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> 'The Shepherd of the Ocean ———
> Unto that Goddess' grace me first enhanced,
> And to mine oaten pipe inclined her ear,
> That she therein thenceforth 'gan take delight,
> And it desired at timely hours to hear.'

The mind dwells with satisfaction on such bright spots in Raleigh's ambitious and troubled career, where his native generosity, unobscured and unobstructed by any adverse feeling, exerts itself in acts entitling him to our unmixed approbation and esteem. He had another opportunity of showing the friendliness of his disposition, and his congenial admiration of superior merit, as well in arms as in letters, by the account which he published in 1591, of the unparalleled sea-fight at the Azores, maintained for fifteen hours in a single ship, commanded by Admiral Sir Richard Grenville, against a Spanish fleet of fifty-three sail, manned with ten thousand men! His description of the action, in which the enemy's numerous fleet formed a circle around the ship of the death-devoted Admiral, who, pierced with mortal wounds, continued to fight her till her ammunition was exhausted, when he commanded the master-gunner—a kindred spirit—to sink her, 'that nothing might remain of glory or 'victory to the Spaniard'—and which command would have been obeyed but for the interference of the remainder of the mutilated crew—presents a view of perhaps the most astonishing naval conflict ever delineated by any pen. Of this recital it may without hyperbole be said, as was by Sir Philip Sydney said of 'the old song of Percie and Douglas,' that it 'more moves 'the heart than a trumpet.' It is written with great clearness and vigour, and breathes a spirit of loyalty and patriotism truly admirable, especially in its indignant reprobation of the conduct of Spain 'for her bloody and injurious designs, purposed 'and practised against Christian princes, over all of whom she 'seeks unlawful and ungodly rule and empery.'

The man who could sound such thrilling and patriotic notes, was sure to advance himself more and more in the good graces of Elizabeth; but the course of royal favour was turned aside by an act which, for some time, put an end to all personal intercourse with his hitherto partial sovereign; and led him to enter upon a new and romantic scene of adventure, from which his subsequent history derives much of its peculiar interest and colouring. This reverse was occasioned by an amour and private marriage with one of the maids of honour,—Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicolas Throgmorton. All who are acquainted with the history of this reign know, that the intercourse between the Queen and her favourites generally wore the appearance of a commerce of love; and that she was addressed by them, down to the

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last day of her life, in terms of gallantry and ardent personal devotion. Thus her foibles, or 'softnesses,' as Bacon chooses to designate them, concurring with her arbitrary maxims of government, led her to view Raleigh's conduct as both personally and politically offensive and reprehensible—personally, as interfering with that exclusive devotion to herself which she exacted from her favoured knights; politically, as interfering with her prerogative, which required that her consent to the marriage should have been asked and obtained. The offending couple were accordingly committed to the Tower; and Raleigh was deprived of the offices which gave him the privilege of free access to his sovereign. No man knew better the weaknesses of his royal mistress; and no one could be less scrupulous as to using any expedients, however ignoble, by which her wrath might be appeased. No knight of romance, banished from the presence of the goddess of his vows, ever surpassed the 'fantastic tricks' which he now exhibited, or the fulsome rhapsodies which he indited. Without adverting to his theatrical struggles to obtain a view of his peerless princess, we may notice as curiously descriptive of the parties, a letter addressed to Cecil, but evidently designed for the eye of the Queen; in which he represents himself as cast into the depth of misery 'from being deprived 'of the delight of seeing her'—'her that he had been wont to 'behold riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like 'Venus—the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure 'cheeks, like a nymph; sometimes sitting in the shade like a 'goddess—sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing 'like Orpheus!' Notwithstanding every allowance that can be made for the occasional follies of the wise, and the influence of times and circumstances, it would be difficult to regard this tawdry and unmanly exhibition without feelings approaching to contempt. Yet let us in extenuation recollect, that Henry the Fourth, in order to conciliate Elizabeth's favour, condescended to demean himself in a similar strain, when, on being shown a miniature of her Majesty by her Ambassador, he protested, in presence too of the fair Gabrielle, that to possess the good graces of the original, 'he would forsake all the world, and hold himself most 'happy!'*

After an imprisonment of some weeks, the Queen relented so far that she gave him liberty; without, however, allowing him to approach the court, and bless himself with the view of 'the 'gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks.' But his exertions in Parliament on behalf of the Crown, upon

* Murdin's *State Papers*, p. 718.

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occasions when subsidies were in question, could not but prove acceptable to Elizabeth; and it would indeed appear, that in no long time he had so far re-established himself in her favour, as to contrive, through her interference, to obtain a grant of the manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire;—a possession which belonged to the Church, and the alienation of which seems to have been attended with great obloquy. It would appear, too, that there were strong apprehensions amongst his enemies of a complete restoration to favour and place; for, in a letter of the period, expressed with extreme rancour and bitterness, the writer says,—'It is now feared of all honest men, that Sir Walter Raleigh 'shall presently come to the court; and yet it is well withstood. 'God grant him some farther resistance, and that place he better 'deserveth, if he had his right.'* Such, we fear, are the feelings which, in all ages, fill the bosoms of rival courtiers and statesmen! The wishes of his enemies, in as far as regarded his banishment from court, were gratified for a season; during which he seems to have partly employed himself in making improvements at Sherborne; 'which,' according to the traditions of the times, 'he beautified with gardens, and orchards, and groves of 'much variety and delight.' But his mind was not of a cast to remain satisfied with such ordinary occupations. They ministered in no degree to his stirring and grasping ambition; and being now expelled from every royal avenue to distinction, and impatient alike of obscurity and inaction, he resolved to cut out for himself a new path of adventure, which, as he fondly imagined, would conduct him both to glory and to wealth. It was during this interval of obscuration, in a word, that he devised that famous voyage in quest of El Dorado, from which undoubtedly he reaped a certain fame, but which has left his name more in question, both for judgment and veracity, than all the other questionable acts of his varied life put together. As the enquiries connected with this celebrated voyage are extremely curious, and have been almost wholly overlooked —at any rate poorly treated—by his biographers, we propose to notice them at some length.

Raleigh was more deeply read, perhaps, than any man of his country and times in the histories of the Spanish discoveries and conquests in the new world. They presented scenes, occurrences, and objects of the greatest interest to a congenial spirit like his. It was in this course of reading that he found accounts of the existence of an undiscovered sovereignty, teeming with the precious metals, which had long been sought for in vain by the

* Birch's *Mem. Eliz.* vol. i. p. 151.

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most enterprising and resolute of the Spanish adventurers. Their expeditions in quest of it had, latterly, been directed to the interior of the vast region lying between the Orinocco and the Amazons, or Guiana. The rocks were represented as impregnated with gold, the veins of which lay so near the surface as to make it shine with a dazzling resplendency. The capital, Manoa, was said to consist of houses covered with plates of gold, and to be built upon a vast lake, named Parima, the sands of which were auriferous. This sovereignty, called El Dorado, became the seat of an aggregation of fables, which all concurred to magnify its importance, and to throw a sort of enchantment around it. Its magnificence was partly ascribed to the flight, at the time of the Spanish Conquest, of a younger brother of the last Inca of Peru, who, accompanied by multitudes from that and the adjacent countries, and laden with treasures, was believed to have here established himself. The retreat of Manco-Inca, brother of Atahualpa, to the regions east of the Cordilleras, probably gave rise to this tradition.* Fiction placed another imaginary kingdom to the south of New Mexico, called the Great Quivira, supposed in like manner to have been founded by those who escaped from the ruins of the empire of Montezuma.† Such fables found a ready assent amongst minds fashioned to credulity by the wonders of the new world, and the obscurity in which much of it long remained involved. They who could believe in the existence of a fountain whose waters had the virtue of restoring to youth and beauty the old and decrepid who bathed in them, could have no difficulty in giving their faith to the golden wonders of El Dorado;—a region only differing from others as being infinitely more prolific of that metal than any they had yet discovered. Poets‡ have celebrated, and historians§ detailed the numerous expeditions in quest of it; and its locality has engaged the serious attention and enquiries of some of the most eminent geographers and travellers of modern times.‖

It is impossible not to entertain some curiosity as to the origin of a fable which led to such results. With respect to this, it may first of all be mentioned, that the term El Dorado was not originally used to designate any particular place; it signified

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* Gumilla, tom. ii. pp. 146-7—French Trans.—Humboldt's *Per. Nar.* vol. v. pp. 854-5—English trans.

† Feyjoo, *Theatro Critico*, tom. iv. p. 262.

‡ Castellanos, *Primera Parte de las Elegias de Varones illustres de Indias.*

§ Herrera—Piedrahita—Pedro Simon.

‖ Gumilla—Caulin—Condamine—Humboldt.

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generally the 'gilded' or 'golden,' and was variously applied. According to some, it was first used to denote a ceremony in the religion of the natives. The chief priest, after performing his oblations at the altar, and anointing his body, covered it with gold dust, so as to make it shine; and was hence called the gilded man. Others say that it was applied to a sovereign prince, who every morning had his body ornamented in the same way, and was on that account called the gilded king.* The fable in question appears clearly to have been local—that is, to have referred to some particular place; though the locality was transferred from one quarter to another, according to the state of opinion or belief. The whole of Guiana was, on account of the above usages, sometimes designated by the term El Dorado; but the locality of the fable which came to appropriate that name, was, as has just been stated, successively assigned to different quarters of that vast region, and the expeditions in search of it varied accordingly. As the picture which that fable presents to us is that of a district whose gold-covered capital was built upon a vast lake, and whose rocks indicated a marvellous abundance of the precious metals—the question to be solved is, whence arose the belief that such a district existed in the interior of Guiana? Condamine, in descending the Amazons on returning from his scientific mission to Peru, instituted some enquiries which led him to believe that he had possessed himself of materials for solving this problem; but that solution appears to have been reserved to the later researches of Humboldt. This very eminent traveller, whilst engaged in exploring the countries upon the Upper Orinocco, was naturally led to direct his attention to the origin of a fable of such celebrity, and as to which he still met with the remains of the ancient belief. 'When near the sources of the Orinocco,' says he, 'we heard of 'nothing but the proximity of El Dorado, the lake Parima, and 'the ruins of its capital.'† The information which he collected respecting that portion of eastern Guiana which lies between the sources of the Rio Essequibo and the Rio Branco, seems to furnish the groundwork of the fiction. This tract or isthmus is, according to him, 'the classical soil of the Dorado of Pa-'rima.' Here was the locality pointed at in the vague aspirations of many sanguine adventurers. And here, in a river called Parima, and in a small lake connected with it, called Amucu, which is occasionally much augmented by inundations, we have basis enough on which to found the belief of the

* Piedrahita—Simon—Oviedo, in Ramusio.
† *Per. Nar.* vol. v. p. 506.

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great lake, bearing the name of the former; and in the islets and rocks of mica slate, and talc, which rise up within and around the latter, reflecting from their shining surfaces the rays of an ardent sun, we have materials out of which to form that gorgeous capital, whose temples and houses were overlaid with plates of beaten gold. With such elements to work upon, heated fancies, aided by the imperfect vision of distant and dubious objects, might easily create that fabulous superstructure. We may judge of the brilliancy of these deceptious appearances, from learning that the natives ascribed the lustre of the Magellanic clouds, or nebulæ of the southern hemisphere, to the bright reflections produced by them!* There could not well be a more poetical exaggeration of the lustrous effects produced by the metallic hues of rocks of talc.

These details, in which M. De Pons,† a somewhat later traveller, who long resided in an official capacity in the neighbouring countries, fully concurs, in all probability point to the true origin of this remarkable fable. It is in such suppositions alone that any explanation can be found of some historical recitals seemingly unquestionable. Such are those regarding the noted expedition of the German adventurer, Philip Von Huten, undertaken in 1541, and fully detailed by Piedrahita, one of the Spanish historians of America. From his statements it appears, that Von Huten and his companions in arms solemnly averred that they saw, but were, by a body of ferocious Indians with whom they had a long and bloody conflict, prevented from reaching, a place containing structures whose roofs shone with all the brilliancy of gold. Unless we shall suppose the whole story a fabrication, which does not appear warrantable, occurring as it does in the work of a respectable historian, there is no way of accounting for such recitals but by referring to illusions of the kind above described. The perusal of the account of Von Huten's expedition, in Piedrahita, made Gumilla a firm believer in El Dorado.

No geographical fiction ever occasioned so vast a waste of human life. Yet, so differently has it been viewed by different minds, that whilst one set of Spanish religionists reprobate it as a device of the Evil Spirit to lure mankind to their destruction, another hail it as a benevolent expedient of the Deity to diffuse the light of the Gospel amongst the heathens of America! A history of the expeditions in search of El Dorado would form a singularly curious and interesting volume; and we know no writer

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* Humboldt, *Per. Nar.* vol. v. pp. 773–860

† *Voyage à la Terre-Ferme, dans l'Amer. Merid.*

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who could execute the task more effectively than Dr Southey, if he chose to make it a work of love. We cannot afford space even for the briefest mention of these expeditions.

> —— 'Long it were to tell
> What they have done, what suffer'd, with what pain
> Travell'd.'

There is nothing in romance to surpass the marvels, in respect of dangers, privations, and sufferings, that occurred in them. Yet, neither the disasters, nor even the almost total destruction of many, prevented others from being undertaken. It mattered not that all returned discomfited and disappointed. Adventurers were found in quick succession; the last always flattering themselves with the hope that the discovery of El Dorado would ultimately be achieved. Thus did this *ignis fatuus* continue for ages to allure its credulous followers to perish in the mazes which lay in the way of their infatuated pursuit. Raleigh has, in his 'History of the World,' written many years after he had himself trod that fearful maze, characterised these expeditions in terms which show his admiration of the energies displayed in them. His strong belief in the reality of the seductive magnet by which they were attracted, formed one grand motive, but not the only one, of his voyage to Guiana. The multiplied failures of the Spaniards produced in him a strong conviction, not that they had wasted their means and efforts in pursuit of a phantom, but only that they had missed the right way. This was precisely the conclusion that such a mind as his was likely to form. Some time before he seriously thought of such an undertaking, he appears to have received accounts of Guiana generally, of a very flattering description; but his prospects at home were then too bright to allow of his embarking in a project which must necessarily carry him to a great distance, and expose his interests at court to the intrigues likely to be occasioned by long absence, and uncertainty as to his return. But the cessation of those interests, and his uneasy ambition, revived the project, and inflamed him with the most extensive designs. Still clinging to schemes of colonization, and burning with the desire to humble the Spaniards, he flattered himself that he should be able, by the acquisition of Guiana, vastly to extend the sphere of English industry and commerce; to render London the mart of the choicest productions of the new world; and to annex to the Crown a region which, besides its great colonial recommendations, would enable it to command the chief possessions of its greatest enemy, and from which his principal resources were derived. These were magnificent and patriotic, though it may be, not very wise or practicable designs. In classir

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Raleigh with the knights-errant of El Dorado, we must therefore, in justice to his memory, assert his aims to have been of a far higher order than the rest of those who pursued that phantom; for none of them had any other or loftier objects than to gratify that thirst of gold which all the mines of Spanish America had not been able to slake.

A year before he set out upon his voyage, and whilst his preparations were in progress, Raleigh had taken the precaution to dispatch a vessel to Trinidad, under the direction of a skilful sailor, Captain Whiddon, to make enquiries as to the entrances to the Orinocco; but, as afterwards appeared, without obtaining any information of value. His preparations were conducted upon an extensive scale, and of course attracted considerable notice. Unfavourable rumours seem to have been rife on the occasion. Some said that he had nothing in view but a privateering expedition; others that he would himself remain concealed in some corner of Cornwall, till his ships returned; and a third class of detractors scrupled not to affirm that his intention was to seek employment in Spain, and for ever to abandon England. These reports, it must be allowed, show that he either had many enemies, or that his character did not stand high with his countrymen. That his haughty and arrogant carriage and demeanour had produced much unkindly feeling towards him is certain; and it is also, we fear, true that his career had not been such as to manifest a steady adherence to any high principles of morality. But that the rumours alluded to did him wrong seems unquestionable; for there can be no doubt, if human purposes can at all be scanned, that his whole soul was filled with the confident expectation of making an acquisition which, if beneficial to himself, would also prove greatly beneficial to his country.

On the 9th of February 1595, he set sail from Plymouth, with five vessels, having on board about a hundred soldiers, besides mariners, with their officers, and a few gentlemen volunteers; and, strangely as it may now sound, to the expense of this expedition for the discovery of El Dorado, the Lord High Admiral, and Sir Robert Cecil, who was soon thereafter made Secretary of State, were contributors! The occurrences at Trinidad, where, towards the end of March, the expedition arrived, present incidents of a highly romantic and dramatic cast; for here, in the person of the governor, Don Antonio de Berrio, Raleigh made a prisoner of one who had already attempted the discovery of El Dorado, and was now preparing a fresh expedition, upon a vast scale, for another trial. Berrio had broken faith with Captain Whiddon when the latter was at Trinidad in the preceding year, by seizing some of his men, after pledging his word that they should be safe; and Ra-

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leigh, as well to be revenged for this offence, as to prevent a surprise which he was informed was meditated against himself, contrived, by a prompt movement, to take possession of the small town of St Joseph, and of the person of the governor. Thus were brought face to face, from two hostile countries, two distinguished competitors for a golden kingdom, of which neither had obtained the most distant glimpse—which was to both a mere creature of fancy—and which neither could hope to reach without encountering the most frightful realities that try the strength or menace the life of man. History has few scenes more singular—scenes where the actors were real and much in earnest, but where the objects of action were altogether imaginary. Raleigh tells us, that finding his prisoner to be 'a gentleman of great assured-'ness, and of a great heart,' he treated him 'according to his 'rank and deserts.' Their intercourse furnished fresh aliment to the flame which already glowed with sufficient intensity in Raleigh's imagination; for Berrio, little suspecting that his captor was a rival in the same pursuit with himself, freely communicated all the knowledge which his previous expedition had furnished him, and all his plans for the further prosecution of the design. Amongst other communications, he showed Raleigh the copy of a declaration said to have been made by a person of the name of Martinez, who represented himself as having served under Diego de Ordaz in his first attempt to ascend the Orinocco, and who swore that, having been made a prisoner by the Guianians, he was by them carried to Manoa, the golden capital of El Dorado, where he remained several years, and was then carried blindfolded to the borders, that he might be unable to disclose the approaches to that envied principality! Arriving, after many perils, at St Juan de Puerto Rico, he there made this extraordinary declaration, which was deposited in the Chancery of that place, and copied by Berrio. This tale was not the only fabrication of the sort of which the Spanish authors make mention. Gumilla, at a long subsequent period, gravely recounts his having himself met with an Indian who stated that he had resided fifteen years in this fabulous capital, and whose account of it was so distinct and minute as to render it impossible, according to the learned Jesuit, to question its existence! Having procured from Berrio all the information he could furnish, Raleigh at length threw off the mask he had hitherto worn; and told his captive, who all the while supposed his destination to be Virginia, that he also was in quest of El Dorado, and thus far advanced in prosecution of the discovery. Their colloquies then assumed another aspect. 'Berrio,' says Raleigh, 'was stricken 'with a great melancholy and sadness, and used all the arguments 'he could to dissuade me; and also assured the gentlemen of my

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'company that it would be labour lost, and that they would 'suffer many miseries if they proceeded.' This was truly spoken, as events proved, but without the least good faith; for Berrio's mind was full of his second attempt, to forward which one of his principal officers, named Domingo de Vera, had been dispatched to levy men, and make other preparations in Spain. The remarkable appearance of that officer, whose person, deportment, and proceedings, are fully described by the Spanish historians, joined with his alluring recitals of the vast wealth that was sure to be realized by the expedition, produced amongst his countrymen effects similar to what were long after that day engendered in France by the Mississippi scheme. The desire to be included in the adventure excited an eager competition, and led multitudes to dispose of their property,—even landed estates,—never doubting to be repaid tenfold from the treasures of El Dorado! Berrio's second attempt was, we believe, the last undertaken by the Spaniards upon an extensive scale. Dr Southey, deviating so far from the beaten path of Raleigh's biographers, has indulged his readers with an account of the singular artifices of Domingo de Vera, abridged from the narrative of Father Simon. Mr Tytler appears to have been wholly ignorant of the existence of any such narratives; or, if acquainted with, has not made the slightest use of, or even allusion to them.

We must not take leave of this part of the subject without adverting to an extraordinary statement by Dr Southey, which, if well founded, would greatly diminish the dramatic interest of the scenes at Trinidad. The reader will probably be startled to be told that the true Berrio was not, after all, in Raleigh's hands; and consequently that he was no party to the conversations which his captor recites! 'It is very remarkable,' says Dr Southey, 'that neither Pedro Simon, nor Oviedo y Baños make 'the slightest mention of Raleigh's expedition. His entering the 'Orinocco might easily be unknown to them; but the capture 'of Berrio should seem a matter of too much importance either 'to remain unknown or unmentioned. From a careful perusal 'of Pedro Simon, I am led to infer that the Governor Don 'Antonio Berrio was not, and could not have been in the island 'of Trinidad when Raleigh set forth to the newly founded city 'of St Joseph; that the island was at that time in possession of 'a party opposed to Berrio; and that Raleigh, having captured 'the person who was in command there, supposed that he had 'got the lawful governor in his hands;—a mistake which the pri-'soner might be willing enough to encourage.' This seems to us a most fallacious and unwarranted inference. Supposing these historians had actually narrated the expedition, but without mentioning the capture of Berrio, surely their mere silence as to that

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fact never could be held sufficient to gainsay the positive testimony of Raleigh, vouched by his officers, whom he mentions as having conversed with Berrio; for, as neither they nor any of the gentlemen volunteers in the expedition ever breathed a doubt as to a fact proclaimed to all the world by Raleigh's account of it, we are entitled to hold it as vouched by them. It seems utterly incredible either that they should all alike have been deceived, or that the mistake as to Berrio, if any such there was, should not in some way obtain publicity. But when we find that the historians referred to omitted all mention of the expedition itself, though it speedily became famous throughout Europe, is it not highly irrational to hold their silence as to an incident of it as proof that the incident itself was supposititious? To believe that Berrio was not Raleigh's prisoner, we must believe, what seems utterly improbable, that his personator was able to hoodwink one of the keenest-sighted men in the world, throughout a prolonged series of conversations, upon topics in which Berrio was personally and deeply interested; for Dr Southey does not pretend that any thing which passed in these conversations was not perfectly consonant to the actions and character of 'the lawful governor.' Humboldt, we may observe, more than once alludes to the capture of Berrio, without intimating the slightest doubt as to the fact; and it hardly will be said that his knowledge of the Spanish historians of America is surpassed by that of Dr Southey. But, independently of all this, Raleigh's narrative furnishes decisive proof that he could not have been deceived; for amongst his officers there was Captain Whiddon, who had seen and conversed with Berrio in the preceding year—a fact which Dr Southey must have overlooked or forgotten—and consequently, were this writer's inference well founded, Berrio must have been personated by the same individual in that year also, and this without a hint of the fact transpiring in all that time!—than which, a supposition more ridiculous is hardly conceivable. It may seem wholly unnecessary to make any further observations upon this point; but as it is intimately connected with one of the most singular passages of Raleigh's life, we cannot refrain from adding, that if the capture of Berrio 'was a matter of too great impor-'tance to remain unknown or unmentioned' by the Spanish historians, surely the mention of that capture in a work translated and circulated all over Europe—as was the case with Raleigh's narrative of his voyage—could not, for that very reason, have remained uncontradicted, if untrue; yet we will venture to assert that no contradiction of it any where exists. Would not the Spanish historians have gloried, had they been able, to give the lie to this hated enemy of their nation, for having presumed

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falsely to assert that a grandee of Spain, and governor of one of its dependencies, had been his prisoner?

Of this celebrated voyage we cannot afford room even for a mere outline; and indeed any thing of the kind would, at the present day, and in a work like this, be wholly out of place. The attempt to enter the Orinocco, which empties itself into the ocean, at a great distance from its main stream, by several rivers, the navigation of which was then wholly unknown, was one of extraordinary boldness and peril; especially when it is considered that Raleigh's ships drew too much water to admit of his using them; and that it was consequently necessary to leave them at anchor, and to have recourse to boats. But as it was only by ascending this river that he could hope to reach the magnet that so forcibly attracted him, he had no alternative but that of abandoning the design, or of committing himself and his adventurous companions to those fragile and hazardous conveyances. About a hundred persons were embarked in the boats by which the main body of the river was to be gained and ascended; and in these they continued to navigate for a month, exposed to the open air, sometimes under a burning sun, sometimes under torrents of rain, with no other resting-places but the hard boards, and no accommodations but what were common to all. Raleigh's account of their progress through the labyrinth formed by the numerous outlets of the great stream—of their alternate hopes and fears, wants and fortuitous supplies—the aspects of the country, and its productions—the natives and their chiefs—and of the entrance at last into the grand channel of the majestic Orinocco, is full of interest and variety;—occasionally presenting descriptive passages of much beauty, joined with traits of almost inconceivable credulity, and frequent asseverations of his strong belief in the colonial and commercial resources, and metallic riches of the vast region through which its sealike waters roll. After ascending the river about sixty leagues, according to Humboldt's estimate, the rapid and terrific rise of its waters rendered it necessary to redescend: and being thus obliged for the present to turn his back upon El Dorado, and to leave a region for the first time surveyed by any Englishman, but with a firm determination soon to return, he formally bound those Caciques, with whom he had opened a friendly intercourse, to remain faithful to his sovereign, in whose name and behalf he took possession of the country. The continued swelling of the waters, and the unknown navigation, made the regaining of the ships left at anchor an undertaking of danger and anxiety; but they at last reached them in safety, 'than which,' says he, 'there could be no more joyful occasion.'

Raleigh's return to England took place about the close of the summer of 1595; and he did not remain long at home without

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showing his strong faith and unaltered designs with respect to Guiana; for, before the end of that year, and early in the next, he had sent out two vessels in succession, for the purpose of procuring further information, and confirming the amicable relations established with the native Caciques. The first was commanded by one of his most noted followers, Captain Keymis, who shared the more extensive as well as the more visionary views of his leader; and who, on his return, published an account of his voyage, in which, as Humboldt informs us, he indicates that very locality above mentioned, which his own enquiries had pointed out as the seat of the fable of El Dorado. His reproofs of the incredulity and indifference that prevailed as to the means of employment and fortune afforded by the colonization of Guiana, are lofty and indignant; and sometimes expressed in a way to show that striking conceptions and imaginative language were gifts participated by writers of all classes in that original and poetical age. Previous to the appearance of Keymis's narrative, Raleigh's account of his own voyage had appeared, under a title sufficient of itself to awaken scepticism amongst his cool-headed countrymen. It was entitled 'The 'Discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana' —an empire of which few or none of those to whom it was addressed had ever heard before. Viewed as a composition, and with reference to the time, it had considerable beauties, overshadowed by great defects. It was written in that clear and mellow style, of which its author was so great a master, but without any approaches to method or coherency. He says himself indeed, 'that he had studied neither phrase, form, nor fashion in 'its composition.' Camden, however, in the yet lax language of criticism, characterised it as an 'elegant' piece. But its moral, as distinguished from its literary character, presents a more contentious subject of enquiry. By some, its fabulous statements have been branded as the coinage of deliberate falsehood; whilst others have only doubted as to the good faith of its author, in reciting them as consonant to his own belief. For our own part, though we cannot pretend to determine the extent of Raleigh's probity, or to ascertain by any exact scale the measure of his belief, we never have been able to see why things incredible to us, should be viewed as incredible to those living at a period uninstructed by our science, undisciplined by our researches, unguided by our experience. The human mind is so constituted as to be revolted at one time by that which, at another, meets its ready assent and belief. All sound reasoning, in a word, seems to authorize the conclusion that Raleigh might have honestly believed all the marvels he recites; and though his recitals may have been, and doubtless were, sometimes exaggerated, or coloured by hues reflected from his own

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imagination, we are inclined to think that his belief was, in the main, sincere. When Hume says that his narrative 'is full of 'the grossest and most palpable lies that were ever attempted to 'be imposed on the credulity of mankind,' he not only speaks in ignorance of the facts of the case, but forgets that the man whom he thus coarsely censures, did not, like him, view the fables connected with Guiana from the vantage-ground of an enlightened and scientific age.

The statements respecting this region to which he must be supposed more particularly to refer, are those concerning its female warriors—its tribe 'with eyes in their shoulders, and mouths in 'their breasts'—its El Dorado—and its auriferous rocks.

With regard to the American amazons, there were believers in their existence as late as the middle of last century; and amongst them was no less a philosopher than Condamine. As to the headless tribe, that fable has had sundry prototypes both in the ancient and modern world; and the existence of such a race was the common belief of the natives at the period of Raleigh's voyage, as it probably is at this day. We are told by Humboldt, that he 'met an old Indian who asserted that he had seen them with 'his own eyes.' The son of the Guianian chief, whom Raleigh brought to England for education, again and again asserted the existence of this tribe—averring that they had of 'late years 'slain many hundreds of his father's people.' Raleigh, though aware that the avowal of his belief would expose him to obloquy, boldly states his firm conviction that such a tribe was to be found in Guiana;—grounding it on the universally concurring testimony of the natives—and asking, reasonably enough, what profit could accrue to him from the invention and dissemination of such a tale? As to El Dorado, again, we do not think it possible that Mr Hume could be at all acquainted with the Spanish historians of America; otherwise he must have known that Raleigh only expressed a belief entertained by thousands—nay, millions; for had the recitals of these writers been actually known to him, what possible right could he have to denounce as a 'gross and palpable liar,' the man who only repeated what so many others stated—who only adopted a belief which was the common belief of the greatest monarchy of Europe? Nor must it be forgotten that Raleigh was not, by any means, the only English believer in El Dorado. Sir Robert Dudley, who, in 1595, made a voyage to Trinidad, and there heard of that golden region, appears to have as firmly believed in its existence, and to have been as desirous to discover it, as Raleigh himself. Fourteen years thereafter, Sir Robert Harcourt, in the account of his own voyage to Guiana, takes occasion to mention, that he had directed some of his followers to endeavour to reach 'the city of Manoa,

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'in the high country;' thus manifesting his belief, by directing a search for its gorgeous capital.* Of things palpably fabulous in our eyes, it is not, we must repeat, enough to say, that they could not possibly be believed by such a man as Raleigh. To what absurd conclusions would not this principle carry us? We should be obliged by it to hold, that no instructed man ever believed in witchcraft, in judicial astrology, or the philosophers' stone! If the steady mind of the great discoverer of America could be seduced by the belief that he had there found the site of the terrestrial paradise; and if Raleigh himself could seriously discuss the question, as he does in his 'History 'of the World,' whether that site ought not rather to be sought near the orb of the moon, he might well be allowed, surely, to believe in El Dorado, without prejudice either to his sincerity or his mental sanity. Was it half as extraordinary that Raleigh should, in his day, believe in the fables in question, as it was that Dr Johnson should, in his, believe in the second sight? It has been justly observed by this vigorous thinker, 'that it is 'the great failing of a strong imagination to catch greedily at 'wonders;' and it ought to be recollected, that though at the time when Raleigh lived, the human mind had been stimulated by various concurring causes to extraordinary displays of strength and energy, it was still in a state strongly disposing it to credulity. In particular, the discoveries in the new world had revealed so much unlike any thing known in the old, as to engender a disposition, especially amongst 'men of strong imaginations,' to believe in any wonders that might be related concerning it.

In alluding to Raleigh's statements as to the mines of Guiana, it must be acknowledged that he was charged with bad faith in this particular, even before the publication of his voyage. This charge must have referred to statements made by himself verbally, immediately upon his return. It appears, too, that he had met the imputation by having trials made at the Royal Mint of some ores which he had imported, and which were found to yield a certain proportion of gold. Later accounts have, however, shown, that his general and confident averments regarding the riches of that country are far from being true; and it has in consequence been supposed, that the imputation of bad faith, with which he was early greeted, was well founded. Though by no means disposed either unduly to eulogize or defend him, our investigations have led us to the conclusion that this accusation was unfair and ungenerous. The answer which he himself made to it is well worthy of notice. 'Weak policy it would be

* Harcourt, in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1270-80.

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'in me either to betray myself or my country with imagina-
'tions; neither am I so far in love with that watching, care,
'peril, disease, bad fare, and other mischiefs that accompany
'such voyages, as to woo myself again into any of them, *were I*
'*not assured that the sun covereth not so much riches in any*
'*other part of the earth.*' That this really was his belief, there can, we think, be as little doubt, as of his having, like many others, been misled by those fallacious appearances which, from the very earliest notices of this region, gave it, as Humboldt tells us, an extraordinary reputation for metallic wealth. It has been often said, that the above confident assurances were mere lures to induce his countrymen to embark in his colonial schemes; and that he did, to a certain extent, make that use of them, we have no doubt; but that he was himself a believer in the substantial reality of his own representations—though he may have heightened the reality by strongly coloured description—is the only rational conclusion that any fair examination of his conduct, considered as well with reference to this period of his life as to his long subsequent transactions, can warrant. Viewing the whole of his statements and proceedings respecting Guiana, from first to last, it seems to us impossible to reconcile them to any principles applicable to the explanation of human conduct, upon any other supposition. Those who have judged otherwise appear to have forgotten, or not to have known, that the appearances which so fatally deceived him, and drew from his warm fancy such glowing representations, were, to an equal extent, relied upon by others, whose good faith never has been challenged or doubted. Thus we find Francis Sparrey, who resided for some time in Guiana, representing a particular part of the country as abounding in 'mines of white stone, in which are *much natural* '*and fine gold, which runneth, between the stones like veins.*'* These were the very minerals which led Raleigh to describe the rocks of Guiana as teeming with gold; and Sir Robert Harcourt was in no degree behind him in the same faith. 'The high country,' says the latter, 'is full of white sparre;
'and, if the white sparres of this kind be in a main rock,
'*they are certainly mines of gold or silver*, or both. I made
'trial of a piece of sparre, and I found that it held both gold and
'silver, *which gave me satisfaction that there be rich mines in*
'*the country.*'† But this is not all. So far were Raleigh and his contemporaries from being the only dupes of these appearances, that even so late as the middle of last century, works

* Sparrey, in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1249.
† Harcourt, in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1277.

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were erected, at great expense, by some Spanish projectors, for the purpose of subjecting these supposed auriferous rocks to the chemical processes necessary to smelting; and it was only after a series of expensive attempts, that their hopes and labours were found to be fallacious and unavailing.* Great injustice has, therefore, been done to Raleigh, in supposing that he was either the gratuitous inventor of these golden legends, or the only victim of their allurements.

We have dwelt thus largely upon this part of the subject, because it has appeared to us to be not only intrinsically curious, but of considerable interest; as deeply affecting the character of an extraordinary man, who stands in need of all the justice that can be honestly done to him, where his probity cannot be fairly questioned. Paradoxical as the observation may appear, the only solid grounds for impeaching his veracity, in regard to Guiana, are to be found in the artifices prompted by his strong belief of its unparalleled recommendations as a national acquisition; for it was that very belief that induced him to call in the aid of fiction and exaggeration to further his object. Hence it was, that in the magnificent picture of these recommendations which closes his narrative, he has the effrontery to recount a supposed prophecy foretelling its acquisition by England. Hence, too, his gross flattery addressed to the well-known weakness of the Queen, in the extravagant recital of the rapturous admiration produced by the exhibition of her picture to the Indian Caciques. A picture of a red monkey, or of a horned owl, would have proved an object of far greater interest to the worthy Caciques than that of the virgin Queen in her ruff and farthingale.

We must not allow these controversial discussions to supersede all farther mention of the partly chimerical, partly grand designs which Raleigh appears to have entertained; and of which we have as yet only spoken generally. One of his plans was to carry a force to Guiana, sufficient to induce the Inca or sovereign of El Dorado to become a tributary to, and friendly ally of England!—another, to establish colonies and commercial companies in the most inviting quarters of Guiana; by which means he confidently hoped 'to see in London a contraction-house of more 'receipt for that country than there was in Seville for the West 'Indies.' It was to promote this magnificent scheme that he cultivated so assiduously the friendship of the natives; and that he took with him to England the son of one of the principal chiefs, to be there instructed. Dr Southey has spoken somewhat sceptically as to the extent of the intercourse which he represents him-

* Humboldt, *Per. Nar.* vol. v. pp. 772, 859.

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self as having held with the natives; but, as he was constantly attended by an Indian interpreter, whose qualifications appear to have been well known to the other English explorers of Guiana,* we cannot see any reasonable grounds for doubt upon the subject; and it is allowed by Humboldt, a most competent judge, that Raleigh in this very way collected information that lent 'important 'helps to the history of geography.' Nothing, indeed, has struck us as more strongly indicating his extensive views, and his address in pursuing them, than the vast respect with which he contrived to impress the Guianian chiefs;—so strongly manifested in the length of time they remembered him, and their eager wishes for his return. Thus, in the account of Leigh's voyage, written in 1606, we are told that 'one of the chiefs came far out of the 'main to enquire about Sir Walter Raleigh;' † and in that of Harcourt, written in 1608, it is mentioned that another chief came above a hundred miles to make similar enquiries. ‡ His sagacity with respect to the measures necessary to ensure the stability of his undertakings, was further shown by a proposal to erect two forts upon the Orinocco, thereby to command its navigation;—a proposal which, in the opinion of Humboldt, indicated great judgment and military skill. By such expedients, and by thus securing the means not merely of defence, but of invading the Spanish possessions where they were most vulnerable, he hoped to be able to put an effectual curb upon her power, and to constrain her to attend to her own domestic concerns, instead of intriguing, by means of her gold, to disturb the peace of the Protestant world. Had Raleigh's views been limited to such objects, he would have been extolled both as a statesman and a patriot; but the fable of El Dorado, and the dream of an alliance with its imaginary potentate, threw an air of doubt and ridicule over his better designs, and diminished the respect that would otherwise have been felt due to the original and far-seeing policy which they indicated.

The great and surprising effects of that fable, joined with its long-continued dominion over the minds of the credulous, form altogether one of the most curious and remarkable portions of the history of the New World. It was not till the first half of the seventeenth century was well advanced, that geographers began to view the existence of El Dorado as doubtful. 'Hodie 'dubium sit,' says De Laet, whose work was published in 1633, 'an Dorado extet in rerum natura, nec non.' Acuna, writing in 1640, expresses a hope that God may one day enable mankind to arrive at the truth concerning it. Nearly a century afterwards,

* Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1255. † Ibid. vol. iv. p. 1264.
‡ Ibid. vol. iv. p. 1271.

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Gumilla unhesitatingly declared his adoption of the ancient belief. When Condamine arrived at Para, he there met a Dutch surgeon named Hortsman, who in 1740 had made a journey in search of El Dorado; in which, notwithstanding incredible fatigues and privations, he proceeded as far as the Rio Negro, where his bootless quest terminated. His account of the journey, which he showed to Condamine, was long afterwards seen by Humboldt when in that quarter. It may indeed be safely stated, that El Dorado was treated respectfully, and its existence viewed as at least doubtful, in most of the general repositories of information, up to the middle of the eighteenth century. Dr Adam Smith, in alluding to Raleigh's belief as a proof that the greatest minds sometimes give way to strange delusions, mentions it as a sort of wonder that so learned a man as Gumilla could entertain such a fancy, at so late a period of the world as that in which he lived. This shows how little he imagined that, at the very time he was writing, and till near the close of the century, the ancient delusion had still its votaries. Humboldt informs us, that in the years between 1766 and 1777, Don Manuel Centurion, then governor of Spanish Guiana, displayed a zeal for the discovery of El Dorado worthy of the brightest era of the fable. It was then that the false reports of a native Indian induced a small body of colonists once more to set out upon this luckless enterprise; and only one of their number, Don Antonio Santos, returned to recount the disasters which had left him the sole survivor of an expedition which crowned more than two centuries of pernicious delusion! An alluring phantom, operating upon the love of the marvellous and the love of gain, thus long beguiled and mocked the world; and transmitted to posterity a tragic tale so singular, that all sympathy for the miseries which it recites, is extinguished in the ridicule with which they are regarded.

Though Raleigh's purposes regarding Guiana remained unchanged—though, as we have seen, he took measures, soon after his return, to maintain his footing in, and to augment his knowledge of the country—the public employments to which he was speedily called, for some time rendered it impossible for him to devote himself personally to the prosecution of his designs; and when his restoration to favour took place, his services at court, his constant pursuit of further preferment, and his rivalry with other aspirants to Royal regard, so much engrossed his time, that Guiana, though not expelled from his thoughts, ceased during the rest of that reign to share his active pursuits. The public services in which he was now engaged, afforded him an opportunity of distinguishing himself in two very brilliant actions; namely, the destruction,

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in 1596, of the Spanish fleet and shipping in the harbour of Cadiz, and subsequent capture of that great mart of their Indian and Levant trade; and the taking, in the following year, of the capital and island of Fayal, one of the Azores. On both occasions, Raleigh held the rank of Rear-Admiral. Cadiz, to borrow the expressive words of Lord Bacon, 'was one of 'those glorious acquests obtained sometimes in the bravery of 'wars, which cannot be kept without excessive charge and 'trouble;' but its actual capture, and that of the fleet there stationed, inflicted, notwithstanding the necessity of abandoning the place, the most humiliating blow the Spanish monarchy ever sustained. It is not saying too much in Raleigh's behalf to state, that this signal success was in no small degree owing to his valour and skill.* He wrote a very clear and animated account of the action, which is to be found in his works. That action, in which he received a severe wound in one of his legs, was remarkable for the chivalrous emulation of the several commanders, who seemed as if engaged in a race for glory, in which each strove to be foremost, without any regard to the orders of a superior, or the rules of naval warfare. The spirit of chivalry had not yet yielded to authority, nor had discipline been adjusted to a settled course of command and obedience. Essex, who held the chief command, had long been in bitter opposition to Raleigh; but the latter, though sometimes represented as of a less generous nature than the other, showed on the present occasion that he could bestow high praise on his rival, and in a way certain to meet the eye of their royal mistress. In a letter which he wrote to Cecil immediately after the action—of which no part, in as far as we know, has ever before been published—Essex is thus eulogized:—'The Earl hath behaved him-'self, I protest unto you by the living God, both valiantly and 'advisedly in the highest degree, without pride, and without 'cruelty, and hath gotten great honour and much love of all.'† The differences between these ambitious leaders were widened, not originated as has been said by Hume, by Raleigh's capture of Fayal in the succeeding year, before the arrival of the Earl, his superior in command; but in this proceeding he appears to have been fully warranted by the exigencies of the case; and his conduct, at any rate, was such as greatly to increase his renown. He alludes to this enterprise, in some observations upon naval invasions, in his 'History of the World;'

* Birch's *Mem. of Queen Eliz.* vol. ii. pp. 54-96-7.
† Brit. Mus. MSS. Vespas. xiii. 290.

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and Sir Arthur Gorges, who was next in command under him, has devoted to it a treatise fraught with much collateral learning upon the art of war.*

It was in the interval between the expedition to Cadiz and that to the Azores, that Raleigh was restored to the office of Captain of the Guard; and we are told by one of the court intelligencers of the time, that he rode abroad with the Queen the same day, and forthwith frequented the privy chamber 'as 'boldly as he was wont to do before.'† An after result of his renewed favour, was his appointment to the Governorship of Jersey—the last act of his sovereign's munificence towards him. The court intrigues in which he was so deeply engaged towards the close of her reign, present some scenes of considerable interest; particularly those where he is seen acting the part of *mediator* between Essex and Cecil, and where the three worthies meet to dine in private, and to ratify that treaty of amity which he negotiated, so much to the surprise of their fellow courtiers.‡ These amicable relations were not, however, of any long continuance; for we find Essex, in 1599, shortly after going to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, writing the Queen in terms of strong hostility to Raleigh;§ and we find Cecil, immediately after the fall of the former, endeavouring, by means of a secret correspondence with the successor to the throne, to prejudice that Prince strongly against his former associate. History has left us much in the dark as to the particular causes of these alienations; but they no doubt originated in the mutual jealousies and apprehensions of each other's power entertained by these ambitious and intriguing statesmen. When Essex approached the crisis of his mad career, he accused Raleigh and some of his friends of a design against his life, and of an intention to secure the succession to the Infanta of Spain; but his adherent, Sir Christopher Blount, who confessed that he had intended to assassinate Raleigh, further declared, that these charges were 'only cast out 'to colour other matters.'‖ Raleigh has been thought, by Hume and others, to have urged the execution of Essex—an opinion founded upon a very remarkable letter of his to Cecil;¶ but which, as it is not dated, leaves it uncertain whether it was written before or after the Earl's condemnation. In point of sagacious but cold-blooded advice as to the expediency of sub-

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* Sir A. Gorges's *Relation*, in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1956.
† *Sydney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 54-5. ‡ Ibid. ii. pp. 24, 37, 42, 44.
§ Birch, vol. ii. p. 418.
‖ Birch, ii. p. 478.—Blount's Trial. ¶ Murdin, p. 811.

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jugating a dangerous adversary, it is a masterpiece; but if viewed as an exhortation to deprive Essex, not of liberty and power merely, but of life, it is calculated to revolt every generous feeling, and to fill the mind with deep dislike of its Machiavellian author. We are, however, strongly inclined to think that it does not refer to the Earl's execution; but merely to the propriety of reducing him to a condition in which he should neither be able to disturb the state, nor to injure those whom he considered his enemies. Advice to this effect may not have been very high-minded; it may have been dictated by keen resentment; but, considering the enmity and recklessness of Essex, and the designs of his adherents, it can hardly be viewed as either unnatural or surprising. The belief that he took pleasure in the untimely fate of his rival, seems undoubtedly to have been general; as was manifested at the place of execution, where he received a hint to withdraw. With reference to this, however, it ought to be remembered that he attended officially as Captain of the Guard; for he was also present in that capacity at the execution of Blount—a fact which Hume appears to have overlooked. It was when returning in his boat from Essex's execution in the Tower, that the thought first flashed into his mind, that the power of Cecil, now greatly augmented by the removal of so formidable a competitor, might prove destructive to himself,* —a foreboding too certainly destined to be verified.

We think it not a little surprising that neither Mr Tytler nor Dr Southey has alluded to the mortifying fact, that Raleigh contrived to turn his influence with the Queen to good account, by procuring pardons for such of Essex's condemned adherents as could afford to purchase his interference. How strange it sounds at the present day, to be told that a public man of high endowments and high place could exact large sums for acts of seeming beneficence! The circumstance surely required some notice from these writers. Its truth is beyond question. Sir Edward Bainham and Mr Littleton, two of those condemned, procured through Raleigh's intercession a remission of their sentence; for which they gave him each a very large sum—in plain language, a bribe. Littleton, who was a man of ample fortune, much esteemed, as Lord Bacon tells us, for his 'wit and valour,' and who appears to have had some particular connexion with Raleigh, addressed him in a very moving yet high-minded letter, soliciting his good offices;† but this letter, which Bishop Hurd pronounces one of 'the finest that ever was

* Osborne's *Deductions from the History of the Earl of Essex.*

† It is printed by Birch, *Mem. of Eliz.* vol. ii. p. 496.

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e the desired effect till the ap-
thousand pounds!† But it would
memory to mention such a fact,
with this excuse,—that in what he
was done by those amongst whom he
conduct was to be judged. It was a
department of public life was strongly
The favour of the sovereign, in regard
on the executive, was bespoke by presents.
ign powers procured the support, or insured
rse parties, by liberal donations and pen-
preferment were obtained by those who could
werful courtier a large donation for his
ces. The course of justice was not free from the
duced by gifts to legal officers. Even the ladies about
n of the Queen were accustomed 'to grange and
auses.'‡ So backward at that time was the state of
in public life! In judging of Raleigh's conduct, in the
in question, we must therefore give him the benefit of
existing usages; for though the distinctions between right
ong, abstractedly considered, are immutable, we can
r, accustomed as mankind are in their actions to make a
stant reference to the opinions of their fellows, judge with
same rigour those immoral acts which originate in the
stoms, or have the countenance of contemporaries, as we do
those which have no such sanctions, and can only be referred
to individual guilt. We would judge of Raleigh as of a no less illustrious contemporary than Sully, when in his Memoirs he unhesitatingly tells us, that at the sacking of Villefranche he took a thousand pieces of gold from an old man pursued by the soldiery, who eagerly offered that sum to save his life! Would any one, without the contamination of evil times, dare to utter such a confession?

We could wish, before leaving that portion of Raleigh's history which closes with the reign of Elizabeth, to advert at some length to his appearances in a field where he seems to have been eminently qualified to shine, and from which he was ever afterwards excluded by his early misfortunes in the next reign—we mean the House of Commons; but the more disputable parts of his story compel us to dismiss this with one or two notices. Judging from even the scanty reports of his speeches preserved by D'Ewes, they appear, in respect of mental power, to have been truly

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* Hurd's *Dialogues*. † Birch, vol. ii. p. 497.
‡ Birch, vol. i. p. 35.

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admirable;—displaying large, sagacious, and original views, both on subjects of foreign and of domestic policy. In an age when the cardinal principle of economical legislation was that of the necessity of regulating individual labour and skill to insure national prosperity—when, in other words, the principle that industry, in order to be well directed, must be constantly subjected to positive regulations—a principle which long continued, and still in some degree continues to influence all European policy, Raleigh anticipated the grandest and most comprehensive conclusion that modern political economy has established with reference to this subject; for he on all occasions inculcated the propriety of leaving every man free to employ his labour and capital in the way he might judge most beneficial for himself. Such was the doctrine he maintained in regard to the compulsory cultivation of hemp. 'I do not,' said he, 'like this 'constraining of men to manure or use their grounds at our 'wills; but rather wish to let let every man use his ground for 'that for which it is most fit, and therein follow his own discre-'tion.' Simple as this recommendation may now appear, its inculcation as a rule for the guidance of statesmen was a vast and beneficial advance in the science of legislation; for the interference thus condemned was the favourite policy of all the greatest statesmen of that day, Lord Bacon amongst the rest. Its principle lies at the foundation of those laws of Henry the Seventh, which the immortal regenerator of experimental science so emphatically extols, in his life of that sovereign, for their extraordinary depth and comprehensiveness. Raleigh held the same memorable language in one of the debates as to the propriety of repealing the famous statute of tillage. In the debate alluded to, he strongly advocated the policy of setting free the trade in corn;—observing, 'that the Low Countrymen, and the 'Hollanders, who never sow corn, have by their industry such 'plenty, that they can serve other nations; and that it is the 'best policy to set tillage at liberty, and leave every man free; 'which is the desire of a true Englishman.' These are noble words for a legislator of that age, and well worthy of lasting remembrance. In nothing, as we think, does the originality and reach of mind possessed by this extraordinary man appear more conspicuous, than in the opinions recorded in these brief extracts.

The death of Elizabeth, and the accession of James, lead us immediately to the darkest portion of Raleigh's history; that, namely, which relates to the famous conspiracy in which he was soon thereafter implicated. We do not by any means imagine that we shall be able to clear up its obscurities, or to remove effectually the doubts with which it is overhung; but we think that we shall be able, by an impartial consideration of

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the printed authorities, combined with the important information contained in the Count de Beaumont's despatches, which, though they still remain in manuscript, we happen to have perused, to exhibit a tolerably satisfactory view of the probabilities —for certainty is unattainable—of the case. Beaumont was the resident French Ambassador at the English Court at the period of the accession; and his despatches to his Sovereign, and his minister Villeroy, are replete with details concerning the conspiracies which so early disturbed that at first rapturous occurrence. Carte is the only British writer by whom they have been examined. All others who have referred to them, have taken their information at secondhand from him; and though we do not say that he has left any important facts unrevealed, respecting this subject, we are inclined to think that the conclusions to which these despatches lead, may be better discriminated and brought out than in his narrative.

Popular as Elizabeth was, our history has no record of so joyful an accession as that of James. It was hailed with acclamations by all classes of the people. But the national joy was destined to be overcast in the very dawn of its existence. A nearer view of James's person and manners speedily dispelled those illusions which the people, long subjected to a female sovereign, had fondly attached to the name of king; and some early examples of his imprudence and misgovernment, produced a strong apprehension that they had been deceived by the accounts spread abroad of his regal wisdom. The rapacity of his Scottish followers, and his ill-judged haste to gratify them, excited the disgust and resentment of the whole nation. The Catholic portion of his subjects, who, according to Beaumont, had been amongst the foremost to welcome his accession—and in behalf of whom this ambassador had ventured to solicit some marks of favour, calculated to save them from becoming the dupes and tools of Spanish desperadoes—soon perceived that he was in no respect inclined to relax the rigorous policy of his predecessor. The Puritans, who had also cherished fallacious hopes, found they were doomed to be equally disappointed. Murmurs and discontents were the natural consequences; and some malecontents, as furious in their resentments as they were wild and rash in their purposes, proceeded to form treasonable designs against the person and government of the new sovereign. But before proceeding to any details regarding them, we must attend to such occurrences subsequent to the accession, and to such particulars of Raleigh's treatment and conduct, as appear necessary to be kept in mind in judging of the probability of his being a participator.

Immediately after the death of Elizabeth, a meeting took pl

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at Whitehall of the chief public men then in London, for the purpose of proclaiming her successor; and Raleigh's name occurs amongst those subscribed to the writing framed on that memorable occasion.* An opinion, however, was entertained by some, of whom Raleigh was one, that James's power of appointing his countrymen to places of trust and emolument in his English dominions, ought to be subjected to some limitations. Mr Tytler seems inclined to question Raleigh's assent; but as his opinion is not supported by any authority, and runs counter to the statements of Osborne, Aubery, Lloyd, and some others, it may be unhesitatingly discarded. If such a proposition could be entertained by so aged and discreet a counsellor as Sir John Fortescue, it was likely enough, surely, to recommend itself to the more bold and innovating genius of Raleigh. Aubery goes a great deal farther; for he ascribes to Raleigh a proposal not a little calculated to awaken curiosity, but to which neither Mr Tytler nor Dr Southey adverts; —a proposal to pull down the monarchy, and substitute a republic! Aubery avers that this proposition was advanced by Raleigh at the above-mentioned meeting at Whitehall. 'Let 'us keep the staff in our own hands, and set up a common-'wealth, and not remain subject to a needy and beggarly 'nation'—were the astounding words he is represented to have there uttered. Dr Warton might well consider this as a very remarkable anecdote,† if indeed it could be viewed as true. But it rests wholly on the authority of this credulous collector of historical gossip; and though it partakes of Raleigh's bold, aspiring, and scheming disposition, the supposition of the possibility of establishing a republic at that time, and in the then state of England, is much too chimerical to allow us to imagine that it could be broached by a man of his understanding, and to such an assembly as that to which it was said to have been addressed.

But, independently of these facts, there were other causes of that dislike to Raleigh, which appears to have been early manifested by the King; and which indeed existed before he set foot on his English dominions. We allude to the attempts so successfully made by Cecil and his accomplices, in their secret correspondence with the Scottish King, to impress him with the belief that Raleigh was closely leagued with a party unfriendly to his title, and bent on opposing him when the succession should open. All

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* Carte, vol. iii. p. 708.

† In a note to his edition of Pope, in one of whose 'Epistles' allusion is made to Raleigh's archaisms.

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who have perused that very curious correspondence, as published by Lord Hailes, must remember the singularly malignant representations of Raleigh with which it teems; and the unexampled terms of abuse there applied to him and some of his friends. It is therefore surprising that any biographer of Raleigh should cast about for hypothetical explanations of a dislike, so easily accounted for by referring to known causes. Mr Tytler imagines that it was owing to Raleigh's being unable to conceal his contempt of 'James's displays;' and because he declined 'to imitate 'the flattery with which others fed his vanity.' Now, there is nothing more certain than that Raleigh never, at any time, allowed an aversion to flattery to stand in the way of his wishes; and it is equally certain that he evinced his readiness to feed James's vanity, with reference to the very 'displays' to which Mr Tytler alludes. 'I took it as a great comfort,' says he, in a letter to the royal pedant, 'to behold your Majesty; always 'learning some good, and bettering my knowledge, by hearing 'your Majesty discourse.' Raleigh's disfavour was far enough from being owing to his sparingness in the administration of the unction of flattery.

There can be no doubt, in a word, that the Scottish King entered England with a mind strongly prepossessed against him; and that Cecil found it an easy achievement to complete the overthrow which his correspondence had prepared. James had arrived at York, in the prosecution of his intoxicating 'Progress' to the capital, before Cecil presented himself before him. The Count de Beaumont says, that he was by some blamed for leaving London at that critical juncture; but he doubtless felt it to be indispensable that he should repair to James, as well to furnish that information of which he and his Scottish courtiers were alike in want, as to take measures for crushing those who might have the temerity to be competitors for favour or power. Raleigh, in particular, was the man he most feared;* and one of his first cares was to put a stop to that intercourse with the King, which would have resulted from his continuing in the office of Captain of the Guard. That office, which Raleigh had held with so much distinction during the late reign, was now promised, and speedily bestowed upon a Scottish favourite; and Cecil is said to have induced the King to take this step, by possessing him with the belief that the removal of one so universally disliked would be an act highly acceptable to the people of England.† The extreme unpopularity of a man of such great

* Carte, vol. iii. p. 709.

† Beaumont, *Dépêche*, May 2—August 13.

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and various talents, so distinguished for courtier-like accomplishments and martial achievements, has always appeared to us a perplexing part of Raleigh's history; and not to be sufficiently accounted for either by those who ascribe it solely to his haughty demeanour, or to his enmity to Essex, the general favourite of the people. The belief that he was not over scrupulous in his regard for truth—that his great and brilliant qualities were tarnished by craft and rapacity—that, as Ben Jonson alleged, 'he esteemed fame more than conscience'—were, we suspect, the principal sources of that hostile feeling entertained towards him, and which never without strong cause takes place of the esteem universally entertained for genius and valour. But be the cause what it may, the fact is unquestionable; and indeed we find his friend the Earl of Northumberland not merely acknowledging it, but alleging that he had himself suffered in public opinion from his long and intimate connexion with him.* Still, there can be no doubt that Cecil, who had long associated with and courted him, was now actuated solely by his own personal animosities and selfish apprehensions. Raleigh, as soon as he was apprised of his machinations, set out in haste to endeavour to counteract them, by making some disclosures touching the execution of Queen Mary, and other matters, calculated, as he imagined, to make a strong impression upon the mind of her son; but the crafty secretary had taken his measures too well, and too securely; and was, besides, too necessary to James and his Scottish ministers, profoundly ignorant as they were of English affairs, to give his adversary any chance of success from this attempt. Its only effects were to widen existing differences, and to furnish additional aliment to that discontent, which soon became conspicuous to all.†

Raleigh's disappointments connected with the new reign, were not limited to those arising from loss of office and court favour. His fortune had been impaired by the expenses connected with the various expeditions which he had fitted out for Guiana, where he ever had hoped that, when circumstances were propitious, he should yet reap a golden harvest. This notion—the abiding vision of his changeful life—would naturally revisit his mind, and rekindle his hopes, as it had done originally, when, as now, he was deprived of place, favour, and expectations in his own country. But, in the pacific tem-

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* See a remarkable letter, not noticed by either Mr Tytler or Dr Southey, though published in so well known a work as Miss Aiken's *Memoirs of the Court of James.* Vol. i. p. 58.

† Beaumont, *Dép.* August 13.

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per of James, and his ardent desire to conclude a peace with Spain, Raleigh saw the destruction of his favourite project. His notions of foreign policy, in which he was more largely skilled than any other statesman of that day,* and a strong conviction of the propriety of upholding the United Provinces, in that glorious struggle for independence in which they had been so effectually aided by Elizabeth, seem to have led in the same direction with his own particular designs. We learn from one of his letters, that he made an offer to the King to raise, at his own cost, two thousand men, to attack Spain in her most vulnerable point—her American possessions. The answer is not mentioned; but no reply to any such proposal could, in James's temper of mind, be otherwise than unfavourable; and we may even suppose that, personally and politically timid as he was, it might contribute to augment his dislike of a man who could entertain such daring and extensive purposes. Raleigh at this time also wrote a discourse—one of the most remarkable of his smaller pieces, not for its composition, which is desultory and slovenly, but for the depth and reach of its general views, and the pregnant variety of its illustrations—on the policy of continuing the protection of England to the United Provinces, so as to enable them to establish their independence of all the neighbouring powers. This tract he had intended to present to the King, to whom it was addressed, but did not find an opportunity. James, as is well known, was ultimately prevailed upon by Sully, the extraordinary ambassador of Henry the Fourth, to continue to the States that support for which Raleigh so urgently pleaded. But the certainty of that consummation, could he have anticipated it, would have been far from satisfying his desires. Bred in a school which classed Spain with the Pope and the Devil, and looked upon her American possessions as the appropriate field of English adventure and spoliation, Raleigh's ardent wish was, that the war should at all events be continued; and he accordingly endeavoured to show, that Spain was now so greatly reduced, as to be incapable of withstanding the naval skill and power of England; but that, if peace should be conceded, and time allowed her to recruit, the former would come to regret her forbearance and lost opportunities of glory and conquest, when all who could effectually serve her would be removed from the scene. This piece is the more

* 'He seemeth wonderfully fitted, both by art and nature, to serve the state; especially as he is versed in foreign matters, his skill therein being always estimable and praiseworthy.'—Sir John Harrington's Letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells—*Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 342.

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deserving of notice, that it was written when its author was on the eve of being accused of a treasonable plot, to be carried into execution through the agency of that power which he there treats so contemptuously, and to which he evinces so rooted a dislike!

But, notwithstanding all his mortifications and disappointments, we find Raleigh vehemently protesting that his mind was in no degree soured by discontent. Thus, in the piece just mentioned, he assures the King, that it 'proceeds from a faithful 'breast, which his Majesty could not beat from the love of his 'royal person and estate;' and in a letter, written shortly after he was charged with treason, he utters this solemn asseveration: 'The great God of heaven and earth so relieve me as 'I was the reverse of discontented.' We would fain believe that Raleigh's fancy here deceived him; for it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact of his discontent—a fact in itself both probable and natural, and which all contemporary authority attests. The evidence of Sully, though there was none else, would be decisive; for it is that of a most competent and disinterested observer, pronounced after much private and confidential intercourse. It does not, indeed, warrant the statements which Carte and Hume have founded upon it—statements which represent Raleigh and some of his associates as having solicited both Beaumont and himself to aid them in certain treasonable designs; but it pourtrays them as restless and speculative malecontents, not greatly indisposed to embark in designs hostile to their sovereign and to the state.*

James had been only about three months seated on his new throne, when the discovery of more than one treasonable plot took place.† That which was first brought to light, never has been a subject of doubt either as to its objects or the persons concerned in it. It seems to have originated with two priests, named Watson and Clarke. Their design was to seize the King whilst engaged in his favourite occupation of hunting; and then to carry him to the Tower or some other place of strength, there to be detained till he should new-model his ministry agreeably to their wishes, and swear to grant a full toleration of religion. Amongst

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* See Sully's despatches, contained in the original edition of his Memoirs, entitled, *Mémoires des Sages*, &c., t. ii. pp. 125, 148.

† In a copy now before us, of a paper in the handwriting of Sir Edward Coke, preserved in the State-Paper Office, he makes an abstract of evidence, with reference to *three* plots, described by him as the 'Spanish, 'or Cobham's treason,' the 'Priests' treason,' and, 'Lord Grey's trea-'son.'

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their first associates were George Brooke, brother to Lord Cobham, Sir Griffin Markham, and a Catholic gentleman of the name of Copeley; and a communication having been opened through Brooke with Lord Grey of Wilton, a zealous Puritan, who appears to have been ready to embark in any treasonable project, they began to apportion amongst themselves the different offices of that new administration which they wished to form, and to deliberate as to the time for proceeding to action. But jealousies and misgivings speedily arose to distract their machinations. Grey, a young man of talents and ambition, became apprehensive that if the plot succeeded the Catholics might obtain some advantage over his own sect; and he therefore opposed any movement until he should strengthen himself with an armed force, which he secretly hoped to obtain permission to embody, under the pretext of employing them in the Netherlands. In this way, the day of action was postponed; but with an understanding that every possible effort should be made to augment the number of confederates.

Coincident with these treasons was another, called 'the 'Spanish or Lord Cobham's treason.'* This weak, but intriguing and opulent nobleman, who had lived much in Raleigh's society, and been an active partisan in the quarrels with Essex, was much at variance with Cecil, who was his brother-in-law; and the King having, in consequence of the Secretary's representations, treated him coldly when he went to join the royal 'Progress,' his resentment rose to a high pitch against both sovereign and minister. His notorious disaffection encouraged his abler and deeper brother, George Brooke, to disclose to him the plot of the Priests; and the idea seems to have been started by one or other of them—in all probability Brooke—that, could adequate assistance be procured from Spain, James might be dispossessed of the throne, and his cousin the Lady Arabella Stuart advanced to it in his stead. The same notion, according to Beaumont, occurred, but without leading to any concerted plan, to some of those engaged in the other treasons. Cobham agreed to apply to Spain for money; and he accordingly made an application to that effect to Count D'Aremberg, immediately on his arrival in London, as the temporary representative both of the Governor of the Netherlands and of the King of Spain. He appears to have had some previous intercourse with that minister; and to have been particularly acquainted with a person in his retinue of the name of La Renzi. This person was in consequence employed as the agent of their secret correspondence.

* So designated, in the analysis mentioned in the foregoing note, by Sir Edward Coke.

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Brooke undertook to persuade the Lady Arabella to enter into their views; and to prevail upon her to write to the Archduke and the King of Spain—pledging her lasting friendship, and engaging to be guided by them in the choice of a husband, in the event of her being elevated to the throne through their assistance.

But all these treasonable schemes were overset, before they had ripened into any determinate or connected plan, through the fortunate imprudence of Copeley. On going from home, he told his sister that he was engaged in a great and dangerous undertaking for the good of the country. His words, having made a strong impression, were repeated to her husband, and by him to the Lord Admiral, who, in consequence, caused Copeley to be apprehended; and he having made a full disclosure of the plot of the Priests, they and their accomplices were seized and imprisoned.*

When Cecil heard that Brooke was one of the conspirators, he naturally inferred that his discontented brother Cobham might be concerned; and Raleigh's intimacy with, and ascendency over the latter, exposed him, in the ready mind of the Secretary, to a similar suspicion. He was accordingly, on Cecil's suggestion, examined, in presence of some of the Lords of the Council, as to whether he had any knowledge of the plot divulged by Copeley. He unhesitatingly declared his utter ignorance of it; and his name stood quite free from any disloyal imputations, till Brooke, in his examination, disclosed his brother Cobham's intrigues with Aremberg;—adding, that the former had told him their intercourse was known to Raleigh. Being in consequence again examined, he, equally as before, declared that he was wholly ignorant of any criminal correspondence between Cobham and the Flemish Minister; but either at that examination, or soon thereafter, he appears to have stated that he knew there was some intercourse between them; and he farther suggested, in a private letter to Cecil, that La Renzi might be examined as the person most likely to be informed of its nature. This suggestion—most extraordinary if that of a guilty participator†—was productive of lasting misfortune to its author. Cobham had before been examined without effect; but the letter to Cecil having been unwarrantably shown to him, he instantly became enraged against Raleigh;—charged him with having instigated all his dealings with Aremberg; confessed that it had

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* Beaumont, *Dép.* May 12—June 13—July 30, 1603.

† So thought one who was present at his trial.—See Sir Toby Matthews's *Collection of Letters*, published by Dr Donne, p. 281. Sir Thomas Overbury, who also was present, expresses himself to the same purpose.—*Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh.*

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been agreed, with Raleigh's privity, that he should proceed to Spain to negotiate for money, Aremberg being unable to engage for all that was wanted; and that he was to return by Jersey, of which Sir Walter was governor, there to consult as to their farther proceedings. In almost the same breath, however, he admitted his having become apprehensive that, if he did so return, Raleigh would seize and deliver both the treasure and himself to the King. Nor was this all. As soon as he became cool, according to one account, or after a private remonstrance from Raleigh, according to another, he fully and solemnly retracted all that he had laid to his charge.*

Raleigh was nevertheless, towards the end of July, committed to the Tower. But, previously to this, he appears to have acknowledged that Cobham, on the part of Aremberg, had offered him a sum of money, or a pension, on condition of his using his endeavours to promote a peace between the two crowns; and as Brooke had confessed that Cobham had also promised money for distribution amongst the associates of the priests, it appears to have been thought that the acknowledged offer to Raleigh was for similar treasonable purposes. When informed of this injurious construction, he addressed a letter to the Lords of the Council, in which, after repeating the purport of Cobham's offer, he made a solemn renunciation of all claim to mercy, if it should ever be shown that he was aware of its connexion with any treasonable design. But this address, which was powerful and eloquent, does not seem to have made any impression. Yet, as he had not been accused by any one of any participation in the plot of the Priests, and as Cobham's accusation respecting the treasonable dealings with Aremberg stood retracted, the Council appear to have been somewhat doubtful as to the propriety of any farther proceedings against him. Cecil, unwilling that he should escape, caused a strict enquiry to be made amongst all likely to be acquainted with his secrets; but the investigation ended without any discovery calculated to gratify the wishes of the minister.†

We must not, in the history of these proceedings, omit the mention of a remarkable incident, by no means favourable to Raleigh's character, and which, accordingly, Mr Tytler's partiality induces him to view as liable to question. One afternoon, whilst Cecil and others of the Council were engaged in the examination of the other prisoners in the Tower, Raleigh made an attempt at suicide—wounding himself rather

* Beaumont—Carte—Overbury. † Beaumont, *Dép.* August 13.

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severely by a stab in the breast. 'When we were advertised of it,' says Cecil, 'we came to him, and found him in some agony, 'seeming to be unable to endure his misfortunes, and protesting 'innocency, with carelessness of life.'* He had often expressed his firm belief, that the administration of the law of treason was such as to enable his enemies to effect his condemnation though innocent; and on this occasion, his proud and lofty spirit seems to have hurried him on to the rash determination to deprive them of the means of achieving such a triumph. A recent publication respecting the reign of King James, furnishes us with a very affecting letter from Raleigh to his wife, written in contemplation of his design. We do not refer to it for evidence of the fact; for that was long ago incontrovertibly established, not only by the above communication by Cecil, but by Beaumont's despatches to his court, and by a contemporary letter published by Sir Toby Matthews. We refer to it as being in itself remarkable, and as showing that the deed which he meditated ought not to be viewed as the act of conscious guilt, but rather as that of ungovernable and despairing pride. 'I cannot live,' says he, 'to think how I shall be derided—to think of the expectation of my 'enemies—the scorns I shall receive—the cruel words of lawyers '—the infamous taunts and despites—to be made a wonder and 'a spectacle.' His allusions to the sad consequences of his misfortunes to his family, and to the revolting nature of the imputation of plotting with Spain—the enemy he had ever hated and scorned, and sometimes scourged—are strikingly pathetic and indignant;—indicating a lofty consciousness of his own merits and services, now unminded by his country. But there is nothing more worthy of remark in this extraordinary letter (which we regret we cannot extract at full length) than its strongly characteristic touches;—particularly its remarkable display of great warmth of feeling and tenderness of heart, joined with much worldly wisdom and calculating prudence; the one exemplified, in his agonizing emotions on taking leave of his wife; the other, in his recommendation to her to marry again, but not for love—'only to avoid poverty;'—and to overlook Cecil's conduct to himself, 'because,' says he, 'he must be 'master of your child, and may have compassion on him.' We shall quit this singular compound of strong emotions and sage counsels, by quoting his ground of hope of forgiveness for the unholy act which he was meditating. 'I know,' says he, 'that

† Letter to Sir Thomas Parry, 4th August 1603, in Cayley's *Life of Raleigh.*

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'it is forbidden to destroy ourselves; but I trust it is forbidden 'in this sort—that we destroy not ourselves *despairing of God's* 'mercy.'*

After much delay and discussion, it was at last resolved that Raleigh should be brought to trial with the rest. The confessions of most of them had left no doubt either as to their guilt, or the certainty of their condemnation; but, as regarded him, it was the general opinion that there were no grounds for a conviction.† His own opinion was not so sanguine. He dreaded the influence of his enemies, then at the head of affairs; and he entertained the most discouraging ideas of the state of the law in regard to trials for treason. It was under these impressions that he endeavoured, by a letter to the King, to move his favour; but considering the known sentiments of James, who, as Beaumont says, both feared and hated him,‡ it is scarcely to be thought that he could found any strong hopes upon such an appeal. He first of all respectfully alludes to the duty of a good King 'to hear the complaints of his vassals, 'especially of such as are in misery;' and after entreating his Majesty 'not to believe any of those who, under pretence of 'his treason, only sought to work out their own revenge,' he proceeds to make this solemn and comprehensive asseveration: 'I protest before the everlasting God, that I never *invented* 'treason, *consented* to treason, nor *performed* treason; 'and yet,'—he adds with that strong presentiment he ever, since his imprisonment, expressed,—'I know I shall fall into the hands of those 'from whom there is no escape, unless by your Majesty's gra-'cious compassion I be sustained.'

These touching notes fell upon an ear wholly irresponsive to them. As soon as Aremberg left England, which he did about the end of October, the trials commenced. They were delayed till his departure from an apprehension that either he might himself be so irritated, or the people so inflamed by the disclosures likely to ensue, as to cause the defeat of those negotiations which James was so passionately desirous to bring to a favourable close. Raleigh, meanwhile, contrived to procure from Cobham a letter, acquitting him in very earnest terms of the treasonable practices with which he had charged him; and being thus possessed of a written disclaimer under the hand of his only accuser, he waited the issue, it may be supposed, with more composure.

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* Bishop Goodman's *Court of King James*, vol. ii. p. 93.
† Beaumont, *Dép.* 27th October.
‡ *Ibid.* 18th December.

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The prevalence of the plague in London having rendered it prudent that the trials should be proceeded with at some other place, and Winchester being chosen, the prisoners were, towards the middle of November, carried thither. Raleigh was conveyed in his own coach, under the custody of Sir Robert Mansel; and from what befell him on the way, he had reason enough to see, that be his fate what it might he was not likely to meet with any popular sympathy. 'It was almost incredible,'* says a contemporary, 'what bitter speeches they exclaimed against him as he went 'along; which general hatred of the people would be to me worse 'than death; but he neglected and scorned them, as proceeding 'from base and rascal people.'

Upon the fifteenth, the two Priests, and their principal associates, were tried and condemned upon their own clear and ample confessions. 'These,' says Sir Dudley Carleton, who was present, 'were set down, under their own hands, with such labour 'and care to make the matter they undertook seem very feasible, 'as if they had feared they should not say enough to hang them-'selves.'† Raleigh's trial took place two days thereafter. The Commission consisted of the great officers of state, some of whom were his known enemies, and four of the ordinary judges. The proceedings commenced at eight in the morning, and ended about seven at night. The main charges of the indictment were—that he had joined Lord Cobham in a conspiracy against the life of the King and his issue; that their purpose was to raise the Lady Arabella Stuart to the throne; and that they had applied to Count Aremberg for money and a Spanish force, to aid them in the execution of their designs. Sir Edward Coke, then Attorney-General, was the chief conductor of the trial on the part of the Crown; and his management of it was such as Hume—no partial narrator—describes as calculated to leave an indelible stigma not only upon his own character, but in some sort upon that of his age and country. 'Traitor, monster, viper, and spider of hell, were 'the terms,' says the historian, 'which he employed against one 'of the most illustrious men of the kingdom, who was under trial 'for life and fortune, and who defended himself with surprising 'temper, eloquence, and courage.'

It was upon Cobham's accusation that the Crown lawyers chiefly rested their case; and in support of it they adduced the testimony of La Renzi, who deposed that Raleigh had been present, and in private with Cobham, when he received

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* Letter from Mr Hicks to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. iii. p. 217.

† *Hardwicke State Papers*, vol. i. p. 387.

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letters from and transmitted others to Aremberg. They further appealed to the fact, that Raleigh, after his own examination, and before Cobham was called in question, wrote 'that he had 'cleared him;' in order, as they alleged, to caution him against making any disclosures. With respect to the first of these allegations, Raleigh contended that La Renzi's testimony only proved his knowledge of the existence of some correspondence between Cobham and the Flemish minister, but not that he knew there was any thing treasonable in that correspondence; and as to the other, he stated in explanation, that having had occasion, in a matter of business, to inform Cobham that he could not see him as he was under restraint, he indeed added 'that he had cleared him;' because, in point of fact, he had observed to Cecil, when conversing with him as to the plot of the Priests, that he did not believe Lord Cobham was concerned in it. He further pleaded generally, that it was from Cobham's accusation alone, which had been retracted, that these allegations derived any suspicious colouring; that in no view could they ground any thing against him but presumptions; and that, if presumptions were to be taken into account, those in his favour would far outweigh any that could be urged against him. His reasoning and eloquence were here cogent and persuasive. He appealed to the whole course of his public life, as bearing testimony to his rooted enmity to Spain; and to the fact, that his best hopes lay in the continued prosecution of his designs against her. Nothing, he said, could exceed the improbability of the supposition that he—who had just written a treatise to expose the reduced condition of Spain, as an argument for continuing the war till she should be thoroughly humbled—could for a moment believe her capable of accomplishing so vast a design as that of placing on the throne of England a female, destitute alike of title and support; or that he was likely to embark in a conspiracy having such an object, with no other ally but Lord Cobham—notoriously one of the weakest and least regarded men of his rank in England.

Raleigh's defence was not, however, limited to these topics. He further maintained, that even though Cobham's testimony had not been retracted, or any way damaged, it could not be viewed as sufficient to convict him; because it was provided by a well-known statute of Edward the Sixth, that conviction in cases of treason could only take place upon the evidence of two witnesses confronted with the accused. He handled this point with great learning, acuteness, and dexterity; but his argument was met by proofs of a contrary practice, which had long, though improperly, been judicially recognised—upon the supposition that the statute in question had been rendered inoperative by a

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subsequent law of Philip and Mary. Driven from this ground, he then insisted that he should at least be confronted with his only accuser; boldly declaring that if Cobham, on being examined by himself, should repeat his charges, he would then yield himself to judgment without another word. Cobham was at the time in an adjoining apartment;* but the Crown lawyers knew too well what he was, to agree to subject him to Raleigh's searching interrogations; and the judges, on being appealed to, decided, that there was nothing in the law making it imperative that the accuser should be examined in court.

This point being determined, and the proceedings almost exhausted, the Attorney-General after a burst of savage joy, as if now sure of his victim's blood, produced a letter which Cobham had, on the preceding evening, written to the Commissioners; in which the infamous changeling of new repeated all his retracted accusations. Upon this, Raleigh in his turn presented the letter which he had procured from Cobham, immediately before their removal from the Tower. It was read by Cecil, one of the Commissioners, as being acquainted with his handwriting, and contained these strong asseverations:—'I protest upon my soul, and 'before God and his angels, I never was moved by you to the 'things I heretofore accused you of; and, for any thing I know, 'you are as innocent and as clear from any treasons against the 'King, as is any subject living!' But this additional retractation does not appear to have effected any change of opinion in his favour; for, immediately after it was read, the jury retired, and returned in a quarter of an hour with a verdict of guilty.†

The Lord Chief-Justice Popham, before pronouncing sentence, addressed Raleigh in one of those ungenerous and unwarrantable harangues, in which the elevation and impunity of the judgment-seat have often, in bad times and by unworthy natures, been taken advantage of, to insult the defenceless. In particular, he adverted, in the ranting phraseology peculiar to such places and occasions, to an imputation which Raleigh seems, most unjustly, to have incurred, of being an Atheist. 'You have 'been taxed by the world,' said this dignified dispenser of justice, 'with the defence of the most heathenish and blasphe-'mous opinions, which I list not to repeat, because Christian 'ears cannot endure to hear them, nor the authors and main-

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* Sir Toby Matthews's *Collection of Letters*, p. 283.

† See *State Trials*—East's *Pleas of the Crown*—Sir Thomas Overbury's *Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh*—Jardine's *Collection of Criminal Trials*. The last contains the most copious, as well as accurate account of the trial; and is accompanied with an instructive commentary.

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'tainers of them be suffered to live in any Christian common-'wealth. You shall do well, before you go out of this world, to 'give satisfaction herein; and let not *Harriot or any such doctor* * 'persuade you there is no eternity in heaven, lest you find an 'eternity of hell torments.' The man thus maligned is the author of some of the most striking observations in the language on the being and attributes of the Deity, the grandeur and immortality of the soul, and the Christian religion generally. The other object of this barbarous attack—the more barbarous as being directed against an absent and unconcerned individual—has left an immortal name in the annals of scientific discovery. Their robed accuser, who was doubtless told by his flatterers that he had acquitted himself nobly in administering such a rebuke, is only remembered by the anecdote-hunters of his day as having, in his earlier years, been a taker of purses, and in those of his judicial life a taker of bribes!† We do not vouch for the truth of these anecdotes; but assuredly his cant and rant do not make them one whit less likely to be true. Raleigh, without deigning to make any remark on what was addressed to him, simply entreated that his answers to the principal charges might be reported to the King; and that his execution, in respect of the employments he had filled, might not be ignominious. He then followed the Sheriff out of Court, 'with admirable erection,' says Sir Thomas Overbury, 'but yet in such a sort as became a 'man condemned.' No occasion of the kind ever drew forth a finer eulogium than these few words.

One triumph Raleigh achieved by this nefarious trial—that of overcoming the general dislike of which he was till then the object. He left the court a condemned man, yet amidst feelings warmed to a high pitch of sympathy and admiration. All contemporary accounts bear witness to this great and immediate change. Sir Dudley Carleton, who was present, tells us that 'he 'conducted himself with that temper, wit, learning, courage, and 'judgment, that save that it went with the hazard of his life, this 'was the happiest day he ever spent.'—Of two persons who

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* The words in Italics are those given in Mr Jardine's excellent compilation. In the *State Trials* the words are, 'Let not any Devil 'persuade you.' But Raleigh's well-known connexion with Harriot, and the circumstance of the latter having incurred a similar imputation, leave no doubt as to the superior correctness of Mr Jardine's version.

† 'For several years he addicted himself but little to the study of the 'law, but profligate company, and was wont to take a purse with them.' 'This Judge had a noble house, park, and manor, for a bribe to save his 'life.' (The life of one condemned for child-murder.) Aubery's *Lives*, vol. ii. p. 492-3.

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brought the news to the king, 'one affirmed that never any man 'spoke so well in times past, nor would in those to come; the 'other, that whereas when he saw him first he would have gone 'a hundred miles to see him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have 'gone a thousand to save his life.'* 'In half a day,' says another observer, 'the mind of all the company was changed from the 'extremest hate to the greatest pity.'

Raleigh, as a condemned man, once more tried, by letter, to move the royal clemency; and no one, as Dr Southey justly observes, ever sued for life 'with a more dignified submission to 'his fortune.' We allude to the letter chiefly on account of the remarkable expressions in which he refers to Cobham's offers. 'Lost I am for hearing a vain man, for *hearing only*, and never 'believing or approving!' Soon after this touching supplication, the Bishop of Winchester, at the King's desire, waited upon him to prepare him for death. That termination of his misfortunes he for some time hourly expected; but the decision as to his fate was day by day protracted; and, in the meanwhile, the King occupied himself in getting up for public exhibition the most extraordinary tragi-comedy that ever was performed in the administration of criminal justice. After the execution of the two Priests and Brooke, warrants were signed for also carrying into effect the sentences against Lords Grey and Cobham, and Sir Griffin Markham; 'the King,' as was said, 'pretending to forbear Sir Walter 'Raleigh until Lord Cobham's death should give some light how 'he would make good his accusations.' At an early hour, upon the ninth of December, the day appointed for their execution, Markham was, first of all, brought upon the scaffold; and having gone through his devotions, was ruefully preparing to lay his neck upon the block, when the sheriff was called aside by a messenger, who came post from the King, and privately communicated his Majesty's directions to save the prisoners, after each, in his turn, should have prepared for death. The sheriff accordingly re-conducted Markham into the castle, saying that he would give him another hour to prepare himself. Grey was then led forth, and after being permitted to make a speech, alike remarkable for boldness and eloquence, was in like manner re-conducted to his prison. Last of all came Cobham, who now, in the immediate prospect of death, averred that all his charges against Raleigh were true. He conducted himself with a fortitude so foreign to his nature, as to lead many to suppose that he had been promised life provided he should renew his accusations against Raleigh; he having, at his own trial, again partially acquitted him. The other two

* *Hardwicke State Papers*, vol. i. p. 379.

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prisoners were again brought back to the scaffold; and the exhibition closed, to the wonder alike of actors and spectators, with a speech from the sheriff, announcing that his Majesty, of his princely clemency, had respited the whole.*

Raleigh witnessed this mock tragedy from a window which overlooked the scaffold, and, as Beaumont says, with a mirthful countenance; from which the Count was inclined to conclude, that he had by this time received some encouraging intelligence from his friends at court. Until this period, his hopes could not be strong; for the King always replied to the numerous intercessors for his life, that he was firmly resolved to let the law take its course. At one time, Raleigh appears to have had cause to believe that his execution was at hand; for in that belief he wrote to his wife to prepare her for the event. The letter is long and impressive,—showing in every line what tender feelings may exist in a breast that had ever been filled with the workings of an ambitious and scheming disposition; and showing, too, how little he merited those imputations of irreligion with which the Lord Chief-Justice had aspersed him.—'God is my witness,' says he, towards its conclusion, 'that it was for you and yours that I sued 'for life; but it is true that I disdained myself for begging it; 'for know it, dear wife, that your son is the son of a true man, 'and one who, in his own respect, despiseth death, and all his 'mishapen and ugly forms. May the everlasting and omnipotent 'God, who is goodness itself, keep thee and thine, have mercy 'on me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors, and send us 'to meet in his glorious kingdom.'

A few days after the above exhibition, Raleigh like the rest was reprieved and reconveyed to the Tower, where he was destined to be confined for the long period of thirteen years. This separation from the world, viewed with reference to the use he made of it, was not to be regretted. But there were other results of his illegal sentence from which his family suffered severely. He had some years before seen cause to convey the estate of Sherborne to his eldest son; and the life-interest reserved, which was forfeited by his attainder, was, with the rest of his property, allowed by the King to be settled upon trustees for the benefit of his family and creditors. But a slight flaw having been discovered in the conveyance to his son, the estate was solicited, and by the King granted to his rapacious favourite Somerset;—his Majesty reserving only eight

* Sir D. Carleton's Letter in the *Hardwicke State Papers.* Beaumont, *Dév.* 10th and 18th December.

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thousand pounds for Raleigh's family, as a compensation. Their fair inheritance was thus, as the unfortunate father complained in a letter which he addressed to the worthless minion, 'lost in 'the law, for the want of a word.' But let us now attend to the questions which his trial and sentence present for our consideration.

The Count de Beaumont, in a very elaborate despatch written after the trial, and after hearing the reports of various persons who were present, as well as after examining various relative documents, gives it as his deliberate opinion, that Raleigh, though not legally condemned, was nevertheless morally guilty. It is only with reference to this distinction, that there is any room for discussion; for there is, and ever has been, an entire unanimity as to the legal view of the case. Much wonder has been expressed how, upon such evidence, a verdict of guilty could be obtained; but it ought to be recollected that Raleigh was extremely disliked both by the sovereign and his ministers; and that in those times the Government had no surer engine of destruction than a state prosecution. Juries then formed but a feeble shield against the arm of power; and the fact may serve to show how weak are the securities afforded by the best institutions, when the great body of the people are destitute alike of political consequence and general intelligence. The question as to his actual guilt has been differently viewed by different classes of writers. All his biographers, with more or less confidence, hold that he was innocent; whilst all our general historians of any name, with a pretty near accordance of sentiment, hold that he was guilty. Our own opinion does not in all respects agree with either class. But it would be useless to go further without first disposing of Mr Tytler's opinion, that the plot in question had no existence at all—that it was a mere figment or device, employed to cover the criminal designs of Cecil.

Founding upon a most obscure and fantastical letter, supposed to be written by 'that dangerous intelligencing man,'* as Lady Anne Bacon described him,†—Lord Henry Howard—Mr Tytler satisfies himself, by some wire-drawn reasonings which we will confess we do not clearly comprehend, that the charges against Raleigh were the result of a contrivance between Cecil and Lord Henry, to implicate him in an imaginary plot to set up the Lady Arabella Stuart. 'The whole story,' he asserts, 'is idle and ridiculous. Whether Cobham had ever con-

* Published in the Oxford Edition of *Raleigh's Works*, vol. viii. p. 756.

† Birch's *Elizabeth*, i. p. 227.

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'ceived such an idea, cannot now be discovered. No one can 'maintain that such a conceit, imparted neither to Sir Walter, 'to the other conspirators, or to the lady herself, nor to Arem- 'berg, who was to advance the money, *but kept entirely to him- 'self,* is for an instant entitled to the name of a conspiracy.' Mr Tytler has overlooked, as is not unusual with him, some unquestionable facts, in asserting that the proposal as to the Lady Arabella was the uncommunicated conceit of a single brain. That there was no fixed or extensive conspiracy to raise that lady to the throne, may be admitted; but that such a project was entertained by the malecontents of that day, that it was in progress, and that it was propounded to the Archduke and the King of Spain, does not admit of any doubt. Sir John Harrington, a contemporary and no mean authority, says in express terms, in a letter to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, 'that 'the plot was wellnigh accomplished to disturb our peace, and 'favour Arabella Stuart, the King's cousin.' But his testimony forms only a small part of the evidence. Mr Tytler appears to have been altogether uninformed of the long-subsisting intrigues founded upon the supposed claims of that lady. He seems not to have known that the Lady Arabella's title was supported by a considerable section of the English Catholics; that the design of raising her to the throne, on the death of Elizabeth, was favoured by the Pope; and that it was the apprehensions thence arising, that caused her being put under restraint immediately on that event taking place. The idea of such a plot was not, therefore, so purely fictitious as he has imagined. The knowledge of the facts alluded to, led the most sagacious of our late historical enquirers to conclude, that the plot in question, though 'extremely injudicious,' was not so improbable as it at first sight appears.*

That the notion of setting up the Lady Arabella existed only in Cobham's brain, uncommunicated to any one, is truly preposterous. It was proved at Raleigh's trial that the design had been discussed between Cobham and Brooke, and that it was hinted to the lady herself by letter; and Beaumont's despatches make it *perfectly certain that it was communicated to Aremberg.* Beaumont says, in the most pointed manner,† that no man of sense, who had seen the documents which he had examined, could doubt that the design had been proposed to that minister, and by him to the Archduke; and he farther states, that there were letters in the

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* Hallam's *Const. Hist.* i. p. 483.

† Beaumont, *Dép.* 10th August.

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possession of the King, which the *latter had shown to him*, not only proving these communications, but that a large sum of money had been promised to support the design therein developed.* Mr Tytler appeals to a letter from Cecil to Sir Thomas Parry, then ambassador at Paris, in which he represents Cobham's intercourse with Aremberg as having been limited to the forwarding of the peace; and that the money asked and promised was only to gain friends to that measure. Had Mr Tytler perused the despatches to which we have so often referred, he would not have rested much, we should think, on this paltry piece of state-craft. He would have there seen that the English ministry had been obliged to submit to the meanness of recalling their former statements respecting Aremberg, in consequence of the representations of the Spanish ambassador; who, on his arrival, found that the reports of Aremberg's participation in Cobham's schemes, had excited a degree of indignation that threatened materially to obstruct the pending negotiations. James himself, pusillanimously yielding to this influence, and, impelled by his pacific desires, had stooped so low as to try to exculpate Aremberg to Beaumont; even after having shown him intercepted letters from the former, of a criminal purport; and after again and again stating verbally, that he had intermeddled most improperly in Cobham's intrigues. This case thus forms an exception to what generally happens in such circumstances. In general, the representations of those in power respecting persons opposed to them, are liable to the suspicion of exaggeration or mistatement; but here, James and his ministers had found it necessary to extenuate Aremberg's guilt, from the peculiar position in which their wishes and policy had placed them. The obscurity in which the plot is involved, is chiefly owing to this very cause—to a reluctance, generated by a timid and crouching submission to the desires of Spain, to divulge the whole truth respecting the conduct of her representatives.

All this, however, leaves the question as to Raleigh's actual participation in the plot undetermined. We have already mentioned, that Beaumont had no doubt whatever of his guilt; and, considering that he founds his opinion not only upon verbal communications, but upon letters shown to him by the King, and upon corroborative memorials and documents transmitted to his own sovereign,† it cannot but be allowed, that he makes a demand upon our assent which it must be difficult for any impar-

* Beaumont, *Dép.* 6th December.—This despatch is highly important.
† *Ibid.* 6th December 1603.

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tial mind to resist. But, notwithstanding the credit which is unquestionably due to his testimony, we cannot, though greatly shaken, give up our own contrary convictions. The improbability of the conduct ascribed to Raleigh is so very strong—the supposition of it so revolting, from its gross inconsistency with every marked act of his public life, and the prosecution of his favourite designs—that we feel ourselves constrained to resist the belief of his direct participation in any plot, depending for success on Spanish agency;—even when we place before our eyes, and in the clearest light, the proofs of his great discontent and suspicious intrigues; and give all due weight to the observation of Mr Hallam, that he 'never showed a discretion bearing the 'least proportion to his genius.'* In the melancholy letter to his wife, written in the intention to destroy himself, all the overwhelming emotions of that dark hour could not withdraw his mind from the thought of the amazement it would occasion amongst some of his followers then abroad, to hear that he 'was accused 'of being Spanish!' The ascendency, in such circumstances, of such a feeling, would have shaken our belief, supposing it had been different from what it ever has been on this part of the case.

But we fairly admit that a great part of history might be set aside, were such evidence as that furnished by Beaumont to be discarded. We do not, however, by any means entirely discard his authority. We, on the contrary, go a great way alongst with him; for we are thoroughly convinced that Raleigh must have been aware of Cobham's treason; and we think it farther likely that he may have indulged his own discontent, and mayhap encouraged the schemes of the other, by descanting on the means by which the new settlement might be disturbed, and their enemies humbled. We have not been able to peruse Beaumont's despatches, and to consider their contents in connexion with the facts disclosed in La Renzi's examination, and with the admissions made by Raleigh himself, without coming to this conclusion. The presumption of his entire ignorance of Cobham's criminal intrigues, arising from his having voluntarily advised Cecil to question La Renzi—the proceeding which first instigated Cobham to accuse him—must be viewed as more than balanced by the contrary and stronger presumption founded on his secret warning to Cobham, in case he should be examined. Nothing urged at his trial made so strong an impression against him as this fact.

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* *Const. Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 483.

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'A privy councillor who was present, did tell me,' says Bishop Goodman, 'that, if he had been one of the jury, he would 'have found him guilty only for the sending of that one 'note; for he did not think that such a wise man would have 'sent, at such a time and upon such an occasion, a note to 'Cobham, if there had not been something amiss.'* We must observe further, that his poignant feelings in recalling, in his letter to the King, the circumstance of his having '*listened only*' to Cobham, can hardly be ascribed to the mere offer of a pension from Spain. The facts disclosed in Beaumont's despatches, may enable us to form some judgment as to the degree in which the political morality of the day was likely to be shocked by such an offer. 'Four months have elapsed,' says this ambassador,† 'since the pensions and presents which his Majesty determined to 'bestow here were resolved upon; and yet the execution has been 'delayed, to my disgrace and the prejudice of his Majesty's ser- 'vice. This is greatly to the advantage of the Spanish ambassa- 'dor, who has both *authority and means to offer ten to one*, and 'knows how to profit by it!'‡ Raleigh, it is true, refers only to the offer of a pension; but as he knew it could be proved that he was present when letters passed between Cobham and Aremberg; and as Beaumont's despatches make it quite certain that these letters contained treasonable matter—we are strongly inclined to ascribe his uneasy emotions to his conscious recollection of these facts. But, whatever there may be in this supposition, it would be a violation of all probable reasoning applicable to human conduct, to hold that two persons so intimately connected as Raleigh and Cobham, could meet privately, when letters were to be received from and others returned to the Flemish ambassador, without any communing taking place as to the nature of so remarkable a correspondence. Viewing the facts detailed by Beaumont, it surely would be far more rational to conclude that Raleigh was wholly guilty—that is, a *direct* participator in the designs of Cobham and

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* *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 65. The same impression was produced upon the writer of a letter in Sir Toby Matthews's Collection, who also was present at the trial, (p. 282.)

† *Dép.* 10th August 1603.

‡ There is a curious and pointed corroboration in Bishop Goodman's *Memoirs*. 'The Spaniard,' says he, 'was free of his coin, and spared no 'rewards for purchasing the peace. One told me that he himself had 'paid three thousand pounds to one man only for furthering the peace.'

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Brooke—than that he was wholly innocent; that is, wholly uninformed of the nature and objects of the intercourse with Aremberg. To make out this, it must be shown that Cobham carefully concealed its nature from Raleigh, though constantly present, and the only one whose presence was allowed when it was in progress—a conclusion palpably absurd.

Upon the supposition, then, that Raleigh, though not an actual or intended participator, was yet well aware of the nature of the correspondence—the most favourable conclusion for him that the facts will allow—what, it may be asked, could be his object in making himself privy to it, and thereby so far committing himself? All that is known of his character leads to the conclusion that he did propose to himself some ulterior design, by which that knowledge might be turned to account. The thought, that the golden vision of El Dorado was again uppermost in his mind, and that his intention was to possess himself of the means of revisiting Guiana, has frequently occurred to us; but there was another course, which even Cobham's stolidity appears to have divined, and which more than one of his contemporaries believed to be that which he really intended to follow. Aubery assures us, that he was informed by an intimate friend of the Lord Treasurer Southampton, that Raleigh's intention really was to inveigle Cobham to Jersey, and then, having got both him and his Spanish treasure in his power, to make terms with the King;* and Bishop Goodman expresses himself confidently to the same purpose—averring that it was 'his full intent to discover 'the plot.'† It was said of Raleigh by one who knew him well, 'that he desired to seem to be able to sway all men's fancies—all men's courses;'‡ and perhaps it was this notion of his being able to 'sway' others to his own ends, that here entangled him in a net of his own spreading, and implicated him in treasons from which he flattered himself that his superior dexterity would keep him free.

Passing from these dark and unsatisfactory scenes, we are now to attend to Raleigh's occupations in the Tower; and to see the activity and ardour, which had hitherto been exercised in court intrigues, warlike enterprises, and grand projects, transferred to

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* Aubery's *Lives*, vol. iii. p. 516.—We do not place any strong reliance upon Aubery; but when he refers to respectable names to vouch a not improbable fact, his statements may be viewed as worthy of notice.

† Goodman's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 65.

‡ Earl of Northumberland's Letter, in Aiken's *Mem. of James*, vol. i. p. 58.

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pursuits wholly intellectual; and in which—such was the amazing strength and versatility of his genius—he is allowed, by one of the severest judges of his conduct, to have 'surpassed the 'labours even of the most recluse and sedentary lives.'* The history of his captivity is identical with the history of his literary works; for the whole period of its endurance was employed in their composition; and they thus form memorials, of a singularly interesting nature, of this portion of his existence. Independently of the peculiar circumstances in which they were produced, it was to be expected, as a matter of course, that his biographers would fully and carefully examine and characterise them; and this the more, that some decidedly spurious pieces have been conjoined with his name, while the authenticity of others requires to be substantiated. But, strange to say, we have nothing of this sort—nor, if we except a few trivial remarks, any thing critical, in the publications before us. The fact, we verily believe, is unparalleled in the history of letters, that, numerous as are the lives of Raleigh, it is only in the antiquated one by Oldys, written above a century ago, that we find any methodical survey of his writings! That survey contains every thing that far-searching industry could accumulate; but being utterly destitute of critical spirit and general intelligence, it is of no value except as a bibliographical account of his different productions. A sketch of his great work, such as may serve to indicate its structure and more remarkable features, joined with a few observations on his miscellaneous pieces, may probably, therefore, be acceptable to those who are unacquainted with his literary achievements.

It appears from the very remarkable preface to his 'History 'of the World,' that, in selecting a subject for his pen, the history of his own country had first presented itself to his thoughts; and, considering the course of his life, it was natural that it should be so; but the advice of some learned friends, joined with the notion that the ancient world would prove a safer field of enquiry, turned his labours in that direction. So vast a project as a universal history of antiquity, undertaken in such circumstances, betokens a consciousness of intellectual power which cannot but excite admiration. Viewed with reference to our vernacular literature, it constitutes an epoch in its historical department; for though Sir Thomas More—'the father of 'English prose'†—composed his fragment on the 'History of 'Richard the Third' a century, and Knolles his 'History of the

* Hume.

† Sir James Mackintosh's *Life of More.*

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'Turks' a few years before the appearance of Raleigh's work, it was indisputably the first extensive attempt of its kind in the English language.

Beginning with the Creation, it comprises the history of the first periods of the human race, and of the four vast monarchies successively established under the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans; concluding with the second Macedonian war, when the latter were every where triumphant. In the distribution of its parts, there is no observance of any just proportion. Living at a period when the writings of the Fathers and their commentators furnished the prime objects of attention, and the chief repositories of information,—when to amass their opinions upon any given subject constituted the most approved erudition,—he treats at undue length, and invests with undue importance, whatever falls within the sphere of their favourite enquiries. Hence it is, that he allows the history of the people of Israel to occupy the foreground throughout an unreasonable space. Hence, too, it is, that we find him—a courtier and statesman—seriously and earnestly enquiring whether Paradise was seated in a separate creation near the orb of the moon—whether the Tree of Life was the *Ficus Indicus*—whether the Ark was lighted by a carbuncle—whether the first matter was void of form; and discussing various other similar questions, which, ludicrous as they may seem to us, then possessed an engrossing importance. It is only when he reaches the third of the five books into which the work is divided, and which embraces the period between the destruction of Jerusalem and the rise of Philip of Macedon, that he begins to lose sight of Judea, and to disentangle himself from the multitude of theological and scholastic digressions with which the Jewish or scriptural portion is overlaid. That book, in which all the more brilliant portions of Grecian story are surveyed, closes with the death of Epaminondas, whose great character is so finely and graphically portrayed, that we shall extract his delineation of it as a specimen of his excellence in that style of composition. 'So died Epaminondas, the worthiest man 'that ever was bred in that nation of Greece, and hardly to be 'matched in any age or country; for he equalled all others in the 'several virtues which in each of them were singular. His justice 'and sincerity, his temperance, wisdom, and high magnanimity, 'were noway inferior to his military virtues; in every part whereof 'he so excelled, that he could not but properly be called a wary, 'a valiant, a politic, a bountiful, and a provident captain. Neither 'was his private conversation unanswerable to those high parts 'which gave him praise abroad; for he was grave, and yet 'very affable and courteous; resolute in public business, but in 'his own particular, easy and of much mildness; a lover of h'

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'people,—bearing with men's infirmities; witty and pleasant in 'speech,—far from insolence; master of his own affections, and 'furnished with all qualities that might win and keep love. To 'these graces were added great ability of body, and much elo- 'quence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of philosophy 'and learning; wherewith his mind being enlightened, rested 'not in the sweetnesses of contemplation, but broke forth into 'such effects as gave unto Thebes, which had ever been an under- 'ling, a dreadful reputation among all people adjoining, and the 'highest command in Greece.'

The opening of the next book, in which, after glancing at the intestine divisions of the Greeks, he anticipates their subjection to Philip, is alike remarkable for its philosophical spirit and its poetical colouring. 'The Greeks,' says he, 'grew even then more 'violent in devouring each other, when the fast-growing greatness 'of such a neighbour king as Philip should, in regard of their 'own safeties, have served them for a strong argument of union 'and concord. But the glory of their Persian victories, where- 'with they were pampered and made proud, taught them to ne- 'glect all nations but themselves; and the rather to value at little 'the power and purposes of the Macedonians, because those kings 'and states which sate nearer them than they did, had, in the 'time of Amyntas, the father of Philip, so much weakened them, 'and won upon them, that they were not in any one age (as the 'Grecians persuaded themselves) likely to recover their own; 'much less to work any wonders against their borderers. And, 'indeed, it was not in their philosophy to consider that all great 'alterations are, storm-like, sudden and violent; and that it is then 'overlate to repair the decayed and broken banks when great 'rivers are once swollen, fast running, and enraged. No; the 'Greeks did rather employ themselves in breaking down those 'defences which stood between them and this inundation, than 'seek to rampire and reinforce their own fields; which, by the 'level of reason, they might have found to have lain under it.' This passage, which reminds us of some similitudes of a much later day, in the writings of Burke, is far surpassed by that with which he closes his last book; where, looking back to the fallen monarchies whose history he had traced, and forward to the termination of that of Rome, he thus boldly and grandly sketches the outline of the vast historical picture which that far stretching view presented to his capacious and poetical mind. 'By 'this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning 'and end of the three first monarchies of the world; whereof the 'founders and erectors thought that they never would have ended. 'That of Rome, which made the fourth, was also at this time 'almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle

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'of the field, having rooted up or cut down all that kept it from 'the eyes and admiration of the world. But, after some con- 'tinuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of 'ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against 'another; her leaves shall fall off; her limbs wither; and a rabble 'of barbarous nations enter the field and cut her down.'

The foregoing observations and extracts may serve to furnish a general conception of the tenor and structure of this great work. Descending to a more particular survey, we shall find one of its most conspicuous features in those digressions, to the multiplicity of which we have already alluded. They occur more frequently in its earlier and more scholastic half; but the classical portion is not by any means free from them; of which we have one amongst sundry instances when this distinguished soldier steps aside from his immediate objects, to discuss the origin and history, and to reprobate the practice of duelling. Viewed with reference to the general laws of historical composition, they constitute a blemish; but it is in them that the richness and beauty of the author's imagination, and the originality of his thoughts, are most remarkably displayed; so that, when considered with reference to that portion of the work where they are most numerous, we are disposed to hail them as now constituting its chief recommendations. His tendency to digression manifests itself not only in distinct sections, and formal essays, but in a multitude of episodical observations and deductions. In the one or the other, we meet with many fine reflections upon the infelicities and vanities of life,—a topic which always calls forth strains of a singularly but sweetly melancholic and pathetic cast—upon death, another favourite topic—upon the attributes of the Deity—and upon the human soul, and the great powers and virtues with which it is endowed. In the one or the other, too, are scattered some remarkable proofs of his emancipation from the fetters of the schools, and of a near approach, both in respect of metaphysical and ethical science, to the soundest principles of modern philosophy. One of the greatest and most candid of our philosophers has himself acknowledged, that a singular anticipation by Raleigh, of his doctrine as to the 'fundamental laws of human 'belief, had been pointed out to him;'—observing 'that the 'coincidence between them in point of *expression*, though curious, 'is much less wonderful than the coincidence of the *thought* with 'the soundest logical conclusions of the eighteenth century.'* This is an honourable testimony to a remarkable fact; and the mention of it recalls what appears to us an anticipation of one of

* Stewart's *Philosophy of the Mind*, vol. ii. p. 598.

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the most startling conclusions of Malthus :—'The multitude of people,' says Raleigh, 'is such, that if by wars or pestilence 'they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the 'earth, *with all the industry of man, could not give them food.*'*

But it is to the Greek and Roman story that we would direct the attention of any one wishing to acquaint himself with Raleigh's peculiar merits. The narrative is throughout clear, spirited, and unembarrassed; replete with remarks disclosing the mind of the soldier and the statesman; and largely sprinkled and adorned with original, forcible, and graphic expressions. But this portion of the work has a still more remarkable distinction, when considered as the production of an age not yet formed to any high notions of international morality; namely, its invariable reprehension of wars of ambition, and its entire freedom from those illusions which have so largely biassed both historians and their readers in regard to the perfidies and cruelties exhibited in ancient, particularly Roman story. In this he appears to us to stand honourably distinguished from all preceding authors; but while he thus endeavours to moderate our admiration of the Romans, by awakening us to a strong perception of their national crimes, he does not fail to do justice to their manly virtues, their energy of character, and their public affections. This moral and judicial mode of viewing the achievements of the classical nations, and the providential lessons held out by history, joined with a singularly mournful tone of reflection on the instability of fortune, the miseries of humanity, and the ultimate fate of all in death, combine to give the work a character of individuality of the most marked description, and which separates it from all others of the class to which it belongs. Of its style, the fine passages above extracted will partly furnish the means of judging; but it would be necessary to peruse in continuation some considerable portion of the narrative on Grecian and Roman affairs, to have any just conception of its easy and equable flow—its clearness and animation—its sweetness and melody in the plaintive parts, and its general strength and dignity. In the structure of his periods, there was no writer of his day so entirely free from stiffness and pedantry. Against Hume's opinion, that he is the 'best model 'of our ancient style,' there is only, in as far as we know, one contrary voice. It is stated in Spence's 'Anecdotes,' that in talking 'over the design for a Dictionary, Pope rejected Sir Walter 'Raleigh twice, *as too affected.*' But there must, surely, be some mistake or misconception in this. We cannot imagine that such an opinion proceeded from Pope. His animated call for the

* *Hist. World*, B. I. chap. viii. § 4.

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revival of such 'words as wise Bacon and brave Raleigh spoke,' will be recollected by every one; and Mr Hallam only echoes the general sentiment of the learned, when he says, that Raleigh 'is less pedantic than most of his contemporaries, seldom low, *and* '*never affected.*'*

But what shall be said of the noted discovery, that this memorable work was, after all, only in part the legitimate produce of Raleigh's mind? Mr D'Israeli has, in his 'Curiosities of Liter-'ature,' favoured the world with what he calls its secret history;' in which he endeavours to show that its materials were contributed by several hands;—'the eloquent, the grand, and the 'pathetic passages interspersed' being alone his composition! This piece of 'secret history'—alike revolting and preposterous—was well rebutted by Mr Tytler; but it has more recently been examined, and with signal chastisement given to the winds, in a small publication, little known we suspect, though forming one of the most learned and acute contributions to literary history that has appeared in our day.†

We must observe, however, that Mr D'Israeli is not the only impugner of Raleigh's claims to his own workmanship; for, independently of Ben Jonson's assertion, 'that the best wits of 'England assisted in making his History,' we find that another eminent writer had made a similar allegation long before that of Jonson was communicated to the world. We allude to Algernon Sydney, who, in order to disparage Raleigh's authority as a political writer, broadly asserts '*that he was so well assisted in his* '*History of the World*, that an ordinary man, with the same 'helps, might have performed the same thing.'‡ Passing by the absurdity of the opinion combined with this allegation—an opinion so very absurd as greatly to disqualify the author's testimony—we may observe, that the existence of such a rumour as seems to be implied in it, is, in all probability, to be ascribed to the wonder occasioned by the production, in a state of separation from the world, of a work of such vast extent and erudition; and to the circumstance, that in such a condition of restraint some literary assistance must necessarily be required. That useful assistance of that description might be rendered by Raleigh's friends, yet without giving them any claims to authorship, or subtracting from the exclusiveness of his own, is too evident to require illustration. The supposition that Raleigh's share of

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* Hallam, *Hist. Lit.* vol. iii. p. 658.

† It is entitled, '*Curiosities of Literature, by J. D'Israeli, Esq., Illustrated.*' By Bolton Corney, Esq. It was published in 1837.

‡ Sydney *on Government*, p. 398.

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the work was limited to such interspersions as Mr D'Israeli figures, is utterly incapable of proof, and in fact inconceivable; and its absurdity and falsity may, we think, be demonstrated *à priori*, independently of that detailed refutation of his pretended authorities which is contained in the learned and searching publication to which we have referred.

In the first place, we hold it to be demonstrable by a critical examination of the work itself, that it is throughout the composition of a single mind; bearing, as it does in every paragraph, the impress of a unity and identity of literary labour which could only exist in the workmanship of one and the same hand. By no analyses of its structure, sequences, and wording, could it possibly be shown that there are in it any differences of composition, justifying the ascription of passages of one sort or order to Raleigh, and the rest to others. If, therefore, he received any of his materials from others, be they 'the best wits of Eng-'land' or not, they must have been so colliquated and amalgamated in the capacious alembick in which he commingled them—so welded and harmonized by the intellectual processes to which he subjected them—as to make them his own, just as much as the information abstracted from the printed authorities he consulted. Thus, if Jonson gave him, as he boasted to Drummond of Hawthornden, a piece on the Punic War, he must have used it just as he used the narratives of Livy and Polybius.

In the second place, let it be well remembered that the 'His-'tory of the World' was published, with his name, by a man in adversity—a state prisoner—hated by the Government—disliked by many—and who, three years after it saw the light, perished on the scaffold; and let it then be asked, whether any man so situate was likely to assume to himself exclusively the glory of an authorship to which he was only partially entitled? or whether, supposing him bold enough and shameless enough to make the venture, the plagiarism would not have soon transpired, and been greedily seized upon to blacken his character, and to swell the list of his impostures, at a time when the sovereign himself found it necessary to try, by that course, to lessen the indignation excited by his unwarrantable execution. Taking the case in either view, we think it impossible for any impartial mind to doubt that the 'History of the World' was wholly the composition of its reputed author; and therefore, when we find Dr Lingard* and Dr Southey limiting his share of it, but without a syllable of argument or proof, to what is capriciously meted out to him by a collector of anecdotes and compounder of 'secret histories,' we are

* *History of England.*

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constrained to think that they have done so upon very slender authority, and without any adequate acquaintance with the work itself, or consideration of the circumstances in which it appeared. Thus it is that history is made subservient to the dissemination of error. No lenity, surely, is due to those who thus recklessly attempt to rob of his legitimate honours one of the most eminent benefactors of our early literature, and to make the very work which sustains and glorifies his name a mean of disparaging it.

Of Raleigh's other literary productions, none but the account of Sir Richard Grenville's immortal action at the Azores, that of his own voyage to Guiana, and some poems, were printed during his life. Most of those attributed to him were published not merely after, but long subsequent to his death. We are, in consequence, left in great uncertainty as to the genuineness of several that bear his name; and even with respect to those of which he was indubitably the author, we have no information as to whether they were printed just as they came from his pen, or were in any respect altered. Four of his pieces were published under the sanction of his grandson; namely, his 'Discourse on the Invention of Shipping,' his 'Relation of the Action at Cadiz,' his 'Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant,' and the 'Apology for his Last Voyage to Guiana.' Of his political treatises, two—'The Cabinet Council,' and 'Maxims of State,'—had the honour of being given to the world by Milton. In an advertisement to the former, the illustrious editor states, that 'it was 'given to him for a true copy, by a learned man at his death;' and he gives it as his opinion, that 'it was answerable in style 'to the works of the eminent author already extant, as far as 'the subject would permit.' We have a similar statement by Dr Moore, Bishop of Ely, respecting another piece ascribed to him, entitled an 'Introduction to a Breviary of a History of England, 'with the Reign of William the First;' which was published by that learned Prelate. 'Whoever has been conversant,' says he, 'in the works of that accomplished knight, and acquainted with his 'great genius and spirit, and his manly and unaffected style, will 'make no doubt but what is now presented to the world was his 'genuine issue.' We have here a remarkable instance of the uncertainty of judging as to authorship by inferences from style merely; for we have ascertained, by a careful comparison, that this tract, instead of being the 'genuine issue' of Raleigh, is almost wholly excerpted from a 'History of England' by Samuel Daniel, published in 1618. Daniel was an excellent writer, and in some qualities of style, particularly ease and clearness, bore a resemblance to Raleigh, by which the Bishop seems to have been misled. Had he collated the piece with the work of Daniel, he could not have failed to discover that the bulk of it was copied,

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without any alteration whatever, from that publication. Besides the treatises published by Milton, there are several other political pieces ascribed to Raleigh, and perhaps with even better claims to the credit of his name. Of these the most noted is the 'Dia-'logue on the Prerogatives of Parliament.' This has been far more frequently referred to than any of his political productions;—a distinction which it owes to the support it has been supposed to afford to the favourers of monarchical power, and the high prerogatives claimed for the Stuarts. It has thus been appealed to as an authority both by Filmer and Hume. Mr Hallam, in alluding to it, observes, that its 'dedication to King James con-'tains terrible things; but that we must not suppose Raleigh 'meant what he said.'* In this we fully concur; for though Raleigh, doubtless with a view to propitiate an unrelenting master, sometimes, in his great work, gives a broad, sometimes a qualified support to the doctrine of the divine authority and irresponsibility of kings, he yet more frequently holds a language respecting the ends of government, the duties of sovereigns, and the means necessary to rule happily as well as gloriously, that might recommend him to the disciples of Fénélon rather than to those of Filmer. His real views are clearly enough manifested in the very piece, the dedication of which appears so 'terrible;' for it strongly inculcates the doctrine, that the happiness of the people is the great end of government; their good-will its best support; and that those kings who governed by parliaments reigned far more prosperously and successfully than those who wished to hold sovereign rule without, or in despite of them. But however disposed Raleigh may have been to set limits to the exercise of regal power, he has nowhere shown the least love of republicanism of any sort; nor has he any where spoken of liberty with enthusiasm. So far was he from cherishing the doctrine of equality in political rights, that he held there were multitudes 'whose disability to govern themselves proved them to be na-'turally slaves.' He accordingly viewed with an unfavourable eye the abolition of rural servitude or villanage; ascribing to it social evils of considerable magnitude. 'Since our slaves were 'made free, which were of great use and service, there are grown 'up,' he says, 'a rabble of rogues, cut-purses, and other the like 'trades—slaves in nature, though not in law.'† He seems always, both in speculation and in life, to have evinced a total want of sympathy with, if not a dislike of, the lower orders; and all authority vested in them was abhorrent alike to his feelings and

* *Constit. Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 377.
† *Hist. of the World*, B. V. c. ii. § 4.

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to his reason. His general sentiments on this head may be collected from a remark in his 'History,' when, speaking with reference to the people, he says, 'there is nothing in any state so 'terrible as a powerful and authorized ignorance.'

The originality and versatility of Raleigh's genius and pursuits, were strikingly exemplified in his acquaintance with the mechanical arts, and his addiction to experimental enquiries. His discourses on shipbuilding, the navy, and naval tactics, are, we believe, the earliest productions of the kind in the English language. We never have been able to account to ourselves for his extraordinary proficiency in nautical skill; for he had no prolonged practical training in seamanship at any period of his life, nor had he made many considerable voyages. His favour at court, his captures at sea, and his brilliant courage, procured *him* the rank of admiral, and employment as such on several important occasions; for naval rank was not yet regulated by any fixed rules of promotion; but, in point of fact, he rose to a reputation as a seaman not surpassed by any man of his day. After Drake and Hawkins disappeared from the scene, he seems, indeed, to have enjoyed a pre-eminence over all his contemporaries. Strong native predilections, and a wonderfully versatile and pliable mind, can alone explain that extraordinary skill to which he attained in maritime affairs. His small tracts on shipbuilding have often been referred to as evincing great practical knowledge, and as exercising a beneficial influence in this important department of national industry and power; but the most extensive, and probably the most instructive, of his treatises on naval subjects, has unfortunately disappeared. We refer to a discourse on 'the Art of War at Sea;'—'a subject,' he observes, 'which never has been handled by any man, ancient or 'modern.'* This, we believe, was true at the time. It was written for the information of his much-loved patron, Henry Prince of Wales; but it does not appear to have been completed; for, in alluding to it in his 'History,' he says, 'that God had spared 'him the labour of finishing it, by the death of that brave prince;—an event which he never ceased to bewail, and characterised as resembling 'an eclipse of the sun, whose effects are felt long 'after.' That a considerable portion of it was written seems certain; and we would fain hope may yet be discovered. Mr Tytler has printed an outline of its contents, from a manuscript preserved in the British Museum; from which it appears, that it was not limited to the subject of tactics, but included a wide range of topics connected with naval affairs. The vast im-

* *History of the World*, B. V. c. i. § 6.

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portance of the navy to a maritime and insular country like Britain, is a favourite subject with Raleigh; who, in his 'History,' generally seizes every opportunity of digressing upon it;—particularly with the view of showing, that to the navy alone can Britain trust for protection from invasion; and that a powerful navy is consequently indispensable, not merely as an instrument of national glory but of national independence.

That strong taste for experimental enquiry, which manifested itself so signally at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, and imparted a death-blow to the scholastic philosophy, found in Raleigh one of those inquisitive and ardent minds, sure to be roused to active research by the discovery of any new avenue to knowledge. He, like many other ingenious men, had already begun to exercise himself in some empirical attempts in that field which the exhortations and the precepts of Bacon were soon to lead numerous votaries to cultivate with more rational prospects of success. During his confinement in the Tower, he appears to have devoted a considerable portion of his time to chemical and pharmaceutical investigations; and interesting it is to see how his unsubdued spirit enabled him to make the most of his misfortunes, to surmount difficulties, and to turn ordinary things to extraordinary purposes; greatly, no doubt, to the amazement of those about him, who marvelled much to behold the splendid courtier and captain of a happier day, earnestly employing himself with chemical stills and crucibles in a vacant hen-house! He has converted, says Sir William Wade, the lieutenant of the Tower, in a letter to Cecil, 'a little hen-house 'in the garden into a still-house; and here he doth spend his time all the day in distillations.' This was written in 1605, probably before Raleigh had entered seriously upon the composition of his 'History,' which must thereafter have engrossed the better part of his time; but he, indeed, appears to have continued his experimental researches—as a recreation it may be—throughout the whole period of his confinement. Thus, in the recently published 'Diary' of the Reverend John Ward, we learn that he had met in 1661 with a very old chemist, named Mr Sampson, 'who was operator to Sir Walter Raleigh twelve 'years, whilst he was in the Tower, and who *told him many* '*things of Sir Walter.*' What things the old chemist actually recounted, this provoking diarist does not reveal; but as his recitals are generally wholly unworthy of attention, we the less regret his silence as to Raleigh. Some references to his experimental pursuits are made by other writers of the time; particularly by Bishop Hall, who mentions them as amongst the happy results of his separation from the busy world. But, in point of fact, nothing of any utility to mankind resulted from them,—a con-

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elusion nowise invalidated by his composition of a 'cordial,' so famous in his own day as to be administered to the Queen and the Prince of Wales, when dangerously ill, and which long continued in great repute. Thus Evelyn tells us, in his 'Diary,' that in 1662, he 'accompanied King Charles the Second to 'Monsieur Febure, his chemist, to see his accurate preparation 'of Sir Walter Raleigh's cordial;' and an elaborate discourse upon it was, by command of his Majesty, written and published by this chemist, who extols it as a signal example of the great advantages which modern pharmacy had reaped from chemical science.*

Of the poetry coupled with Raleigh's name, there is much of the authenticity of which we have no certainty. His fine imagination has left its impress on the pages of his 'History,' no less than on its more appropriate ground, the productions of his 'sweetly tempered muse;'† but its exercise in poetical composition was chiefly, though not entirely, limited to the early part of his life. His reputation, according to Puttenham, was then high in 'ditty and amorous odes;' but, from an allusion in one of Spenser's sonnets, and some verses of his own, he appears to have meditated the invocation of a loftier muse—

'The famous acts of worthy Brute to write'—

a design, from the execution of which, if ever seriously entertained, the struggles and turmoils of his ambitious career effectually withdrew him. With his charming answer to Marlow's 'Invitation to Love,' and the magnificent sonnet on the 'Fairy 'Queen,' all readers of English poetry must be acquainted. We should be inclined to hold it impossible for any cultivated mind not to be struck with strong admiration of the felicitous conception and beautiful imagery and expression of this truly noble sonnet. The lyric muse of Italy seems to have here lent her inspiration to a congenial votary. 'Milton,' says Sir Egerton Brydges, 'had deeply studied this sonnet, for in his composi-'tions of the same class, he has evidently more than once its 'very rhythm and construction, as well as cast of thought.' To this warm but tasteful admirer of Raleigh's poems, we are indebted for a collected edition of them;‡ but he does not appear to have instituted any searching enquiries for the purpose of verifying them; and there are several in the collection, respect-

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* *Discours sur le Grand Cordial de Sir W. Raleigh.* Par N. Le Febure. 12mo. 1665.

† 'Full sweetly tempered is that muse of his.' Spenser's *Colin Clout.*

‡ Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh, now first collected; with a biographical and critical Introduction. 12mo. 1814.

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ing the authenticity of which we are thus left in disagreeable uncertainty.

Much as we have exceeded our limits, we cannot leave the subject of Raleigh's writings without briefly noticing that edition of them—the first aspiring to be complete—which the Directors of the Clarendon Press have given to the world. It was to Oxford that the public was best entitled to look for such an undertaking; and we heartily wish that the monument she has erected to the memory of her renowned son had been more worthy of his name and her resources.

Long previous to this edition, namely in 1751, there appeared a collection of Raleigh's miscellaneous pieces, with a new account of his life, by Dr Birch. Neither as biographer nor editor, can any thing be said in his commendation. Of the life we have already spoken; of his editorial judgment and care the collection furnishes no traces. He says nothing of the texts used in the reprints, omits printed pieces of unquestionable authenticity, inserts others which are spurious, and is quite silent as to the objects character and literary history of the whole. We are sorry to say that his Oxford successors have not, in any very material degree, surpassed him in the miscellaneous portion of their publication. It is indeed augmented with the pieces omitted by him, and one or two others not before printed, and with some letters; but it is equally wanting in critical enquiry and literary illustration, and liable to the same censure of blending what is spurious with what is genuine. Here, accordingly, we find the tract excerpted from the historical work of Samuel Daniel; and here also appears a discourse on 'Trade and Commerce with the 'Hollander and other Nations,' falsely ascribed to Raleigh; the real author being, in all probability, an alderman of London, of the name of Cockaigne.* Mr Tytler has expressed some surprise at their omission of Raleigh's 'Journal of his Second 'Voyage to Guiana,' which exists in his handwriting in the British Museum. This omission is not, however, at all censurable; for that journal is so incomplete, and so full of chasms, as to be, in fact, quite unfit for publication. But there does exist another piece on Guiana by Raleigh, with which Mr Tytler was evidently unacquainted; and which, being entire, and extremely curious, ought unquestionably to have been included in their publication. It is entitled 'Considerations on the Voyage to 'Guiana,' and is preserved amongst the manuscripts of Sir Hans Sloane.† This singular production—for the authenticity of

* See Smith's *Memoirs of Wood*, vol. i. p. 144.
† Bibl. Sloan. 1223. Plut. xxi. D.

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which we have the strongest internal evidence—appears to have been written soon after the publication of his celebrated voyage, and to have been intended to remove objections to his plans, and to show that an alliance, highly beneficial to England, might be easily effected with the sovereign of El Dorado! In one respect, Raleigh's Oxford editors deserve commendation,—namely, in returning to the text of the original edition of the 'History of the World;' instead of reprinting the edition of Oldys, commonly, but very erroneously, denominated the best. We do not pretend to have perused the work in their edition, and cannot therefore say any thing as to its correctness; but we observe that they have noticed several discrepancies between the first and the after editions; and it cannot for a moment be questioned that they have exercised a sound discretion in returning to it, in their reprint. But notwithstanding this recommendation, and even overlooking the truly ludicrous feature of its being encumbered with two obsolete lives, we have said enough to show that the present cannot be viewed as a satisfactory edition, or at all creditable to the university from which it issues. In point even of typographical beauty, it is vastly inferior to many productions of the Clarendon Press; and if its Directors cannot achieve more, it is much to be wished that they would separate the 'History of the World' from its ill-edited accompaniments, and reproduce it by itself in a more worthy form.

Bishop Hall has ascribed to Raleigh's long imprisonment, which ended in March 1615, some moral results which the subsequent events of his life do not bear out. 'The court,' says he, 'had his youthful and freer years; the Tower his latter age. The 'Tower reformed the courtier in him, and produced those worthy 'monuments of art and industry which we should have in vain 'expected from his freedom and jollity.' Had his life ended with the production of these 'worthy monuments,' it might indeed have been thought that seclusion from the world had in reality, 'reformed the courtier.' It might have been believed that those plaintive reflections on the vanities of life, with which his great work is so richly strewn, were really the outpourings of an awakened conscience, and evidences of a great change in the moral habits of the man. But he lived to furnish a humiliating proof of the lamentable inconsistencies of human nature, even in the strongest minds,—to show that the same man may, in the closet, reason like a sage on cupidity and ambition, and in active life pursue with avidity the commonest objects of desire—may declaim against gold as 'a high and shining idol,' with which the great enemy of mankind lures them on to destruction,

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and yet sacrifice character and life in its pursuit—may contemn death, nay smile upon it in its most revolting form, and yet try to escape from it by the most degrading artifices!

It was neither owing to any inborn feeling of clemency, nor to any merciful sense of the sufficiency of the punishment already inflicted, that King James was induced to consent to Raleigh's liberation. It was owing in part, perhaps, to a newly begotten notion of the possibility of reaping some benefit from Raleigh's mining speculation, if he should be allowed to prosecute it; but more immediately and certainly to bribery;—the grand expedient, in that most venal age, for smoothing the road to royal favour. Applications for his liberation had been made by the Queen, by her brother the King of Denmark, and by the Prince of Wales, but without success; and even without procuring any material relaxation of the strictness of his confinement; for in a letter to the Queen, written in the eighth year of his captivity, we find him complaining that he was as 'closely locked up 'as at the first day.' But the death of Cecil, and the disgrace of Somerset, who had been enriched by the gift of his estate, removed some formidable obstacles; and having succeeded in inducing the new Secretary of State, Sir Ralph Winwood, to recommend his project—not of searching for El Dorado, for he seems to have abandoned that design—but of opening a mine in Guiana, 'as not being a matter in the air, or speculative, but 'real;' and having, moreover, presented the uncles of the new favourite Buckingham with the sum of fifteen hundred pounds, on condition that they should procure his intercession with the King, the long-closed gates of the Tower were at last opened for his exit. It was many years afterwards stated by his son, that another equal bribe would have procured a full pardon; but that, having consulted Lord Bacon as to whether the commission empowering him to proceed to Guiana did not imply one, and having received an opinion in the affirmative, he dismissed from his thoughts all idea of making such a sacrifice. That such an opinion was given by Bacon, seems as improbable as it is that James would have acceded to the solicitation. He has himself stated that he had resolved to withhold a pardon, in order the more effectually to hold Raleigh in subjection;* and, as the statement is in accordance with his known cunning and timidity, we cannot doubt that it was true. It would have been well, however, for his character, as the sequel showed, had his kingcraft on this occasion permitted him to assume the appearance,

* Declaration, published after Raleigh's execution.

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at least, of clemency, by giving his prisoner a pardon when he consented to set him free.

If we are to believe Raleigh himself, it was mainly to obtain the power of revisiting Guiana that liberty was coveted by him. That envied region had never ceased to engage his thoughts. Even when 'reasoning high' as to the all-corrupting influence of gold, his heart was fixed upon its imaginary mines. The composition of his great work did not in the least divert his attention from them. He, in fact, maintained a constant correspondence with that country; and he appears to have made frequent applications to the government to listen to proposals for verifying his accounts of its wealth. Something like an agreement appears to have, at one time, been nearly brought about, for enabling Captain Keymis to proceed thither, in order to import as much gold ore as should satisfy the King that they were in the knowledge of a mine in its interior. We have before us a copy of a truly curious document, of the date of 1611, preserved amongst the Harleian manuscripts, and which contains the substance of an agreement between Raleigh and the government, to the above effect.* The following is its principal condition:—'If 'Keymis, after being guarded to the place, shall fail to bring to 'England half a ton, or as much more as he shall be able to take up, 'of that *slate gold ore whereof I have given a sample*, then all the 'charge of the journey shall be laid upon me—*by me to be satisfied:* but should half a ton be brought home, I am to have my 'liberty; and in the meantime, my pardon under the Great Seal 'is to be lodged in his Majesty's hands till the end of the journey.' With the publication of this paper, which now takes place for the first time, the disputed question as to Raleigh's belief in the existence of gold mines in Guiana, must be viewed as ended. Here we see him so confident in that belief as to take upon himself a risk which, should failure ensue, would, as the document at its close bears, occasion the ruin of himself and his family! Why this extraordinary agreement—for, considering its nature, its occasion, and its parties, it does appear truly extraordinary—was not farther proceeded in, does not appear. It was to its abandonment, in all probability, that Raleigh alludes in the following extract from a letter to the Queen, by whom he had always been befriended, written in the ninth year of his imprisonment. 'I did lately

* Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 39, p. 340. This singular document is in the form of a letter, but is entitled, 'Agreement between Sir Walter Raleigh and the Lords, for the Journey to Guiana, to be performed 'by Captain Keymes in 1611.'

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'presume,' he says, 'to send unto your Majesty the copy of a 'letter * to my Lord Treasurer touching Guiana. That there is 'nothing done therein I could not but wonder with the world, 'did not the malice of the world exceed the wisdom thereof.' † It is painful to observe his palpable insincerity when, in the sequel, he disclaims all personal interest in the matter; calling the 'everliving God to witness' that he is actuated solely by the desire to 'approve his faith to his Majesty, and to do him a service such as hath seldom been performed for any king.' Yet was Guiana so constant and precious an object of his thoughts and purposes, that he was at a considerable yearly expense, as he himself tells us,‡ to preserve a communication with that country; not only by sending out vessels, but even by causing some of the natives to be brought to England to confer with him in the Tower, and to carry back to their countrymen assurances of his return. We shall immediately see, besides, how lightly the desire to 'approve his faith' sat upon his thoughts, when he was actually upon the eve of revisiting Guiana.

Though it was not a condition of Raleigh's release that he was to proceed thither to open a mine, it was well understood that his liberation took place with reference to that object. The commission which he obtained did not, however, make any mention of that particular region: it referred generally only to such parts of America as were unappropriated by other states—conferring ample powers to search for all such articles and commodities therein as might be useful to commerce. The silence as to Guiana was no doubt thought necessary to exonerate the Government, in the event of Raleigh's invasion of any part of it where the Spaniards might have settled. His intention to open a gold mine, in a particular quarter, and the route he intended to follow, were fully explained in letters to the King; in which he also bound himself to abstain from all hostile inroads into any of the settlements of Spain. He afterwards loudly complained of the communication to the King of Spain of his intended route—the Spaniards being thereby enabled, as he alleged, to obstruct his progress; but, in point of fact, they only augmented their means of defence in their own settlements; and it does not appear to us that James acted dishonourably, or otherwise than in consistency with the usages of

* The agreement was in the form of a letter.

† This letter, of which we long ago procured a copy from the State Paper Office, has been printed, with some other valuable documents, in the Appendix to Mrs Thomson's Life of Raleigh, p. 493.

‡ Apology for his Last Voyage to Guiana.

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civilized nations, in making such a communication. The vehement representations of the Spanish ambassador rendered it necessary to satisfy him in this particular; and certainly, as he offered, on the part of Spain, to guarantee Raleigh's safety if his only object was to work a mine in the desert parts of Guiana, there was much force in the allegation that there must be some latent design in his setting out, for such a purpose, with so great an armament as was in preparation. Indeed, considering Raleigh's unscrupulous character, his wasted fortune, and his being bred in a school which viewed the 'Spanish Indies' as a fair field of booty, it seems altogether astonishing that James's ministers should have allowed him to sail with a fleet of such magnitude and force as that which he collected. His repeated asseveration of pacific intentions, and that his being strongly armed was for defence only, joined perhaps with the recollection of some former breaches of the national faith of Spain to British subjects trading to America, seem to have shut their eyes to the consequences but too likely to ensue. Their easy faith was, however, far more surprising than the credulity of those who became sharers in the expense and risks of the adventure. Raleigh's reputation, always great in naval affairs, had been raised to a high pitch for wisdom by the publication of his History.* The belief that he was sincere, and that he could not be deceived either as to the existence of the mine proposed to be opened, or as to the advantages of Guiana as a place of settlement, might not unreasonably be entertained by many; particularly as it was known that he was to embark in the undertaking his whole remaining fortune, as well as that of his wife. It does not therefore seem surprising that it should have attracted many eager associates,—all in imagination grasping golden returns, whilst some might expect to possess themselves of the means of a profitable commerce.

With whatever hopes or views brought together, a fleet consisting of no less than thirteen vessels was in a few months collected. Some of them were of considerable size, and all carried a proportionable number of cannon. The assembling of such a fleet, so equipped, under so renowned a commander, and for purposes so uncommon, could not fail to excite strong curiosity; and we have one proof of its having done so, in the fact that it was visited by all the ambassadors resident at the British Court. Raleigh's own ship, 'The Destiny,' had been built under his special directions; and in a particular degree engaged the attention of the foreign ministers. But there are circumstances

* Carte, vol. iv. p. 49.

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connected with the visits of the French ambassador, which deeply affect Raleigh's honour, and as to which none of his biographers appear to have had any information whatever. Subsequently to his recommitment to the Tower, after his return from this unhappy voyage, he is said to have averred, that though the French ambassador had visited his ship, previous to his sailing, he had done so like the rest, only once, and merely from curiosity; and that nothing of any moment passed between them.* Unfortunately for Raleigh's veracity, as well as loyalty, for which he to his last hour took full credit, the despatches of this very ambassador, Count Desmarests, tell a different tale. We have before us copies, taken from the originals in the French Archives, of four despatches written by him to his Government; and from which it appears that he had visited the ship, not once merely, but several times. But this is not all, or nearly all. He describes Raleigh as in the highest degree discontented; as representing himself to have been unjustly imprisoned and stripped of his estate—in a word, most tyrannically used; and as having, on that account, *resolved to abandon his country, and to make the King of France the first offer of his services and acquisitions, if his enterprise, from which he confidently expected great results, should succeed.*† The ambassador does not appear to have anticipated much from it; but he of course made a courteous reply —assuring Raleigh of a favourable reception from his master, and encouraging him to place himself at his disposal. That the Count Desmarests attributed to Raleigh no sentiments respecting King James but what he really expressed, needs not be doubted; yet we find him afterwards representing this alleged oppressor as an impersonation of 'goodness,' and vowing that it was his dearest wish 'to die for him'—nay, 'to be torn in pieces in his ser-'vice!' And when we recollect his having, in his letter to the Queen, invoked the 'everliving God to witness,' that in prosecuting his Guianian project, his main wish was to 'approve his 'faith to his Majesty, and to do him a service such as has been

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* This averment, to which Mr Tytler gives full credit, was made to Sir Thomas Wilson,—a sort of spy employed by the Government. A very curious record of their conversations, kept by this person, is preserved in the State-Paper Office, under the title of 'A relation of what 'hath passed and been observed by me since my coming to Sir Walter 'Raleigh.' Extracts from this paper have been printed both by Mr Jardine and Mr Tytler, to which we are indebted for all that we know of its contents.

† These Despatches bear the dates of 12th January, 17th and 30th March, and 24th April, 1617. We regret that we cannot make room for extracts. The words in Italics are translated from the last Despatch.

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'but seldom done for any Prince,' and find him afterwards proposing to transfer to the King of France all the beneficial results of that very project, it seems impossible to arrive at any conclusion by which to relieve his character from heavy blame. If it should be thought that his only object in making such a tender of his services and acquisitions was to bespeak favour with France, in the event of his being obliged, by failure or otherwise, to seek refuge abroad—which we are inclined to think was the case—this mitigated view of his conduct would still leave him exposed to the imputation of practising deceit in a friendly quarter, and of harbouring sinister designs. If, on the other hand, he is to be taken at his word, and considered as having intimated to the ambassador what he really intended to perform, then must we view him as destitute alike of honesty, loyalty, and patriotism. Melancholy it is that the charity of a better age, looking indulgently upon the unhappy circumstances of his lot, is so often needed to apologize for the moral deflections of this extraordinary man, whom we would fain believe to have possessed those attributes which secure respect, equally with those which command admiration.

From these observations, which press so severely upon his memory, but which the sacred claims of history seem to demand, we pass to the mention of those occurrences connected with the voyage, which have furnished matter of doubt or controversy. There is, unfortunately, much want of information as to several important particulars; but in as far as regards that catastrophe, which, viewing its consequences, may be said to constitute the principal feature of the expedition—the sacking of St Thomas—there are tolerably explicit details; and to which we shall be able to add somewhat, by a very plain and unscrupulous letter, not hitherto published, written by one of the officers who was in command on the occasion. Of the Spanish accounts of that and the connected occurrences, none of Raleigh's biographers, with the exception of Dr Southey, have made any use;—indeed, they do not appear to have been aware of their existence. His accurate acquaintance with the work of Father Simon, has enabled him to impart considerable novelty to this portion of his narrative, by a graphical abstract derived from that historian. We are happy in any opportunity, however unimportant, of commending a performance which, from our respect for the genius and powers of writing possessed by its author, we have been unwilling to censure; but to which duty we have been constrained, on so often finding it so little worthy of either his industry or his talents.

After sundry delays and disasters, Raleigh's fleet reached the coast of Guiana about the middle of November; but he was

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then so unwell that he could not himself ascend the Orinocco. He therefore appointed his steady follower Captain Keymis, who had visited the country before, and represented himself as well acquainted with the situation of the mine proposed to be opened, to conduct the exploring party, which consisted of five companies of fifty soldiers each. The navigation into the interior occupied a month. On their being disembarked near St Thomas, a small town erected by the Spaniards on a settlement adjacent to the river, a conflict took place, in which the governor fell, as did Raleigh's eldest son; and the Spaniards having retreated, and been pursued into the town, where they defended themselves by firing from the windows, the English, it being built of wood, set fire to it; when its defenders and inhabitants fled, and were dispersed. Keymis thereafter proceeded, with a small party of gentlemen and soldiers, to search for the mine, which he represented as situate at no great distance; and in this vain quest they spent about twenty days, during which they were frequently fired upon from the woods, and suffered considerable loss. Keymis, at last, thought proper to desist from the search, and fell back upon St Thomas; from whence the whole body returned to Trinidad, where their disappointed and unhappy commander, still unwell, was lying at anchor.

It appears from the narrative of Father Simon, that the English made anxious enquiries amongst their prisoners as to the gold mines in the neighbourhood; * but he does not, at least in express terms, say that it was for the opening of mines they had ascended the Orinocco. The time employed in sounding it, at various points, joined with their seemingly anxious desire to conciliate the natives, and to excite them to resistance against the Spaniards, led to the belief that their main purpose was to colonize in that neighbourhood. † That colonization formed a principal part of Raleigh's plans there can be no doubt; and the reception he experienced from the natives, in the intercourse which he held with them upon the coast, satisfied him that they would lend a cordial support to his schemes. He lived so much in their remembrance, that he found, as he wrote to his wife, that he might be a 'king amongst them.' This was the only cheering result he experienced from this disastrous voyage; and it seems clear enough that he indulged the hope of being yet able to return and to avail himself of their good-will; but the destruction of St Thomas, and the occurrences that forced him back to England, made the scaffold the termination of his ill-fated career. With respect to that operation, so momentous in his history, the Spa-

* Simon, pp. 643, 662.

† Ib. p. 656.

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nish accounts themselves bear, that the firing commenced upon their side; but this only because the advance of the English troops left no doubt of their hostile intentions. There can be no question that its capture was, from the first, resolved upon. The following unpublished letter proves that the English disembarked for that express purpose. The ferocious sentiments engendered by disappointment, and the unscrupulous determination which it avows to seek compensation in piracy, are not the least remarkable parts of it. Its writer, Captain Parker, commanded one of the five companies into which the invading force was divided. 'We were a month,' he says, 'going up the Ori-'nocco. At last we landed within a league of St Thomas, and 'about one of the clock at night we made an assault, when we 'lost Captain Raleigh. But he lost himself with his unad-'vised rashness. The Spaniard was not strong, and mistrusting 'our potency fled, and lost their governor, with some other cap-'tains, who bravely died. When we were possessed of the town, 'Captain Keymis took divers gentlemen with him to find the 'mine, and trifled up and down some twenty days, keeping 'us in hope still of finding it. But at last we found his delays 'mere illusions; for he was false to all men, and most odious to 'himself, *loathing to live since he could do no more villany.* I 'will speak no more of this hateful fellow to God and man. But 'I will inform you as near as I can what we that stay shall trust 'to. We have divided ourselves already: Captains Whitney 'and Wollaston are consorted to look for *homeward-bound men.* 'The Admiral and Vice-Admiral will for Newfoundland to re-'victual, and after, to the Western Islands *to look for homeward-'bound* men. For my part, by the permission of God, I will 'make a voyage, or bury myself in the sea.'* This letter bears conclusively upon points which directly impeach the rectitude of Raleigh's intentions and proceedings. No one who peruses it can doubt that he had resolved, before leaving England, to take forcible possession of St Thomas; and, consequently, that all his pacific professions were feigned. Nor, supposing there were no other proofs, could any one who reads it impartially doubt, that the failure as to the mine was followed by a resolution, to which he was a party, to seek indemnification in a piratical onset upon the Spanish colonial shipping. When Gondomar obtained an audience of King James to complain of

* 'Letter written by Captain Charles Parker, one of Sir W. Raleigh's 'Company, to Captain Alley. An. 1617.' Brit. Mus. Granb. MSS. 39, p. 342. We have, for the sake of brevity, omitted one or two sentences of no importance.

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Raleigh's breach of the peace, he contented himself with thrice exclaiming *piratos!* and then withdrew. Captain Parker's letter shows that this emphatic exclamation was not without warrant; but of this there are other proofs.

The suicide of Keymis, so uncharitably alluded to in this letter, is one of the most striking occurrences of this unwarrantable enterprise. On rejoining his commander, he endeavoured to justify his abandonment of the search for the mine by stating, that he had not a sufficient force either to enable him to persevere, or to open it to any purpose, though discovered; and, finding that his excuses were not only rejected, but that he was received with continued reproaches as the sole cause of the ruin that was certain to ensue, he passed a few days in sullen abstraction, and then shot himself, by discharging a pistol at his breast. Such was the determination of this unfortunate man, that he had recourse to a knife, which he plunged into his side, on finding that the ball, from having struck upon a rib, did not immediately take effect. The account of his former voyage to Guiana, shows that he was a firm believer in the mineral riches of that region. He was, in short, like his leader, the dupe of those deceptious appearances which had procured for it so fatal a renown; and the curious agreement before recited proves, that Raleigh was ready to stake his fortune and liberty upon Keymis's knowledge of the existence of a gold mine in its interior. The supposition that his suicide was the result of remorse, seems equally absurd and uncharitable. What could a subordinate agent in the adventure gain by feigning a belief which he did not feel? That belief was not the profession of the day, but the creed of his life. That it was counterfeited to advance Raleigh's plans never was insinuated, even in the Royal 'Declaration.' Indeed, it is not upon that supposition conceivable that Keymis would have been so stung by his leader's reproaches as to put himself to death. It may be difficult, if not impossible, to account for any suicide, the motives of which are not authoritatively made known, or in some way exactly ascertained; but the truth with respect to Keymis's would seem to be, that, believing firmly in the existence of a mine in the neighbourhood of St Thomas, and being awakened by the reproaches of his old commander to a full sense of the ruinous consequences of its non-discovery, he was prompted by a strong feeling of shame and grief, arising from the thought that he had too hastily abandoned the search, to destroy himself. His being uncertain, from the state of Raleigh's health when he left him, whether he should, on his return, find him alive—a fact which he is said to have pleaded in defence of his conduct—renders this the only probable supposition that can be formed.

Raleigh, in one of his letters written at this time, says, that

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'God had given him a strong heart.' But, strong as it was, it sustained some trying blows from the disappointment of the hopes which he had so confidently built upon the mine, the loss of his son, the death by his own hand of one of his most faithful followers, and the angry comments of those who 'hungered and thirsted 'for gold;'—the most worthless being, as he said, the most clamorous, and the surest to try to injure him on their return to England. He was not, however, of a temperament to allow these disasters to sink him into inaction. The spirit of the Drakes and the Cavendishes was at work in his thoughts, impelling him to enterprises similar to those which made their names terrible in the American seas. Though still weak from illness, he speedily set sail for Newfoundland, intending there to revictual and refit his ships for the prosecution of his ulterior designs. But before he reached that place, most of them seem to have dispersed to follow other fortunes; and, on his arrival, a mutiny took place amongst his own crew, some wishing to continue at sea, the majority to return to England. With the latter he was forced, as is said in the Royal 'Declaration,' to acquiesce and return—his intention being, as is there asserted, very different; whilst he, on the other hand, averred that such was from the first his determination. To us it appears certain that his resolution was, if possible, to keep at sea; and, indeed, the letters which he wrote to several persons in England, before arriving at Newfoundland, leave no room for any doubt as to this. From a careful consideration of some passages in these and other documents, we think it more than probable that it was his intention to make another attempt upon the mines of Guiana; and altogether unquestionable, that he had resolved, in the mean time, to try his fortune at the expense of the Spanish carracks. But the dispersion of his fleet, and the insubordination of his own crew, frustrated both purposes.

That piracy was in his immediate view, it would be vain to deny. Captain Parker's letter only confirms what always appeared to us to be clearly implied in his own letters; in one of which to his wife, he expresses his hope 'that God would send 'him something before his return;'—which could only mean something in the way of capture. But there is further and conclusive evidence of the fact. It appears that at one of the meetings of the Commission appointed, after his return, to enquire into his conduct, he was examined upon this point, in presence of two of his captains, and constrained to make a confession which settles the question. There is a minute of the proceedings of this Commission, in the handwriting of Sir Julius Cæsar, one of the body, which bears that, 'on being confronted with Cap-'tains St Leger and Pennington, *he confessed that he proposed*

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'*the taking of the Mexico fleet, if the mine failed.*'* Mr Tytler could not have been aware of this decisive admission, otherwise he would not have attempted to discredit the following remarkable anecdote, preserved in Sir Thomas Wilson's report of his conversations with Raleigh:—'This day,' says the spy, 'he told 'me what discourse he and my Lord Chancellor had had about 'taking the Plate fleet, which he *confessed he would have taken* '*had he lighted upon it.* To which my Lord Chancellor said— '"Why, you would have been a Pirate." Oh, quoth he, did 'you ever know of any that were Pirates for millions? they only 'that work for small things are Pirates.' Looking to the character in which Wilson writes, and unacquainted with Raleigh's admission in presence of the Commissioners, Mr Tytler represents the report of the former as more than suspicious; adding, however, inconsistently enough, that the observation ascribed to Raleigh 'is characteristic.' If characteristic, does not that imply authenticity? The observation is indeed strongly stamped with Raleigh's mind and character; and his intentions respecting the Plate fleet being otherwise certain, we cannot for a moment doubt that it was truly reported.

Raleigh returned to Plymouth in July 1618, about a year after he sailed for Guiana. The want of any publications devoted to contemporary occurrences, leaves us but scantily informed of the opinions then current as to his views and conduct. That the expedition itself attracted considerable notice, abroad as well as at home, is certain. Thus we find the celebrated Peiresc expressing, in a letter to Camden, great commiseration for Raleigh's misfortunes, and an anxious wish to be furnished with any account of his voyage that might be published.† The fullest notices, in as far as we know, of domestic opinions, are those contained in two of Howell's once popular 'Letters;'‡ the one written about the time of Raleigh's return, the other some years later, and more important; as being an answer to a remonstrance from Sir Carew Raleigh, respecting certain statements unfair, as he thought, to his father, contained in the first. From these letters we learn that Raleigh's return, unpardoned as he was, occasioned great and general surprise; and that his representations as to the mine were viewed as 'airy and supposititious;'—merely thrown out as a lure to draw adventurers to Guiana, for the purpose of there establishing a colony.

That Raleigh, unsuccessful, unpardoned, and a flagrant breaker

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* Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 142, fo. 412.
† Camdeni *Epistolæ*, p. 243.
‡ Howell, pp. 21, 383, 11th ed.

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of the peace, should have returned voluntarily—thereby, to use words attributed to himself, 'to put his neck under the King's 'girdle,'—appears to us utterly incredible. It is true that he ever asserted, even upon the scaffold, that it was his firm purpose to return, whether successful or not; but it is nevertheless unquestionable, as his own letters before mentioned show, that an *immediate* return, which certainly did take place, was far enough from his intentions. The recollection, too, of what passed between him and the French ambassador previous to his departure, makes his assertion on this point more and more questionable; and, indeed, renders the consideration of what is due to his dying declaration exceedingly embarrassing and painful. It may have been his intention, perhaps, to return, but only when he could do so enriched or successful; for we have seen what his notions were as to piracy upon the great scale; and it was a maxim of his 'that good success admits of no examination.'* This would enable us to interpret his assertion with reference to some future time; and is, seemingly, the only charitable construction that can be adopted.† Such are the difficulties which he has thrown in the way of any satisfactory reliance upon his veracity and integrity! How mortifying to think that the history of his life so often produces a painful struggle between feeling and reason—between the natural wish to believe him as exalted in moral as in intellectual perfections, and the unwelcome truths which his actual conduct forces upon our convictions!

From the imputation of deceit connected with the mine, we

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* See his 'Apology.'

† In the before-mentioned letter from Sir Carew Raleigh to Mr Howell, (which, however, was written many years after the event in question, he being then a youth,) it is stated that the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke had become personally bound to the King for Raleigh's return; and that his immediate re-appearance in England was owing to his honourable resolution to release them from that obligation. This explanation is adopted by Mr Jardine. But that learned writer has himself repudiated Sir Carew's authority in regard to another statement made by him in the same letter; namely, that Lord Bacon had given it as his opinion that the Commission to Raleigh implied a pardon; and it is quite inconceivable that Sir Walter himself would not have proudly appealed to such a fact, if true, in his 'Apology,' and at his execution. The story has evidently originated from what passed on the scaffold, where, the Earl of Arundel being present, Raleigh addressing him said, that he had given him his *promise* to return; but without once hinting at his having returned to free him and the Earl of Pembroke from any cautionary pledge.

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have already, as we think, triumphantly relieved him.* To this topic we only therefore revert, in order to state what transpired in regard to it, at the investigations which took place in presence of the before-mentioned Commission. The Attorney-General, Yelverton, having there alleged that Raleigh did not carry out any miners or instruments for mining, as he would have done had he really intended to open a mine; it was distinctly asserted by him in reply, that he incurred an expense of two thousand pounds in providing both; †—an averment which, if not substantially true, would assuredly have been rebutted by those of the expedition with whom he appears to have been then confronted.

As there was no actual commission of piracy, the only overt act of a criminal description with which Raleigh could be charged, was the invasion and partial destruction of the settlement and town of St Thomas. These unjustifiable aggressions must have originated in the belief that this small town was in the immediate neighbourhood of gold mines, that it had been erected on account of that proximity, and was probably rich in accumulated ores; and that its possession was, moreover, necessary to the successful prosecution of the intended operations. Inconsiderable in itself, situate at a great distance from the coast, and approachable only by a dangerous navigation, there were no other inducements sufficient to account for Raleigh's hostile proceedings. That these inducements furnished no apology for his conduct, is clear enough. His defence of it, however, as maintained in his 'Apology,' was dexterous and plausible; and well suited to rouse responsive feelings in the breasts of his countrymen. He strongly urged that he was the original discoverer of Guiana, that he had taken possession of it, in the usual form, in name of the late Queen, that its chiefs had sworn allegiance to her and to England, that the King had himself recognised the rights thence resulting by granting sundry patents of settlement, and by authorizing himself to open a mine in it; and that he was therefore entitled to enter it by force, and forcibly to

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* The belief in the great metallic wealth of Guiana, and that in El Dorado, form different questions. With respect to the latter, it appears to us as not unlikely that his opinions had undergone some change in the three-and-twenty years that elapsed between his first and his last voyage. Further enquiries or information may have led to this; and it has struck us as remarkable, that he does not once allude to El Dorado in any of his later proposals to the Government, or in any document connected with his last voyage.

† Minute of proceedings, in the handwriting of Sir Julius Cæsar. Lansdowne MSS. 142, fo. 412.

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remove any obstacles that prevented the accomplishment of his authorized design. But to all these arguments there was this brief, yet decisive answer,—that, in point of fact, the Spaniards had made a settlement in a particular spot of this vast region; and that he invaded and ravaged it, though bound, as well by his private assurances as by the laws of nations, not to interfere with the possessions of any friendly power. Had he informed the Government that there was such a settlement in the quarter where the mine was alleged to be situate, he would not have been permitted, as he was well aware, to approach it; but this he concealed, as was by himself admitted ;*—a fact which directly impeaches his fairness and sincerity, and obliges us to conclude that his pacific professions were intended merely as blinds for others, not as bonds upon himself. With that success which he doubtless anticipated, he might probably imagine that he should be able—if it really was his intention to return to England—to procure immunity for any hostile trespass; and it cannot well be doubted, that his proceedings would indeed have been viewed with a very different eye, had success been possible and actually attained. In judging of his conduct, in the actual circumstances, we ought, blameable as it must to us appear, to give him the benefit of the opinions of that day; and these, as regarded America, were so peculiar, as to allow nations at peace in Europe to make war upon each other in that quarter of the globe. Hence we find him contending, 'that to think the peace could be broken where 'there was no peace,'† was a palpable inconsistency; and hence, too, the plausibility of the pretext with which he hoodwinked the Government, that warlike preparations were necessary for his defence. Hume apologizes for Raleigh's execution upon the old sentence, by observing, that owing to the above-mentioned notion no jury would have found a verdict against him. But ought we not in charity and in fairness to allow something to the prevalance of such a feeling, in judging of his conduct? And ought it not also to be remembered, that he only practised the lessons of the school in which he was bred—that school which Elizabeth gloried to cherish, and which laid the foundations of the naval sovereignty of England? Still, it is impossible to justify his insincerity and preconceived hostilities; for these apologies could only be fully pleaded in his behalf, in the case of his having sailed from England unfettered by any positive obligations. They somewhat alter the complexion of his conduct, but do not free it from severe censure. There is, in a word, only one redeem-

* Letter to Lord Carew, appended to his 'Apology.'
† Apology.

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ing feature in all Raleigh's plans and proceedings connected with Guiana—the reach and constancy of the views which they disclose for promoting colonization and commerce. With his wild proposal in the former reign, to form an alliance with the visionary sovereign of El Dorado, these grand schemes were closely associated; and notwithstanding the miserable failure of his last voyage, they still maintained their ascendency in his thoughts; thus showing, conformably to the fated inconsistencies of his nature and lot, a genius familiar with, and wedded to far nobler objects than those to which both his character and life were sacrificed.

Before arriving at Plymouth, Raleigh learned that a royal proclamation had been issued, strongly condemning his conduct, and calling upon all who could give any information upon the subject to repair to the Privy Council; and soon after landing, he was put under arrest by Sir Lewis Stukeley, Vice-Admiral of Devonshire, to whom a warrant for that purpose had been intrusted. He had previously actually gone on board a vessel with the view of escaping to France; but, owing to some unexplained and unaccountable emotion, he returned without making the attempt. His subsequent expedients, prior to his recommitment to the Tower, to gain time for another attempt, or to enable his friends to intercede for him, present a recital so unspeakably degrading, as to make it difficult to believe that we are reading of the hero of Cadiz and Fayal—the moral and dignified historian of the ancient world. In these humiliating proceedings, Stukeley, who was his relation, and a French medical practitioner of the name of Mannourie, affected to assist, but secretly betrayed him. Their misdeeds are unworthy of remark; but the artifices of Raleigh, for which, strange to say, Mr Tytler puts in the claim of *dexterity*, demand notice, as well on account of the extraordinary contrast they exhibit to the great qualities which he unquestionably possessed, as of his having himself vindicated them by a perverted appeal to the authority of Scripture. Society, it would seem, was yet in a state when such a man could seriously plead that the madness which he feigned was justified by the example of David King of Israel!—an example to which, we recollect, his brilliant rival Essex also appealed in excuse for some of his immoralities. It was during this pitiable interval that he composed his 'Apology for his last voyage to Guiana'—a pleading both forcible in argument and eloquent in style; and which, considering the depressing circumstances in which it was written—behind the scenes, as it were, of that revolting drama in which he, when in the presence of others, stooped to act so ignominious a part—furnishes a strong proof of his ready command of those intellectual resources with which he was gifted

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Soon after his recommitment to the Tower, the Commission of Enquiry before mentioned was appointed; and sundry 'examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments'* took place at its meetings. He was at the same time, as before mentioned, placed under the immediate inspection of Sir Thomas Wilson, for the purpose chiefly of trying to draw from him, or to discover something regarding his supposed intercourse with France. Le Clerc, the French agent, had proffered his assistance towards Raleigh's escape; in consequence, we have no doubt, of what passed with the ambassador previous to his sailing to Guiana; and the offer having been discovered, James became exceedingly jealous of the supposed interference of his brother of France, and proportionably anxious to ascertain its objects. A record of the inquisitorial proceedings to which his apprehensions gave rise, has been preserved in the minutes kept by Wilson. From these it appears, that the Sovereign and his agents—the Secretary of State, and the immediate spy—were thoroughly baffled in their expectations; but their objects were pursued at the cost of a most harassing interference with the privacy, quiet, and occupations of the unhappy prisoner. It is impossible to view their ignoble proceedings—descending even to the violation of the letters that passed between him and his wife—without strong indignation; and history will, with difficulty, maintain the necessary decorum of her language in recounting these additional proofs of James's unkingly nature, and his malignant treatment of the illustrious though erring man subjected to his power. The extracts that have been published from these minutes† contain a few remarkable particulars. Suicide appears to have more than once come into discussion between the spy and Raleigh. We recollect that, in his 'History of the World,' he approves of the conduct of Demosthenes, in taking poison to disappoint his enemies; and Sir Thomas Wilson states, that 'he one day took occasion to commend the magnanimity of the Romans, who would rather have 'their deaths by their own hands than endure any that was base or 'reproachful. To which I answered,' says the pious Knight, 'that 'they were such as knew not God, nor the danger of their souls 'to be damned to perpetual torment, for destroying their bodies. 'To which he said, it was a disputable point; for divers did 'hold opinion that a man may do it, and yet not desperately de-'spair of God's mercy, but die in his favour.' This, it will be remembered, was the opinion expressed in the letter to his wife,

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* *Royal Declaration.*

† See Jardine's *Crim. Trials*, and Tytler's *Life.*

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written when he was meditating suicide. But the most remarkable piece of information preserved in these extracts, is that which shows his addiction, even in this dark and desperate crisis, to chemical pursuits. The anecdote is not the less deserving of notice for the despicable malignancy of the terms in which it is communicated, but which the generous spy doubtless intended for harmless wit! 'The things,' says this worthy, 'which he 'seems to make most reckoning of, are his chemical stuffs, amongst 'which there is so many *spirits*, that I think there is none want-'ing that I ever heard of, unless it be the *spirit of God!*'

The loud complaints of the Spanish ambassador, and James's eager desire to conclude the pending negotiation for a match between Prince Charles and the Infanta, made the demand of Spain for Raleigh's life but too certain to be complied with. But the novelty, and the extraordinary circumstances of the case, occasioned much difficulty amongst the sages of the law, as to the proper course of proceeding. Being under an unpardoned sentence for treason, it was held that he must be viewed as civilly dead, and consequently not triable for any new offence. It is unfortunate for the law when its refinements place it in conflict with the common sense and common feelings of mankind; and such was the case in a remarkable degree, when, in consequence of this legal subtlety, it was resolved to carry into execution a sentence sixteen years old—iniquitous from the first, and followed by the protracted punishment of thirteen years' imprisonment. Such was the precious result of James's cunning and king-craft; for had Raleigh been pardoned when he was liberated, he might have been brought to trial in some competent form, and the law would have vindicated itself by maintaining both the reality and the appearance of justice. His execution upon the antiquated sentence, is unquestionably one of the most revolting acts that stains the annals of British criminal procedure. It is so far consolatory to know, that the indignation which it roused reduced even James, the great advocate of irresponsible kingship, to the necessity of appealing to his people in vindication of his conduct; and that his vindicatory 'Declaration,' though aided by the pen of Lord Bacon, produced no favourable effects. A sentence of condemnation, founded upon the inborn and immutable feelings of the human heart, had gone forth against him; and it was rendered irreversible by the general belief that Raleigh's life was sacrificed to gratify the resentment, and to appease the fears of the ancient enemy of his country. The justness of that belief is placed beyond all question by a despatch written upon the occasion to the British ambassador in Spain; and surely, if aught done against his own and his people's honour can consign the memory of a ruler to

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lasting reprobation, the following admission ought so to dispose of the name of James:—'Let them know,' says this despatch, 'how able a man Sir Walter Raleigh was to have done his 'Majesty service, if he should have been pleased to employ him; '*yet to give them content he hath not spared him, when by preser-* '*ving him he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects*, 'and had at his command as useful a man as served any prince 'in Christendom.'*

Upon the details of Raleigh's execution, which took place in October 1618, we dare not, tempting as the occasion is, now enter. Few, if any, ever on a scaffold kindled such a blaze of powerful emotions—of pity, wonder, and admiration. His deportment throughout the prolonged scene, evinced a degree of mental strength, self-possession, calmness, and superiority to the fear of death, that might be described as godlike. His devotion appeared sincere and elevated, and tempered a courage which nothing could shake. 'He was,' says the Bishop of Salisbury, who attended him officially, 'the most fearless of death that 'ever was known, and the most resolute and confident, *yet with* '*reverence and conscience.*'

Of Raleigh's character generally, we have little of any moment to subjoin to the observations thrown out in the course of this long article, as occasions for expressing an opinion arose. We shall merely add one or two notices and remarks which could not so conveniently find a place before.

That which is so necessary to a satisfactory delineation of any great man—the details of his daily and familiar life—we have no means of supplying; but the curiosity which is universally felt in regard to the personal appearance of such men, has not been left ungratified. We have notices of Raleigh's person by Sir Robert Naunton and Sir John Harrington, both of whom knew him well; and by Aubery, whose information was derived from others, to whom also he was well known. Their notices will be read with most interest in their own works. The first tells us that 'he had in the outward man a good presence, in a handsome and well-compacted person;'† the second, in mentioning what he describes as an ominous fall from his horse, by which his face was hurt, says, that it was 'thought 'a very good face;' ‡ and the last particularizes his lineaments rather curiously, by stating, that besides being 'tall and hand-'some, he had a most remarkable aspect, an exceeding high

* Rushworth's *Hist. Coll.* vol. i.
† *Frag. Regalia.*—Art. Raleigh.
‡ *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 125.

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'forehead, long face, and sour eyelids.'* In an age of great magnificence in dress, Raleigh was conspicuous; and particularly for the silver armour in which, as Captain of the Guard, he rode abroad with the Queen. One of his portraits mentioned by Aubery shows him dressed 'in a white sattin doublet, all 'embroidered with rich pearls, and a mighty rich chain of great 'pearls about his neck.'

The various qualities which fit men for action and for speculation were conjoined in Raleigh, and by turns displayed, in so eminent a degree, that 'he seemed,' as Fuller observed, 'to be like Cato Uticencis, born to that only which he was 'about.' His mind presents a surprising union of strength and versatility; of intellectual and practical power; and of an observing, reflective, and philosophical, with a highly imaginative or poetical temperament. These diverse faculties and aptitudes, combined in that strong degree in which he possessed them, constitute the grand and individualizing features of his mental character. In that rarest, perhaps, of intellectual gifts —that which enables the individual to rise above the acquisitions and modes of thinking of his own, and to anticipate those of times yet to come, he has, and by no incompetent judge assuredly, been thought worthy to be classed with even the immortal founder of the inductive philosophy. 'Notwithstanding the 'diversity of their professional pursuits, and the strong contrast 'of their characters, these two men,' says Mr Stewart, speaking of Bacon and Raleigh, 'exhibit in their capacity of authors some 'striking features of resemblance. Both of them owed to the 'force of their own minds their emancipation from the fetters of 'the schools; and both were eminently distinguished above their 'contemporaries by the originality and enlargement of their phi-'losophical views.'† An incidental remark by Cecil, contained in a private letter, has apprised us of his possession of a power scarcely less enviable than original genius itself; and to which the extent of his acquisitions, so surprising in a man of such active pursuits, was no doubt ascribable. 'He can toil terribly,' were the words of the Secretary;‡ and the intimation, though brief, furnishes a valuable addition to our knowledge of his character.

Naunton describes him as gifted with 'a bold and plausible

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* Aubery's *Lives*, vol. ii. p. 511.

† *Dissert. on the Hist. of Met. and Eth. Philosophy.*

‡ See Appendix to Mrs Thomson's Life of Raleigh, in which this letter—otherwise valuable, as showing that he was beloved by his immediate dependents—was first printed.

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'tongue.' The same author, who was any thing rather than partial, adds, that Queen Elizabeth was much 'taken with 'his elocution, loved to hear his reasons, and took him for a 'kind of oracle.' But the strongest proof of his attraction in this way was, that even Essex preferred his conversation to that of most of his own friends. 'I have often observed,' said Sir Arthur Gorges, speaking of Essex, 'that both in his 'greatest actions of service, and in his times of cheerfulest recre-'ations, he would ever accept of his (Raleigh's) counsel and 'company, before many others that thought themselves more 'in his favour.'* Yet, notwithstanding those powers of elocution that so captivated Elizabeth, and won Essex, his pronunciation—if we are to rely on Aubery—ever continued to betray the accent of his native province. 'I have,' says this writer, 'heard old Sir Thomas Mallet, who knew Sir Walter, say, that 'he spoke broad Devonshire to his dying day.'

From the imputation of impiety with which Raleigh was so unjustly aspersed, his character was relieved by the publication of his 'History of the World.' Originating, apparently, in his freely expressed opinions respecting some doctrines of the schools,† it owed its dissemination to a libellous attack on the chief courtiers of Queen Elizabeth, written by Father Parsons, the noted Jesuit. He does not appear to have ever made any direct reply to the charge; but those of his friends with whom he was in the habit of conversing upon such subjects, knew that it was unfounded; and the publication of his great work made his opinions advantageously known to all the world. But, with respect to his moral character, we can find little that is favourable in the sentiments of his contemporaries. Though unquestionably possessed of friendly dispositions, kindly affections, and much tenderness of heart; and though all his opinions and feelings, as expressed in his writings, were strongly on 'virtue's side,' he never was considered as a man whose conduct was steadily regulated by either truth or probity. Even where his aims appeared great and worthy, they were believed to be contaminated by the admixture of an impure and grasping ambition. Though always 'gazed at as a star,'‡ the feelings with which his path was viewed were far from those of love, confidence, or reverence.

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* Gorges's *Relation of the Island Voyage*, in Purchas.

† Osborne's *Miscellany of Essays and Paradoxes.*

‡ The words of the Attorney-General, Yelverton, at the mock judicial process employed to give a colour of legality to the order for executing the old sentence.

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But the grand and devout demeanour displayed at his execution, made men unwilling to dwell upon his faults, and threw all unpleasing recollections into the shade. Had James been a worthy and magnanimous, instead of a mean and pusillanimous Prince, the name of Raleigh, though it would have, no doubt, been recorded alongst with the other conspicuous characters of his time, would not have descended to us with that halo of literary and martyr-like glory which surrounds it, and will, in all probability, accompany it to a far more distant posterity.

ART. II.—*The Art of Deer-Stalking; illustrated by a Narrative of a Few Days' Sport in the Forest of Atholl.* By WILLIAM SCROPE, Esq., F.L.S., and Member of the Academy of San' Luca, Rome. 8vo. London: 1838.

AMONG the masculine sports which exercise our ingenuity and call forth our physical energies, there are none so exciting and so highly prized as the pleasures and toils of the chase. In wielding our delegated power over the animal creation, we derive but a transient enjoyment from the subjugation of the domestic races which administer to our ordinary wants. It is only the beast of prey whose lair is in the thicket, or the fleet quadruped whose dwelling-place is on the mountains, that summon us into the field, and develop all the resources of our sanguinary skill. To brave the malaria of the Indian jungle, and to partake in the fierce encounter between the tiger and his pursuer, is a species of transcendental sport in which human skill and courage are pitted against animal strength and ferocity. The mutual danger, too, which impends over the sportsman and his prey, gives a deeper interest to the struggle, where brute capacity often triumphs, and in which the intellectual combatant is sometimes the victim.

This species of amusement, so highly esteemed by the European in other quarters of the globe, is, we think, inferior in all respects to that which is to be found in the deer-forests of our native hills. The excitement of a tiger-hunt is doubtless more intense, its pageantry more imposing, and its casualties more hazardous; but the sources of interest which the deer-chase presents to a cultivated mind, are more numerous, more rational, and more allied to our better nature, in proportion as they are of a less cruel and sanguinary character.

The Indian and the African forests open their recesses to the free passage of the sportsman as well as the naturalist. No lord of the manor claims a right to its ferocious denizens—no

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action at law lies for trespass—and no Chancellor of the Exchequer stands at the receipt of custom. The right of pursuit and slaughter belongs to all; and he who exercises it most frequently and most valiantly, is the best benefactor of the neighbourhood. The privilege of deer-stalking, on the contrary, is as rare as it is valuable. The small number of our deer-forests, and their possession by the landed aristocracy, renders them almost inaccessible even to the most opulent; and the few which the key of gold does contrive to unlock, can be maintained only by a great outlay of capital. The absolute exclusion of sheep and cattle from the haunts of the deer, over an extent of thousands of acres —the enormous expense of residence in sequestered districts, and the necessity of numerous keepers to guard the sanctuary of the chase—render the occupancy of a deer-forest one of the choicest and most expensive of our amusements.

But rare and popular as this sport unquestionably is, it is not from this cause alone that it derives its prominent interest. The pleasure which it yields is not less intense, nor the skill which it demands less scientific, than the magnificent sports of the Tropics. In all its phases of excitement, from the 'break of morn' to the 'knell of parting day,' Reason is continually marshalling its powers against the *extempore* and unerring decisions of instinct; and in this noble rivalry of intellectual and physical sagacity, the race, as in other secular pursuits, is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. The dexterity of the rifleman is balanced by the fleetness of his prey; the sagacity and the power of the stag-hound is matched by the muscular energy and the indomitable courage of his antlered antagonist; and the quick vision and the acute perception of smell which the stag inherits, often baffle the manœuvres of the hunter, and mock the powers of his telescope.

In the intervals of rest, too, as well as in the active pursuit and the final conflict, the deer-chase presents many points of interest and superiority. No fetid exhalations nor putrid effluvia pollute the pure ether which the huntsman breathes. No dread of retaliation disturbs his rest, or paralyses the ardour of pursuit. His mind is free to roam over the beautiful and wide expanse of earth and sky. The blue vault which crowns him, and the granite pavement on which he treads, are equally objects of his admiration. The lofty peak, with its fretted yet crystalline flanks —the overhanging precipice, with its caverns, its rills, and its foliage—the sudden rush of the concealed cataract—the ghastly pine, dead and naked, yet in the form and attitude of life—the brown moss, displaying the wreck of ancient forests, and furnishing a unit of measure to sound the depths of primeval time—

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the mountain lake, now blue with the azure which it embosoms, now green with the purity of its waters, now bright with the ruffled reflection of the clouds, now in ebullition with the thunder-shower—these are the objects which meet the hunter's eye, and from which the geologist, the moralist, and the painter may draw the richest instruction. Amid this contemplation of Nature's grandeur, the serenity of the moment is agreeably disturbed by the forms of life and beauty which break upon the view. The solitary stag appears in stately attitude on the brow of the precipice, or bounds over the plain, or springs across the mossy hag, or clears the span of the mountain torrent; or, perhaps, a noble herd become visible in the distance, now breaking the sky line with their twisted antlers, now 'basking on Bendouran's 'steep,' and now holding their council of instinct, when their startled senses indicate the approach of man.

'And lo! along the forest glade,
From out yon ancient pine-wood's shade,
Troop forth the royal deer,
Each stately hart, each slender hind,
Stares and snuffs the desert wind;
While by their side confiding roves
The spring-born offspring of their loves—
The delicate and playful fawn,
Dappled like the rosy dawn,
And sportive in its fear.'

Such of our readers as have not partaken of the pleasures of the chase, will naturally wish to know something of the details of a sport so highly prized, and so difficult to command. Although the press teems with descriptions of Oriental sports, yet no account has been given of the manners and habits of the aboriginal red deer of the Highlands—of the nature and extent of the forests which they inhabit—or of the arts by which they fall under our dominion. It is only of late, indeed, that this amusement has been systematically pursued; and of the small number of individuals who have been initiated into its mysteries, but few are qualified to become its historians.

Mr Scrope, the author of the work placed at the head of this article, possesses, we believe, in a higher degree than any other person, all the qualities which are necessary for such a task. His fine taste, his classical acquirements, his vein of chastened humour, his exquisite skill as an amateur painter, his knowledge of character, and above all, his enthusiasm for the chase, and his *ten* years' experience of its details on the grandest scale, fit him in an eminent degree for describing the statistics of our deer-forests, the natural history of its antlered occupants, the system of rifle

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practice by which they are overpowered, and the manners and superstitions of the foresters, scouts, and gillies, who have formed his army of observation.

In the brief space which is necessarily allotted to the analysis of a work of this kind, we cannot hope to give our readers an adequate idea either of its literary merits, or of the fund of colloquial anecdote and discussion, which, while it gives life and spirit to the more technical details of the chase, enlivens at the same time the otherwise grave dissertations on the natural history of dogs and deer, and the statistics and scenery of their rocky domains. Still less can we hope to give the reader any just notion of those fine touches of sentiment and humour which sparkle amid the general narrative, or of the splendid engravings and lithographs, after paintings by Edwin and Charles Landseer, and Mr Scrope himself, which embellish the work. The forest-joust between two stags in the frontispiece—the *canes venaticæ* in the vignette; the getting a quiet shot; the deer at bay in a torrent; the looking for a wounded deer; the being left behind in a dubious position; the lifting the deer out of a burn; the coming in for a shot; and the preparing the deer for being left on the moor—afford characteristic and pleasing representations of the more stirring events of a deer-chase.

In addition to these interesting illustrations of the work, we should have liked to see, even in the rudest outline, the principal deer-forests laid down on a map of Scotland; and the haunts of the roe-deer, and the grouse, and the ptarmigan, might have been appropriately added. Mr Scrope, however, has supplied this defect by ample descriptions of the principal deer-forests in Scotland, and has tried even to estimate the number of deer by which they are occupied.

The Forest of Atholl, in which Mr Scrope enjoyed the sport of deer-stalking for so many years, lies in Perthshire, and touches the counties of Aberdeen and Inverness. It is about forty miles long, and its extreme breadth eighteen miles, measuring 135,458 imperial acres. The part occupied by grouse is 3,742 acres; and that which is reserved exclusively for deer, contains 51,708 acres. In 1776, the number of deer did not exceed a hundred; but Mr Scrope estimates them now at between 5000 and 6000, though others make them amount to 7000. The Forest of Marr, in Aberdeenshire, belonging to Lord Fife, consists of four contiguous glens on the north bank of the Dee, about fifteen miles long and eight wide, and covering an area of about *sixty thousand* acres; the number of deer is variable, but it is supposed that there is a regular stock of about 3000.

The forests in Sutherland, now greatly restricted by sheep-

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farms, were two in number, Dirrie Chat and Dirrie More. The former, running parallel with the east coast, extends about fifty miles in length, and from ten to thirty in breadth; the latter is about seventy miles long, and twenty broad. It is almost destitute of wood, and consists of deep and desolate glens, and of broken and disjointed masses of rock, singularly wild and precipitous. About thirty years ago the deer in these forests were estimated at 3000, but at present they are supposed not to exceed 1500.

In a modern French work on geography, we are told that wolves *still* exist in the Highlands of Scotland. The author has made a mistake only of a *century;* for we find, in Mr Scrope's description of the Sutherland forests, a most interesting account of the destruction of the *last wolf and her cubs*, between 1690 and 1700. This event, which took place on the east coast of Sutherland, was attended with remarkable circumstances. In consequence of some ravages among the flocks, the inhabitants turned out in a body to discover the depredator. Having failed in the attempt, a man of the name of Polson, accompanied by his son and an active herd-boy, resolved to search the wild recesses in the neighbourhood of Glen-Loth.

'Polson,' says our author, 'was an old hunter, and had much experience in tracing and destroying wolves, and other predatory animals. Forming his own conjectures, he proceeded at once to the wild and rugged ground that surrounds the rocky mountain-gulley which forms the channel of the Burn of Sledale. Here, after a minute investigation, he discovered a narrow fissure in the midst of a confused mass of large fragments of rock, which, upon examination, he had reason to think might lead to a larger opening or cavern below, which the wolf might use as his den. Stones were now thrown down, and other means resorted to, to rouse any animal that might be lurking within. Nothing formidable appearing, the two lads contrived to squeeze themselves through the fissure that they might examine the interior, whilst Polson kept guard on the outside. The boys descended through the narrow passage into a small cavern, which was evidently a wolf's den, for the ground was covered with bones and horns of animals, feathers, and egg-shells; and the dark space was somewhat enlivened by five or six active wolf cubs. Not a little dubious of the event, the voice of the poor boys came up hollow and anxious from below, communicating this intelligence. Polson at once desired them to do their best, and to destroy the cubs. Soon after, he heard the feeble howling of the whelps as they were attacked below, and saw, almost at the same time, to his great horror, a full-grown wolf, evidently the dam, raging furiously at the cries of her young, and now close upon the mouth of the cavern, which she had approached unobserved, among the rocky irregularities of the place. She attempted to leap down at one bound from the spot where she was first seen. In this emergency, Polson instinctively threw himself forward on the wolf, and

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succeeded in catching a firm hold of the animal's long and bushy tail, just as the forepart of the body was within the narrow entrance of the cavern. He had unluckily placed his gun against a rock when aiding the boys in their descent, and could not now reach it. Without apprising the lads below of their imminent peril, the stout hunter kept firm grip of the wolf's tail, which he wound round his left arm; and although the maddened brute scrambled and twisted, and strove with all her might to force herself down to the rescue of her cubs, Polson was just able, with the exertion of all his strength, to keep her from going forward. In the midst of this singular struggle, which passed in silence—for the wolf was mute, and the hunter, either from the engrossing nature of his exertions, or from his unwillingness to alarm the boys, spoke not a word at the commencement of the conflict—his son within the cave, finding the light excluded from above, asked in Gaelic, and in an abrupt tone—"Father, what is keeping the light from us?"—"If the root of the tail break," replied he, "you will soon know that." Before long, however, the man contrived to get hold of his hunting-knife, and stabbed the wolf in the most vital parts he could reach. The enraged animal now attempted to turn and face her foe, but the hole was too narrow to allow of this; and when Polson saw his danger, he squeezed her forward, keeping her jammed in, whilst he repeated his stabs as rapidly as he could, until the animal, being mortally wounded, was easily dragged back and finished.'—P. 371.

The Forest of Corrichibah, or the Black Mount, is situated in Glenorchy, in Argyleshire, and belongs to the Marquis of Breadalbane. The extent of the forest kept exclusively for deer is 35,000 acres, and the number of deer is about 1500. The Forest of Glenartney, in Perthshire, belonging to Lord Willoughby D'Eresby, extends over 2800 Scotch acres, and contains from 700 to 1000 deer. There is a sanctuary or deer-preserve in the centre, and in winter the deer are fed with corn and hay.

Beside these forests we may enumerate those of Invercauld, of 22,000 acres; of the Marquis of Huntly, of above 30,000 acres; of the Duke of Richmond, of 30,000 acres; and the lesser ones of Benalder, on the south side of Loch Laggan, rented by the Marquis of Abercorn; of Glengarry, in Inverness-shire, about seven miles long; of Applecross and Gairloch, in Ross-shire; and that of Gaick, in Inverness-shire. In the Western Islands, the deer forest of Jura contains 500 deer; that of Skye 230; and that of North Uist 100.

In giving an account of the deer forests of Badenoch, Mr Scrope entertains his readers with a number of interesting adventures and stories connected with that part of the Highlands. One of these, which relates to the destruction of a hunting party in Gaick by an avalanche, has acquired a peculiar interest from the superstitious details with which it has been associated in the

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fancy of the Highlanders. The following is Mr Scrope's brief notice of it :—

'In 1800, Captain John M'Pherson of Ballachroan, with four attendants, and several fine deer-hounds, was killed by an avalanche in Gaick. The house in which they slept (a strong one) was swept away from the very foundation, and part of the roof carried to the distance of a mile.* The catastrophe was ascribed by some to supernatural agency, and a great deal of superstitious exaggeration was circulated, to the annoyance of Captain M'Pherson's family and friends.'—P. 118.

This melancholy event took place at the distance of thirteen miles from the residence of the hunting party. Their friends were naturally alarmed for their safety, when the drifting storm of wind and snow had shut up the roads and passes of the mountains; and every hour's delay in their return brought a new accession to their fears. A strong party, furnished with the necessary implements, penetrated through the snowy barrier which obstructed their path, and, after surmounting great hardships, they succeeded in distinterring their friends from their icy graves. Although we have heard them from the exploring parties, our limits will not permit us to detail the circumstances which marked this tragedy of the chase; but, even in the district where the truth was known, superstition has wove round it her mystic embroidery, and the story of the hapless deer-stalkers of Gaick became henceforth a legendary tale. When the late amiable and accomplished Lord Webb Seymour, and our distinguished countryman, Professor Playfair, were surveying the mineralogical structure of Shehallien, they were accompanied by an old man as their guide, who was a schoolmaster in the neighbourhood; and while they were walking before their horses up the road, on the northern declivity of Rannoch, within sight of the mountain above Gaick, he gave the following version of the preceding story, adding, 'There was nae the like seen in a' 'Scotland.'

'It was on the night of, I think, the 14th of February, 1799, that there came on a dreadful storm of wind and drifting snow from the south-east, which was felt very severely in most parts of Scotland. On the preceding day, Captain M——, attended by three other men, had gone out a deer-shooting, in that extensive tract of mountains which lies to the west of Dalnacardoch. As they did not return in the evening, nothing was heard of them. The next day, people were sent out in quest of them as soon as the storm abated. After a long search, the bodies were found in a lifeless state, lying among the ruins of a *bothy*, (a temporary hut,) in which it would seem Captain M—— and his

* This is a mistake, the distance was not one-eighth of a mile.

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party had taken refuge. The bothy had been destroyed by the tempest, and in a very astonishing manner. It had been built partly of stone, and partly of strong wooden uprights driven into the ground; it was not merely blown down, but quite torn to pieces. Large stones, which had formed part of the walls, were found lying at the distance of one or two hundred yards from the site of the building, and the wooden uprights appeared to have been rent asunder by a force that had twisted them off, as in breaking a tough stick. From the circumstances in which the bodies were found, it appeared that the men were retiring to rest at the time the calamity came upon them. One of the bodies, indeed, was found at a distance of many yards from the bothy; another of the men was found upon the place where the bothy had stood, with one stocking off, as if he had been undressing; Captain M—— was lying, without his clothes, upon the wretched bed which the bothy had afforded—his face to the ground, and his knees drawn up. To all appearance, the destruction had been quite sudden; yet the situation of the building was such as promised security against the utmost violence of the wind. It stood in a narrow recess, at the foot of a mountain, whose precipitous and lofty declivities sheltered it on every side except in the front, and here, too, a hill rose before it, though with a more gradual slope. This extraordinary wreck of a building so situated, led the common people to ascribe it to a supernatural power. It was recollected by some who had been out shooting with Captain M—— about a month before, that while they were resting at this bothy, a shepherd lad had come to the door and enquired for Captain M——, and that the captain went out with the shepherd, and they walked away together, leaving the rest of the party in the bothy. After a time, Captain M—— returned alone; he said nothing of what had passed between him and the lad, but looked very grave and thoughtful, and from that time there was observed to be a mysterious anxiety hanging about him. It was remembered that one evening, after dusk, when Captain M—— was in the bothy, some of his party that were standing saw a fire blazing on the top of the hill which rises in front of it. They were much surprised to see a fire in such a solitary place, and at such a time, and set out to enquire into the cause of it; but when they reached the top of the hill, there was no fire to be seen! It was remembered, too, that on the day before the fatal night, Captain M—— had shown a singular obstinacy in going forth upon his expedition. No representations of the inclemency of the weather, or of the dangers he would be exposed to, could restrain him. He said he *must* go, and was resolved to go. Captain M——'s character was not spared, in order to give probability to these fancies. It was popularly reported that he was rapacious and cruel; that he had got money by procuring recruits from the Highlands, * an unpopular mode of acquiring wealth: and that, amongst other measures for this purpose,

* These recruits were said to be from Atholl, and it was an opinion among the less superstitious Highlanders, that the party were murdered by a band of Atholl men.

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he had gone so far as to leave a purse upon the road, and to threaten the man who had picked it up with an indictment for robbery, if he did not enlist.' *

This interesting story was communicated by Lord Webb Seymour to Sir Walter Scott, who published it as an example of those accompaniments of the rude popular legend, 'possessing 'points of interest, of nature, and of effect, which, though 'irreconcilable with sober truth, carry with them something 'which the mind is not averse to believe—something, in short, 'of plausibility, which, let the poet or romancer do their very 'best, they find it impossible to attain to.' Sir Walter adds it as his opinion, 'That the feeling of superstitious awe annexed to 'the catastrophe contained in this interesting narrative, could not 'have been improved by any circumstances of additional horror 'which a poet could have invented; that the incidents, and 'the gloomy simplicity of the narrative, are much more striking 'than they could have been rendered by the most glowing de-'scription; and that the old Highland schoolmaster, the outline 'of whose tale is so judiciously preserved by the narrator, was a 'better medium for communicating such a tale, than would have 'been the form of Ossian, could he have arisen from the dead 'on purpose.'

In the first chapter of his work, Mr Scrope has given a very interesting account of the manners and habits of the red deer, or *Cervus elaphus* of naturalists. Their colour is usually *reddish brown*, and their horns vary in size and in the number of their branches, partly with age and partly from other causes. They shed their horns *annually*, between April and June, and the new horns attain their full growth in *three months*. These new horns are very sensitive, and, while they continue so, the deer fight with their fore-feet, keeping back their heads. The hinds have been seen to eat the shed horns, and the late Duke of Atholl once found a dead hind, which had been choked by part of the horn. The leaden-coloured skin, or *velvet* which invests the new horn, disappears in August and September, when the deer are in the best condition. 'If a hart,' says Mr Scrope, 'is cut when 'a fawn, *he will never have horns;* and if he is cut when five or 'six years old, after his horns have attained their full growth, *he will 'never drop them;* and if he be cut when he has dropped them, 'they will never be renewed.' When one of the horns is inferior to the other, Mr Scrope has often observed, that it is owing to a gunshot or other bad wound on the side where the

* All these reports were false.

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horn is imperfect. The weight of deer varies from fifteen to thirty stone imperial. The rutting season is about the end of September and beginning of October in Scotland.

'This,' says Mr Scrope, 'is a wild and picturesque season. The harts are heard roaring all over the forest, and are engaged in savage conflicts with each other, which sometimes terminate fatally. When a master hart has collected a number of hinds, another will endeavour to take them from him. They fight till one of them, feeling himself wounded, will run in circles round the hinds, being unwilling to leave them. The other pursues, and when he touches the fugitive with the point of his horns, the animal thus gored either bounds suddenly on one side, and then turns and faces him, or will dash off to the right or to the left, and at once give up the contest. The conflict, however, generally continues a considerable time; and nothing can be more entertaining than to witness, as I have often done, the varied success and address of the combatants. It is a sort of wild joust in the presence of the dames, who, as of old, bestowed their favours on the most valiant,'—P. 13. * * * *

'A conflict of this savage nature, which happened in one of the Duke of Gordon's forests, was fatal to both of the combatants. Two large harts, after a furious and deadly thrust, had entangled their horns so firmly together, that they were inextricable, and the victor remained with the vanquished. In this situation they were discovered by the forester, who killed the survivor whilst he was yet struggling to release himself from his dead antagonist. The horns remain at Gordon Castle, still locked together as they were found.'—P. 15.

Mr Scrope has noticed a singular combination of cowardice and courage in the master hart. When he apprehends danger from a rifle, he will get into the midst of the hinds, and keep his antlers as low as possible; and while the hinds and the younger harts are keeping guard, the larger ones enjoy their ease on the hill-side. No sooner, however, is the herd strongly beset, than the master hart exhibits great boldness and decision. He takes the lead of his confiding herd, and forces his way through every obstacle. His daring courage is singularly contrasted with his shyness and timidity. The flutter of a moorfowl, or the plaintive note of a plover, will set him off at full speed; but when he sees his adversary, he is never off his guard. He is cool and vigilant; and, when he has taken a survey of the plans of his disturber, he decides in a moment, and often rushes through the very middle of the unarmed drivers.

'When a stag,' says Mr Scrope, 'is closely pursued by dogs, and feels that he cannot escape from them, he flies to the best position he can, and defends himself to the last extremity. This is called *going to bay*. If he is badly wounded, or very much overmatched in speed, he has little choice of ground; but if he finds himself stout in the chase, and is pursued in his native mountains, he will select the most defensible spot he has it in his power to reach, and woe be unto the dog which approaches

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him rashly. His instinct always leads him to the rivers, where his long legs give him a great advantage over the deer-hounds. Firmly he holds his position, while they swim powerless about him, and would die from cold and fatigue before they could make the least impression on him. Sometimes he will stand upon a rock in the midst of the river, making a most majestic appearance; and in this case it will always be found that the spot on which he stands is not approachable on his rear. In this situation he takes such a sweep with his antlers, that he could exterminate a whole pack of the most powerful lurchers, that were pressing too closely upon him in front. He is secure from all but man; and the rifle shot must end him. Superior dogs may pull him down when running, but not when *he stands at bay.*'—P. 20-21.

The traditional opinion, that the deer sometimes attains the age of upwards of a hundred years, is of course not countenanced by our author. He has, however, found, in the superstitions of the Highlands, some arguments in favour of the *longa et cervina senectus* of Juvenal; and the Gaelic adage,—

'Thrice the age of a man is that of a deer,'

is supported by marvellous stories, attested by chiefs of honour and veracity. With all his respect for marvellous traditions, Mr Scrope does not hesitate to inform us, that all the accounts he has received from park-keepers in England, where there are red deer, contradict their supposed longevity, and establish the fact that the longest-lived deer has not exceeded twenty years of age.

On the approach of storms, the deer quit the more elevated hills, and descend to the low ground, anticipating the change by sometimes two days. They never perish in snow-drifts like sheep, and they are seldom destroyed by avalanches. Only two accidents of this kind occurred in the Atholl forest during sixty years. Eleven deer were killed by an avalanche in Glen Mark, and twenty-one by another. The harts are good swimmers; and it is said that the rear hart, in swimming, rests his head on the croup of the one before him, and that the rest follow in the same manner.

Notwithstanding the ferocity of the deer in the rutting season, they have been seldom known to attack man without a cause. Instances, however, of a contrary nature have occurred. John Crerar, having got behind a stag which was at bay in Glenmore, rashly took hold of his hind-leg, and tried to throw him over; 'but, when he was about to do so, the animal saluted him with 'both his hind-legs, and with such effect, that one of his hoofs 'broke his watch, and the other struck him in the mouth, 'knocked out one of his teeth, and sent him sprawling on his 'back to the edge of the water.' Mr Scrope mentions that there is an instance upon record of a red deer having beaten off a tiger

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which was set loose upon it in an enclosed arena, at the instance of William Duke of Cumberland. Mr Gilpin mentions the case of a peasant having been dangerously wounded in attempting to turn a stag when pursued by the hunters in the New Forest. The stag holding on his course, darted one of his antlers into the man, and carried him some paces sticking upon his horns. The unprovoked ferocity of a red deer confined in the Park at Taymouth, is thus described by Mr Scrope:—

'In October 1836, the Hon. Mr and Mrs Fox Maule had left Taymouth with the intention of proceeding towards Dalguise; and in driving through that part of the grounds where the red deer were kept, they suddenly, at a turn of the road, came upon the lord of the demesne standing in the centre of the passage, as if prepared to dispute it against all comers. Mr Maule being aware that it might be dangerous to trifle with him, or to endeavour to drive him away, (for it was the rutting season,) cautioned the postilion to go slowly, and give the animal an opportunity of moving off. This was done, and the stag retired to a small hollow by the side of the road. On the carriage passing, however, he took offence at its too near approach, and emerged at a slow and stately pace, till he arrived nearly parallel with it; Mr Maule then desired the lad to increase his pace, being apprehensive of a charge in the broadside.

'The deer, however, had other intentions; for as soon as the carriage moved quicker he increased his pace also, and came on the road about twelve yards ahead of it, for the purpose of crossing, as it was thought, to a lower range of the parks; but to the astonishment, and no little alarm of the occupants of the carriage, he charged the offside horse, plunging his long brow antler into his chest, and otherwise cutting him.

'The horse that was wounded made two violent kicks, and is supposed to have struck the stag, and then the pair instantly ran off the road; and it was owing solely to the admirable presence of mind and sense of the postilion, that the carriage was not precipitated over the neighbouring bank. The horses were not allowed to stop till they reached the gate, although the blood was pouring from the wounded animal in a stream as thick as a man's finger. He was then taken out of the carriage, and only survived two or three hours. The stag was shortly afterwards killed.'—P. 33.

As a proof of the determined resolution of the stag when pushed to extremity, and at the same time as a specimen of a *royal battue* got up on the most magnificent scale, Mr Scrope quotes from Barclay's *Defence of Monarchical Government*, his account of the deer-hunt which was prepared by the Earl of Atholl for Queen Mary in 1563. As we agree with Mr Scrope in doubting the accuracy of the details, we shall give a very brief account of it. About two thousand Highlanders spent several weeks in driving from Marr, Badenoch, Murray, and Atholl, to an ap-

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pointed place, two thousand deer, besides roes, does, and other game. The Queen was delighted with the spectacle; and having ordered a large fierce dog to be let loose on a wolf that appeared, a stately hart, the leader of the herd, turned his face to the quarter from which they came, and was followed by the whole herd. A line of Highlanders obstructed their path; but, falling flat on the heath, they allowed the deer to pass over their bodies, and thus to wound several and to trample two or three to death. A detachment of the deer, however, having been turned by the huntsmen, the royal stag-hounds were let loose, and 360 deer, five wolves, and some roes were killed.

Mr Scrope now starts from Blair Castle on his first excursion to the Deer Forest, and, after a brief dissertation on mountain scenery and mountain appetites, a friend from Badenoch (Mr Edwin Landseer) joins him at breakfast at Bruar Lodge. In full equipment, the party ascend the flanks of Ben Dairg, and in the wilderness of rock and heath they have quitted every thing that is associated with domestic and social life. No sound is heard save that of the torrent; no notes but the wild bird's scream; the scared grouse occasionally change their resting-place; the plover flits from stone to stone; and the soaring eagle completes the climax of living nature. A hart is at last seen lying in a bog, and a group of hinds adorn the brow of the hill above. All are on the alert. 'Pray, walk and creep behind me,' whispers the leader; 'be as silent as the grave, and when you step upon 'stones tread like a ghost. If your back aches insupportably, 'lie down and die; but do not move yourself an inch to save 'your life. Now, let us put our caps in our pockets. Heaven 'bless me! do not raise up your hair with your fingers in that 'way,—at present, it would be more becoming to be bald.' One of the party now watches the deer, another follows with the dogs, and a third takes the rifles. The party now advances, sometimes on their hands and knees, sometimes up to the middle in the burn, now writhing on their stomachs through the mire, till they come in upon the flank of the hart. The leader now raises his rifle, and no sooner is the shot fired than up springs the deer, shot through the body, but still able to pant up the steep acclivity which lies in his path. The dogs are let loose; the chase is continued over the hill, and on reaching its summit the voice of the hounds breaks full upon their ear.

'And they saw one magnificent creature standing on a narrow projecting ledge of rock within the cleft, and in the mid course of a mountain cataract. The upper fall plunged down behind him, and the water, coming through his legs, dashed the spray and mist around him, and then at one leap went plump down to the abyss below; the rocks closed in

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upon his flanks, and there he stood, bidding defiance in his own mountain hold.

'Just at the very edge of the precipice, and as it seemed on the very brink of eternity, the dogs were baying him furiously. One rush of the stag would have sent them down into the chasm, and in their fury they seemed wholly unconscious of their danger. All drew in their breath, and shuddered at the fatal chance that seemed momentarily about to take place. Fortunately, the stag (sensible, perhaps, of his danger) showed less fight than usual; still the suspense was painfully exciting, for the dogs were wholly at his mercy, and as he menaced with his antlers they retreated backwards within an inch of instant dissolution. * * * * Whenever the deer turned aside his antlers to gore Tarff, Derig seized the moment to fly at his throat; but the motions of the hart were so rapid, that the hound was ever compelled to draw back to the verge of the precipice. * * * The stag at length, being maddened with these vexatious attacks, made a desperate stab at Derig, and in avoiding it the poor dog at length lost his footing, his hind-legs passed over the ledge of the rock, and it now seemed impossible for him to recover himself. His life hung in the balance, and the fatal scale appeared to preponderate. Still his fore-legs bore upon the ledge, and he scraped and strove with them to the utmost; but as he had little or no support behind, he was in the position of a drowning man who attempts to get into a boat, and being, also like him, exhausted, the chances were considerably against him. In struggling with his fore-legs he appeared to advance a little, and then to slip back again, gasping painfully in the exertion; at length he probably found some slight bearing for the claws of his hind feet, and, to the inexpressible relief of every one, he once more recovered his footing, and sprang forward at the deer as rash and wrathful as ever.

'Tortoise (the hero of the party) at length found the proper spot,—the rifle was then raised, but when all hearts were beating high in sudden and nervous expectation of a happy issue, the dogs were unfortunately in such a position that a shot could not be fired from above without risk to one of them, and the danger was fearful as ever. Three times was the aim thus taken and abandoned. At length an opening—the crack of the gun was heard faintly in the din of the waterfall—the ball passed through the back of the deer's head, and down he dropped on the spot without a struggle. The dogs now rushed forward and seized him by the throat;—so firm and savage was their grasp, that they were with difficulty choked off. The men came cautiously on the ledge of the rock, and began to take out the huge creature, two at his fore-legs and two at his hind quarters, and thus they lifted him out from the course of the torrent, and laid him at length upon the moss.'—P. 59-62.

We cannot withhold from our readers an account of the accident which befell a stag-hound while in the active pursuit of a hart in the Forest of Dirrie More in Sutherland. Having fallen down a sloping but steep precipice, he alighted upon a projecting shelf of rock, from which there was neither escape nor rescue.

'The rock,' says Mr Scrope, 'opposed an insuperable obstruction from

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above, and the precipice menaced certain death below. * * * The spot could not be approached by man; and the poor animal, expecting that assistance from his master which it was impossible for him to afford, kept up a continual howling for succour during day and night. *He continued to linger in his frightful prison for several days, and the sounds of his voice grew feeble and feebler, until they ended in a sharp kind of whistle, interrupted by various efforts to break out into a bark.* Every kind of project was considered; but no means could be devised to save him, for the ground was of such a nature that no one could be lowered and pulled up by means of a rope. At length the faint sounds ceased,—his flesh was carried away by eagles, and his bones are still whitening on the rock.'—Pp. 65, 66.

The next feat of the party was one in which the sagacity and instinct of the deer could be opposed only by skilful manœuvring on the part of the deer-stalker. Having discovered with the telescope a fine group of eight harts, the party took their station on Ben-y-venue, and scouts were sent to the right and left, not to drive the deer, but to endeavour to put them on this hill. In half an hour, the deer were all standing up, with their jutting necks and towering antlers, and gazing at the summit of the hill. The hind directs their motions while the lazy harts are doing nothing. They seem in a state of uncertainty about their line of retreat. They turn aside for a few minutes, and come a little way down the hill. But now they stop, and examine all the glen before they venture into its recesses. They scan every part of the ground, and look with intense anxiety on every object within the range of their vision. They now march, like a retreating army, with their front and rearguard; and with measured steps they wind down a rocky precipice, impassable apparently by living beast. Dreading that they would go straight down the glen, and not come over to the middle hill, the party were in despair; but one of the scouts saw a parcel of hinds, which he thought would join them lower down, and he believed that they would then come down to the desired place.

'Maclaren,' says Mr Scrope, 'the skilful missionary, who had a clear and commanding view of all these things, began to set to work in a more determined manner: he pressed forward rapidly, still out of sight of both parcels of deer; till at length, when he came sufficiently forward, he dashed down the hill in full view, shouting, hallooing, and hurling stones down the mountain with all his might, going to and fro as the deer shifted, slipping, clambering, and tumbling in such perilous places as would have endangered the life of a mountain god."—P. 80.

Amid all this tumult the deer continued to advance deliberately and calmly. The hinds last mentioned, collected and wheeled about under the influence of these strange noises; and the decisive moment appeared to be at hand. The riflemen pre-

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pared for action; they heard the clatter of their hoofs; but in a moment the herd changed their plan. The hinds had started, and the harts and hinds of the main parcel were racing up to them. A change of tactics was now necessary. The riflemen, who had never been seen by the deer, went rapidly over the hill in a new direction to meet them. The young sportsman from Badenoch was unequal to the exertion which was now required; 'his limbs faltered, his knees trembled, and his breath came 'short and loud, till, quite exhausted, he lay down on the moor 'a solitary and forsaken man, while his inhuman companions 'persisted in their course.' The two practised hillmen, however, succeeded in reaching the desired spot, and, 'worming them-'selves through the heather,' they saw from behind a small knoll 'the deer feeding forward very leisurely, but still restless, and 'with their sentinels looking back towards the east.'—'They lay 'still as death till some hinds passed within an easy shot; next 'came a four-year-old hart, which was suffered to pass also; the 'better harts were following in the same direction, and the points 'of their horns were just coming in sight, when lo! Lightfoot, '(Mr Edwin Landseer,) having come into the ground, fired at 'the small hart which was galloping away gaily, and gaily did 'he still continue to gallop.' This injudicious shot compelled Tortoise to dash forward and take a long shot at the last deer that was passing. The stricken deer, however, moved off with the rest of the herd. He soon falls behind them, and one of the deer is seen licking his wound. Percy, one of the best of the stag-hounds, is let loose, and tracks his prey along the banks of the Tilt, till he is brought to bay in the middle of the stream. An audacious stranger, (an English artist,) however, who came up to the deer in this position, assailed him in such a manner with stones and a bludgeon, as to make him break bay; but Percy continued the pursuit till the deer, quite exhausted, again stood at bay in the rocky bed of the Tilt. The stranger was again approaching the deer with his uplifted club, when Tortoise raised his rifle from a distance, and down fell the mighty hart, which was dragged by the stranger to the shore.

In his third chapter, Mr Scrope introduces us to the deer forests of Badenoch, and to the legendary tales with which they are associated. Stories of witchcraft and fairies carry us quickly through his pages, and the fate of Walter Cumming, the 'Wolf of Badenoch,' terminates his narrative.

'Walter Cumming was killed by a fall from his horse, in the forest of Gaick; he was the son, I believe, of one of the Cummings of Badenoch, and certainly a very profligate young fellow. Tradition says that he determined upon making a number of young women shear stark

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naked on the farm of Ruthven, which was the residence of the Cummings in Badenoch. In the mean time he was called away on business to Atholl, and the day of his return was fixed for this infamous exhibition. When that day arrived, his horse galloped up to the court-yard, stained with soil and blood, with one of his master's legs alone hanging in the stirrup. Search was instantly made, and the mangled body of Cumming was found with two eagles preying upon it. * * * * The place where Walter was killed is called Leim-ramfian, or the Fingalian's leap; and a terrible breakneck place it is.'—P. 116.

The subsequent chapter teaches us the cardinal qualifications of a deer-stalker, among which abstinence, self-possession, watchfulness, strength, and courage, are among the most trivial. 'His muscle must be of marble, and his sinews of steel.' He must not only 'run like the antelope, and breathe like the trade 'winds;' but he must be able 'to run in a stooping position 'with a greyhound pace, having his back parallel to the ground; 'and his face within an inch of it for miles together.' He must have a taste for running, like an eel through sand, *ventre à terre*, and he 'should be accomplished in skilfully squeezing his clothes 'after this operation, to make all comfortable.'

'He should rejoice,' says Mr Scrope, 'in wading through torrents, and be able to stand firmly on water-worn stones, unconscious of the action of the current; or if by fickle fortune the waves should be too powerful for him, when he loses his balance, and goes floating away upon his back, (for if he has any tact or sense of the picturesque, it is presumed he will fall backwards,) he should raise his rifle aloft in the air, Marmion fashion, lest his powder should get wet, and his day's sport come suddenly to an end. A few weeks' practice in the Tilt will make him quite *au fait* at this. We would recommend him to try the thing in aspect during a refreshing north wind, which is adverse to deer-stalking; thus no day will be lost pending his education. To swim he should not be able, because there would be no merit in saving himself by such a paltry subterfuge; neither should he permit himself to be drowned, because we have an affection for him, and moreover it is very cowardly to die.'—P. 123.

After detailing the qualifications of the riflemen, and the tactics of the target, Mr Scrope draws a vivid picture of the climate of the mountains, when the deer-stalker is himself brought to bay by the onset of the elements. The prognostics of the morning are realized. The mazy mist clambers up the hills, and invests the landscape with its watery shroud. The discouraged sportsmen are seen in little groups on the dripping heather, sulky and impatient, as if Nature had deviated unjustly from her course in suspending their sanguinary pleasures. Bursts of sunshine, and careering clouds, and autumnal gusts, alternately cheer and depress them. The accumulated vapour, restless and weary with

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its embosomed fires, fixes its dark mass on the horizon, and blackens the huge form of the impending mountain. The furious blast at last arrives,—and the descending torrent, and the forked thunderbolt, and the peals reverberating from rock to rock: The rifles of heaven are discharged among the intellectual herd, and the proud huntsman,

> 'Scorch'd by the ethereal dart,
> And his limbs black with lightning,'

sinks a more helpless victim than the stately hart struck with his shot, or torn by his bloodhounds.

After describing in his sixth chapter the Forest of Atholl, its principal glens, and lakes, and lodges, and merry foresters, and amusing us with many interesting details of the last execution at Blair—of the royal feast and hunt given to James V. in 1592—and of the adventures of the 'Wolf of Badenoch,' he proceeds in chapter seventh to give an account of a grand deer drive to Glen Tilt, under the auspices of the Duke of Atholl. The various sportsmen were concealed at different stations in the glen, and none of them were permitted to stir till the deer had fairly passed them. Sportsmen, whose discretion could be relied upon, were occasionally sent with the drivers, one at each wing; but they were only to consult the general sport, and not to fire unless the deer broke fairly out. On occasions like this the drivers often collected a herd of *five or six hundred* deer, which, upon reaching the glen, often broke into parcels, and turned back upon the drivers, so as to afford splendid and animated sport. When this took place the firing became general, and the dogs were then turned loose, for the purpose of bringing some of the heavier deer to bay.

> 'Crack, crack! go the rifles,—for either shot
> A noble hart, bleeding, sinks on the spot;
> The third ball has miss'd,—but the hindmost stag
> Was struck by the fourth as he topp'd the crag.
>
> '"Uncouple the lurchers!"—right onward they fly,
> With outstretching limb, and with fire-flashing eye:
> On the track of his blood they are winging their way;
> They gain on his traces,—he stands at bay!
>
> 'Magnificent creature! to reach thee I strain
> Through forest and glen,—over mountain and plain;
> Yet, now thou art fallen, thy fate I deplore,
> And lament that the reign of thy greatness is o'er.' *

* From the Hon. T. H. Liddel's beautiful poem entitled 'Deer-Stalking Rhymes,' printed in Mr Scrope's volume, p. 264.

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The incidents of this deer drive were numerous and exciting; but our limits will not permit us to detail them as they deserve. Beset on all sides, the herd darts in gallant array across the meadow,—rushes through the rocky channel of the Tilt, and, 'reeking and steaming,' scamper right up the face of the great mountain, pursued by ruthless riflemen, exhausted drivers, and half-blown dogs. The skirmish now begins. 'The 'herd collect into a dense mass, each deer wedging himself into 'it as he finds he is the particular object of attack. Not a single 'hart fell out; and the hounds at length returned with slinking 'countenances and drooping sterns, and, lolling out their tongues, 'they lie panting on the greensward.' In this encounter the Duke of Atholl killed *three* first-rate harts, and Lightfoot (Mr Edwin Landseer) slew *two*, and other rifles did proportional execution. A French Count distinguished himself pre-eminently on this occasion by an achievement which is too ludicrous to be omitted. His voluble tongue, and his perennial music, disturbed too frequently the silence which the deer chase so imperiously demands. After missing many fair shots, he directed his rifle 'right towards the middle of a dense herd of deer.'

'Every thing was propitious—circumstance, situation, and effect; for he was descending the mountain in full view of our whole assemblage of sportsmen. A fine stag in the midst of the herd fell to the crack of his rifle, "Hallo, hallo!"—forward ran the Count, and sat upon the prostrate deer triumphing. "*Hé bien, mon ami, vous êtes mort, donc! Moi, je fais toujours des coups sûrs. Ah! pauvre enfant!*" He then patted the sides of the animal in pure wantonness, and looked east, west, north, and south for applause, the happiest of the happy; finally, he extracted a mosaic snuff-box from his pocket, and with an air which nature has denied to all save the French nation, he held a pinch to the deer's nose, —"*Prends, mon ami, prends donc!*" This operation had scarcely been performed, when the hart, who had only been stunned, or perhaps shot through the loins, sprang up suddenly—overturned the Count—ran fairly away, and was never seen again. "*Arrêtes toi, traitre! arrêtes, mon enfant. Ah, c'est un enfant perdu! Allez donc à tous les diables.*"' —P. 228-229.

Among the other events of this day's sport was the chase and capture of the Gown-cromb of Badenoch, a noted blacksmith and poacher, whose fowling-piece had disturbed a large parcel of deer which ought to have joined the general herd. When brought before the Duke, his Grace asked him whether he would go to Perth jail for three months, or stand a shot from his rifle at a hundred paces. The blacksmith chose the alternative of the bullet; and the ground being measured, and the poacher placed in position, the Duke called for his best rifle, and having taken a long and steady aim, the life of the poacher was prolonged, and

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the breathless suspense of the hillmen intermitted by the explosion of the copper cap! The Duke called for another rifle, better primed—the blacksmith 'neither flinched nor stirred,' but the rifle again uttered its shrill note of mercy. The courage of the poacher was rewarded with his fill of whisky; and though he promised never to revisit the braes of Atholl, yet he confessed to the Duke that he 'couldna aye be without venison,' and that he would find 'mony a stoot hart in Glenfiddich, and mony a 'yell hind in the pine-woods of Braemar.'

After the fatigues of the chase, Mr Scrope proceeds in his eighth chapter to recount some of those interesting adventures of poachers and freebooters, which tradition never fails to preserve in the land of rocks and mountains. These stories possess various kinds of interest; but two of them, which narrate very recent events, are especially deserving of notice. The first recounts a desperate struggle between a deer and a poacher, who very lately plied his vocation in Glen Tilt:—

'He set off in the evening,' says Mr Scrope, 'that he might be on a deer cast in the grey of the morning. Whilst it was dark, he descried the horns of a deer in a hollow very near him; he had small shot only in his gun, and was in such a position that he could not change the charge without danger of disturbing the stag. He crept, however, so close to him, that when he sprung on his legs he fell to the shot. Not a little surprised, the poacher threw down his gun, dashed forward, and seized his victim by the hind leg; but it was no easy matter to hold him. In the struggle the man kept his gripe firmly, whilst the deer dragged him at a tearing pace amongst the large stones and birch hags, till he was all over bruises, his legs severely lacerated, and his clothes torn to shreds. His bonnet and plaid had entirely disappeared.

'He now contrived to get hold of his knife, but it dropped in the struggle; and as the deer still sustained its vigour, he had much ado to keep hold of the limb, even with both his hands. The darkness became deeper as the animal tore and strained forward through the skirts of birch-wood, and both repeatedly fell together.

'Breaking forth again into the open moor, he found his weight was beginning to tell on the energy of the stag, so that he had power to swing him from side to side, till at length, just as they were re-entering the wood, this determined bull-dog of a fellow fairly laid him on his broadside, and with such force that the crush seemed to stun him.

'Stripped almost naked as the man was, his shirt and kilt torn to tatters, and his hose and brogues nearly gone, he still contrived, by means of his garters and shirt belt, to secure the deer by binding his hind leg to a birch-tree. Having accomplished this with great difficulty, he returned for his gun, and thus at length secured his victim.'—P. 260-261.

After giving an account of the celebrated Gaelic poet and deer-stalker, Rob Doun, which he has quoted from this Journal for

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July 1831, and to which we refer our readers, Mr Scrope gives an account of another day's sport, in which his party were summoned to deal with three fine harts feeding on the swell of Ben Dairg. Tortoise and Lightfoot had, with great difficulty, got within sight of their game, and were about to occupy a little knoll covered with tufts of heather, when a chuckling moorcock sprung up from the heath, and caused the deer to break over the hill when the sportsmen had almost placed their fingers upon the trigger. This disappointment was, however, amply compensated by the brilliant success which attended the remaining operations of the day.

In the very interesting narrative of this day's sport, Mr Scrope introduces the following remarkable account of an incident which happened in 1837, to the forester of Cluny.

'In passing through the forest of Stramashie, near Loch Laggan, he descried the horns of a stag above the heather at some distance; and taking advantage of the cover of a grey stone on the lee side of the animal's lair, crept cautiously up to him while he was apparently asleep. He had no rifle, but opened his deer knife, which he placed between his teeth that his hands might be freed, and then threw himself suddenly upon the stag. Up started the astonished beast, and sprung forward with Donald on his back, who grasped him with might and main by the horns, to keep his seat in a sportsman-like manner: no easy matter, I trow; for the animal made right down the rugged side of a hill with headlong speed, to a stream in the glen below, and dashed through it, still bearing his anxious rider with the knife in his hand, which he had neither time nor ability to use. When, however, this gallant pair reached the opposite side of the glen, and the deer began to breast the hill and relax his speed, Donald was enabled so far to collect his bewildered senses as to get hold of his knife; and he absolutely contrived to plunge it into his throat. The deer fell forward in the death-struggle, and Donald made a somerset of course.'—P. 281-282.

A struggle of a different kind took place between a celebrated deer-stalker, who, while hunting in the island of Jura with his deer-hounds, came suddenly upon three magnificent stags. He had no rifle; but after a long pursuit he came up with one of the deer standing at bay in some long heather, and quite exhausted. The dog lay within a few yards of him apparently done up.

'As soon, however, as his master shouted his name, the gallant brute sprung at the stag's throat, and a desperate battle ensued, in which the dog was tossed three times in the air, before his owner could get quite up; and was thus severely wounded. When the sportsman, who had only a little herd-boy with him, reached the arena, the stag, without attempting to make off, thrust at them right and left, wheeling round and round to defeat every attempt to grapple with him; the boy had his leg

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severely lacerated, when the deer-stalker, who is a most muscular and powerful man, dashed in and seized the animal by the horns. The contest was desperate and doubtful; at length they both came to the ground, when the hunting-knife finished the contest.'—P. 282-283.

The same sportsman, when shooting sea-fowl among the rocks of Colonsay, wounded a large seal basking on the shore. The seal, however, was scuffling over the rocks on his way to the sea—

'When our enthusiastic sportsman sprung from the boat, and grappling with the slippery brute just as he had reached the water, plunged headlong with him into the sea, where a singular conflict ensued, sometimes under water and sometimes in view, before the people in the boat could manage to get hold of either of the combatants. At length, however, they succeeded in dragging both the young laird and his fat friend into the boat, to the great merriment and relief of his companions.'—P. 284.

Mr Scrope devotes his tenth chapter to the subject of the original Scottish greyhound, and treats with his usual skill the useful topics of leading and starting the deer-hounds, and the equally useful one of feeding and bleeding them. In his eleventh chapter he gives an interesting account of his last and best day's sport in the Forest of Atholl, when the Duke gave him the sole occupation of the forest, and commissioned him to kill as many harts as possible. We can only state that the toils of the day were rewarded by eight fine harts. This chapter terminates with the Hon. Mr Liddel's poem, entitled 'The Moors,' which embodies the brightest lights and the deepest shadows of the deer-chase.

In the twelfth, and concluding chapter of the work, Mr Macneill of Colonsay gives a learned history of the Highland deer-hound, and a pleasing account of a day's deer-coursing in the Island of Jura, which every reader will peruse with interest.

Brief and imperfect as the preceding abstract is, we think that it will fully justify the high praise we have bestowed on this work, and induce our readers to sit down to the luxurious repast from which we have risen. We must confess, however, that in closing it, the triumphs of the chase have not left on our minds impressions wholly unalloyed; and we feel ourselves in the same 'cheerless glen' from which Mr Scrope acknowledges that he looks upon 'those distant and sunny scenes of his life.' It cannot be that we wish to rejoice again over the bleeding hart;—to witness, in their last convulsions, the glazed eye and the palsied limb of the tender hind;—or to see the ferocious bloodhound tearing and disfiguring the noblest forms of life and beauty. Every season of our pilgrimage has its appropriate enjoyments; and the occupations of our spring would form an unsuitable em-

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ployment for the winter of our age. The pleasures, too, which wealth commands, and the active occupations which a vigorous constitution may have enabled us to pursue, are the least agreeable and the first faded of all our recollections. They have performed their part in accelerating the stream of time, as it passed lazily through the hour-glass of life; and having done this for ourselves alone, they were hallowed by no associations of duty or of mercy. It is otherwise, however, with those sports in which pain is inflicted, or life destroyed. The cries of animal suffering, and the red current in which life ebbs to its close, will ring in the ear, or appeal to the eye, when the pleasures which they yielded have been forgotten. They are, therefore, recollections of pain, which we try to stifle as we descend into the vale of years. Mercy, indeed, is the especial attribute of age. It steals upon us unperceived, and the more attenuated our own thread of life, the more do we sympathize with whatever lives and breathes. In the world of instinct, on the contrary, the impulses of nature, though weakened, are never subdued by age. The decrepid stag-hound would doubtless start from its death-lair to assail the stateliest hart; but we doubt if the most daring poacher would, in similar circumstances, recollect with satisfaction his boldest and bloodiest achievements.

ART. III.—1. *Naval History of Great Britain, from the Declaration of War by France in* 1793 *to the Accession of George IV.* By WILLIAM JAMES. Edited by CAPTAIN CHAMIER, R.N. 6 vols. 8vo. London: 1837.

2. *History of the Navy of the United States of America.* By J. FENIMORE COOPER, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1839.

IT is now sixteen years since the late Mr James completed the first edition of the most perfect and comprehensive Naval History ever published. In 1816, according to his preface, he published his first naval work—a pamphlet upon the merits of the principal naval actions of the late American War. In 1817 this was succeeded by a single octavo volume, entitled 'Naval Occurrences between England and America.' In 1819 the present work was undertaken; a second edition, with numerous and important additions, appeared in 1826; and the present one was completed in 1837. During the whole of this time, this important work has not, we believe, been the subject of deliberate criticism; and the few cursory remarks upon it which we

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have chanced to see in print, have contained very little notice of its peculiar merits.

The book itself is one of which it is not too high praise to assert, that it approaches as nearly to perfection, in its own line, as any historical work perhaps ever did. The principal transactions narrated in it, and we trust by this time the narrative itself, are fortunately too well known to require a detailed notice of its contents. But a general sketch of its plan and the manner of its execution, will, we think, convince our readers that the high character we have given of it is not exaggerated.

Mr James commences his work with a very useful Introduction, in which he briefly and clearly sketches the progress of Naval Architecture in Great Britain, and the origin of the principal improvements in the British Navy before the time of the French Revolution. The history itself opens with the declaration of war in 1793, and closes with the general peace of 1815. Every year between these two periods occupies a separate division of the work; and every such division is subdivided under three heads, detailing respectively the movements of the hostile fleets, the encounters of single ships and boat attacks, and all colonial naval operations. The Appendix contains a separate abstract, compiled with incredible minuteness and accuracy, for each year from 1793 to 1820 inclusive, containing the number, nature, and tonnage of every class of vessels belonging to the Royal Navy at the commencement of that year; together with the particulars of its increase and decrease during the preceding year. The research necessary to procure materials for twenty-eight such abstracts, and the labour of composing them, must have been so great, that they alone may be considered as a striking monument of industry. And no one who has carefully studied the work which they illustrate, will deny that the light which they throw upon the gradual improvement of British naval architecture, as exemplified in the successive addition of new classes of ships to the Navy, and the increase of size in the vessels composing the former classes, is fully sufficient to justify the care and pains bestowed upon this part of the work. They comprise, however, a very trifling proportion of Mr James's labours. A British naval historian has peculiar facilities for correctness of detail, while his labour and his responsibility are of course proportionably increased. The log-books of every British man-of-war, together with all official papers and documents relating to her proceedings, are carefully preserved by the Admiralty; whose records consequently contain the most perfect information now extant respecting every event of consequence in which a British ship has been in any manner

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concerned for many years past. This information, however, is of course scattered over many thousands of volumes, and buried amid vast quantities of the trifling and uninteresting details which necessarily occupy nearly the whole of the journal of a ship's proceedings. To these invaluable records we believe it is easy to procure access, but that would be of little use to any one, unless prepared, like Mr James, to wade through folios of tedious minutiæ, in the hope of throwing light upon a single disputed fact, or restoring from oblivion a single meritorious action. Invaluable as they are, their value may be compared to that of the diamond in the mine, which is only precious to him who has skill and industry sufficient to discover and draw it forth from the darkness in which it is buried. These resources, however, Mr James appears to have thoroughly exhausted; and by his unwearied industry he has brought to light many gallant actions, and rescued from obscurity many brave men, whose memory, without his aid, would have been lost for ever. This, however, is not the limit of his researches. The indefatigable historian has ransacked the columns of the Gazette, the Moniteur, and several foreign journals; and has made himself master of several great French historical works, and of the productions of several British and American naval writers. With a candour almost as uncommon as his accuracy, he never fails to notice any variation of consequence in the statements of the hostile party; and either to refute it by argument, or, fairly to balance it with the opposing testimony. We must acknowledge that we cannot contemplate without admiration the impartial and unwearied zeal for historical truth, which alone could have supported him through his tedious and thankless labours.

In his accounts of actions between single ships, Mr James details from the log-book of the British combatant, or, where that is inaccessible, from the official account, the circumstances under which the encounter took place, the various manœuvres of the action, and the loss on each side; inserting at full length, from the official returns, the name of every British officer killed or wounded. He then enumerates the exact force of each ship in guns and men, which, in cases of importance, he illustrates by a tabular statement, and concludes the whole with his remarks on the action. His narratives of the encounters of fleets are, as far as circumstances will allow, upon the same plan. He states the separate proceedings and loss of every British ship engaged, with as much minuteness as if she had been the only combatant; and, in order to give unity to these details, concludes the whole by a general summary of the action. The impartial attention bestowed by Mr James on every part of his work, renders it unne-

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cessary to illustrate our remarks by extracting any of his narratives. The same elaborate accuracy distinguishes them all, whether they relate the proceedings of a midshipman in command of a four-oared pinnace, or of Nelson at the head of his most renowned captains. From the battle of Trafalgar down to the capture of a privateer, the reader can scarcely open upon a passage which will not convince him of the singular clearness, force, and precision, of the historian's method of narration. We have only to add, that several of the most interesting and important actions are illustrated by carefully prepared diagrams; and that the work contains an accurate index of every proper name, English or foreign, which occurs in the text, together with a full, clear, and correct glossary of the nautical phrases employed.

'*Vérité sans peur*' is the motto which Mr James has prefixed to his work; and it is impossible to deny that he has unflinchingly acted up to its spirit. His correctness in detail has brought him into frequent, and almost invariably successful, collision with contemporary authors, for whose inferior research and assiduity he certainly makes little allowance. It must be acknowledged that his plan of examining every different statement which relates to his subject, however satisfactory to his readers, can scarcely be equally so to certain rival historians, who have good reason to wish that he had thought their labours worthy of less minute attention. These gentlemen may perhaps feel, that however appropriate may be Mr James's present motto of 'Truth without fear,' that of 'Truth without mercy' would be almost equally so; and certainly our author's veracity, like the Turkish heroes of Lord Byron, appears equally independent of both. The same resolute and conscientious zeal has impelled the historian into certain censures of far more serious importance. We allude to the strictures occasionally made by him upon the conduct of British officers. Some of these have led to public controversies, and all, we fear, have contributed to create a prejudice against the work in which they occur, especially among members of the naval profession. It is not our intention to enter into the particulars of any of these discussions; we shall content ourselves with observing, that in the few instances where such comments occur, they are obviously inserted from a sense of duty, uniformly supported by strong facts and arguments, and very seldom worded with unnecessary harshness.

We may here remark, that we are glad to find Mr James, in the preface to his second edition, making a brief but conclusive reply to an attack, the feebleness of which we well remember to have remarked, some time before we met with the

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work assailed. The author of this attack is Captain Glascock, well known as a naval novelist, who some years since, in a publication entitled 'The Naval Sketch-Book,' thought proper to make some very hasty and unfavourable comments on Mr James's work. The value of his invective, and the historian's success in reply, will be sufficiently shown by briefly enumerating the offences imputed. Those chiefly insisted on are simply a misprint (noticed, be it remarked, in the Errata) of *main*-mast for *mizen*-mast; the inappropriate use, in a single instance, of the term 'bear up;' and the phrase 'Truth is not always to be spoken,'—a sentiment which Captain Glascock, with incredible carelessness, represents as adopted by Mr James, though it is merely quoted by him, and that with strong expressions of dissent. In a similar tone, Captain Glascock remarks upon the frequency with which the reader is 'tantalized' by references to 'James's Naval Occurrences,'—an observation which he takes care to express generally; though it was in fact applicable only to a part of one, out of the five volumes composing Mr James's first edition, and has been wholly obviated by the improvements of his second. The peculiar manner of describing general actions, which we have already noticed, is strongly censured as causing obscurity and confusion, while all notice of the concluding summary, by which Mr James always endeavours to elucidate such actions, is, with characteristic candour, omitted. But the gallant officer's concluding cavil is too singular not to demand separate notice. Mr James's accounts of detached actions are admitted by his severe critic to be '*frequently* correct;' —the assailant has not, as may be supposed, attempted to point out a single instance where they are otherwise—but are 'encumbered with *spiritless details* of number of men and weight of metal!'—those details being, of course, the very test by which alone a seaman could form an accurate judgment of the merits of the action. What would be said of a lawyer who should complain that an abstract of title was 'encumbered with spiritless details' of wills, settlements, and mortgages? When we have added that this specimen of criticism was published after it had been some time announced that a new edition of Mr James's work, with large additions and corrections, was in the press, we think we may safely leave Mr Glascock's production to the judgment of our readers; without further engaging their indignation on our side, by noticing the unworthy attempts at personal sarcasm with which he endeavours to give point to his remarks. We cannot, however, pass over the professional pedantry which this officer displays in his constant sneers at such a history as we have described that of Mr James to be—

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simply because it is the work of a 'landsman.' In order to make it appear how widely the feelings of candid and liberal-minded naval officers differ on that point from those of Captain Glascock, we quote a few lines from the preface added to the present edition of this work by Captain Chamier, who, as an experienced seaman and an accomplished critic, has a double right to be considered a high authority. 'Captain Brenton,' he says, in reply to some strictures by that officer on Mr James's work, 'asserts that no landsman can write a naval history, be-'cause he cannot comprehend the detail of nautical manœuvres, 'or understand the phraseology of a sailor. I defy Captain 'Brenton to point out one, only *one*, nautical error in the whole 'of James's history; and this is perhaps the most wonderful part 'of the work. Every word is right—is strictly correct.'

We are sorry that a fault in Mr James's history, very different from any of those imputed to him by the eager but not very powerful assailant whom we have just noticed, now demands our attention. We allude to the bitter and persevering antipathy towards our transatlantic relations, which the historian, with a singular departure from his usual manliness and candour, takes every occasion to indulge. We are bound in justice to remark, that this unfortunate propensity never succeeds in perverting the main current of the narrative. The circumstances of every engagement between England and America, and the force of the parties engaged, are recounted, in as far as we can perceive, with the same minuteness and accuracy which distinguishes the rest of the work. But almost every original remark made upon them by the author, bears traces of the unworthy feeling we have mentioned. The American character is the object of perpetual sarcasm; American officers of undoubted honour are taxed, on very slight grounds, with falsehood and deceit; and the severest constructions are put upon almost every proceeding recorded of an American ship of war. We shall not exemplify this frequent injustice by multiplying quotations, which neither Englishmen nor Americans could read without regret; but we are unwillingly led to notice a single case, in which we think Mr James's prejudices have so unusually distorted his judgment, as to betray him, with all his precision, into a striking inconsistency. We read, at p. 290, vol. vi., an account of the capture of the American corvette Frolic, Captain Bainbridge, of twenty-two guns. This vessel was chased by a British frigate of forty-two guns, and finding it impossible, from the situation of the land, to make her escape, surrendered without making any resistance. We shall not pause to enquire whether a different conduct on the part of the American commander would have

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amounted to culpable temerity or not; but we think it is clear that, under the circumstances, no exertions could have given him a reasonable prospect of saving his ship; and, therefore, that his surrender was at least justifiable. Mr James, however, with inexcusable harshness, observes—'We should not have hesitated to 'call a French, or even a British captain, who had acted as 'Master-Commandant Joseph Bainbridge of the U. S. Navy did 'in this instance act, a ——,' meaning, we suppose, a coward or a traitor. Taking Mr James at his word, we turn to vol. ii., p. 354-5, and there we find the French privateer Bordelais, 'an extraordinary fine ship' of twenty-four guns, striking her colours to a British frigate of forty-six guns, 'without, as it ap-'pears, making any resistance,'—certainly without provoking any comment from Mr James. At p. 95, vol. i., we find the British twenty-four gun-ship Hyæna, surrendering (of course, under the circumstances, unresistingly) to a French squadron; a surrender which, in Mr James's first edition, was, by mistake, represented to have been made to a single frigate of forty-four guns—a mistake, however, which did not provoke the application of any expressive *blank* to the British commander. So strong an instance of partiality speaks but too forcibly for itself.

There is one effect produced by this unjust prejudice on the part of Mr James, of which his countrymen have a peculiar right to complain. It is of course most conspicuous in his details of the naval occurrences between England and America; in consequence of which, a most masterly exposition of the causes which led to most of the defeats sustained by British ships in the American war, is deprived in a great measure of its effect, by being delivered in the language of an eager advocate, not that of an impartial judge. The reader is in most cases convinced, as clearly as evidence and arithmetic can prove it, that the unsuccessful party yielded, after an obstinate resistance, to overwhelming force; and then the impression on his mind is weakened by some unhandsome attempt to impute misconduct to the American commander, or to detect trifling inaccuracies in his official report. Had Mr James reflected how easy it is to prejudice the matter by the manner, or could he have foreseen the injury which his valuable facts and unanswerable arguments would sustain, from being delivered in the language of animosity and sarcasm, we are convinced that we should have been spared the ungracious office which we have reluctantly performed.

The style in which Mr James's history is written, is in our opinion admirably adapted to his subject. It is uniformly clear, concise, and correct—distinct in narration, pointed in argument,

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brief and forcible in remark. These commendations, we think, apply to no part of the book more emphatically than to the passages in which due honour is to be given to the gallantry of the writer's countrymen. Such of our readers as are conversant with British naval histories, will easily recall instances of the exaggerated eulogy which has been so unsparingly bestowed on every trifling success. With singular consistency, the same writers who constantly declare British sailors to be invincible, and their triumphs matters of course, have been accustomed to pronounce every tri-colored flag struck at sea an imperishable trophy, and to hold up as immortalized every officer who captured a French cruiser. In a more rational spirit, and we are convinced with a far more correct appreciation of the feeling which prevails among British officers, Mr James carefully abstains from unmeaning panegyric; and evidently thinks that the praise most welcome to his heroes will be found in a minute and accurate detail of their achievements. But he never fails, where commendation is clearly due, to testify a just pride in the bravery of British seamen; nor does he ever pass over any of those celebrated exploits, which even in the British Navy are commemorated for their superior daring, without freely yielding them his tribute of warm admiration.

With all the precision and authority of the official records from which so much of it is drawn, Mr James's work has perhaps contracted something of the dryness of their style. We confess we think a slight degree of this peculiarity by no means out of place in a work like the present. We like the official quaintness and formality with which Mr James prefaces every engagement by a statement of the latitude and longitude, the direction of the wind, and the position of the hostile vessels. We have already noticed with approbation the style of his comments, and certainly his quiet and business-like conclusion, that 'this was a very creditable affair,' or 'this must be considered 'a very gallant exploit,' contrast very advantageously with the vague and tumid applause whose frequency in naval narratives we have already noticed. A history destined, as we foresee the present is, to go down to posterity as a text-book of British nautical achievements during twenty years of desperate warfare, has of course no room for declamation or ornament, even if they could be appropriately used. Such a work resembles the ancient pyramids of Egypt, which, though deficient in the graces of classical architecture, will endure for ever—a monument of departed greatness, and a storehouse of inestimable treasure.

Of Captain Chamier's share in the work we are happy to speak with unmixed satisfaction. In his preface, he briefly but unan-

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swerably disposes of some very feeble criticisms on Mr James's work; and his notes are sensible and interesting, but never intrusive. The latter, though but a negative merit, is one which, in a professional commentator upon an unprofessional work, deserves high praise as a proof of modesty and good taste; and in so popular and successful a writer such forbearance is doubly commendable. The work is completed by a clear and concise narrative of the Burmese war and the battle of Navarino.

The announcement of a new Naval History of the United States of America, by Mr Cooper, was received by us with as much anxiety as pleasure. Mr Cooper's literary talents are so well known, and have been exercised with such peculiar success in nautical fiction, that it was natural to expect they would be displayed with equal effect in history. At the same time, he has long avowed his antipathy to the English character, and we certainly feared that his management of a subject so eminently calculated to arouse this prejudice, and to give opportunity for its display, would be such as no British reader, however moderately endued with national vanity, could have contemplated with patience. We are bound, however, to admit, that while our anticipations of pleasure from the work have been completely fulfilled, our less agreeable forebodings have been only partially justified. Mr Cooper's style of narration, though occasionally somewhat careless, is uniformly clear, pleasing, and lively—occasionally, but never unnecessarily, rising into pathos and eloquence. His comments on the various actions related by him, though not always impartial, are seldom expressed in unnecessarily offensive terms; he freely and candidly, in many instances, bestows praise on the gallantry of British officers; and does not, except in a few instances, claim superior merit for his countrymen, without being apparently justified by his previous statement of facts. But of his attention to the details of his subject, we cannot speak with so much satisfaction. It is true that he does not run into the absurd and puerile exaggerations by which some few American naval annalists have disgraced themselves. His narrations are generally such as we should expect from a sensible American gentleman, moderately well-informed on the subject; that is, they contain but one side of the story, though that is calmly and temperately related. But this is not enough. In a relation of events, so long the subject of public discussion, and from an author of Mr Cooper's reputation, we have a right to expect something more. We have a right to expect some notice of British accounts and British official statements—at least when such accounts and state-

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ments are the best or the only authority respecting the facts to be investigated. When British or American authorities are diametrically opposed upon particulars respecting which their means of information were equal, we do not blame Mr Cooper for preferring the version of his own countrymen. We do not even insist that he is bound to notice every case of conflicting evidence; though the weight which Mr James's decisions acquire by a contrary system, cannot fail to strike every reader. But ought not Mr Cooper to admit, or at least to notice, British accounts of facts resting wholly within the knowledge of British historians and officers? Is he justified in passing over a point as doubtful, or stating it upon mere conjecture, when there is a British history which decides it on direct authority? Is he justified in omitting all notice of an important casualty to the British, because the American accounts, from ignorance or negligence, are silent on the subject? Ought he to have spoken of the size of a British frigate destroyed at sea, as matter of doubt, when Mr James had published her exact dimensions from the public records of the navy?* Ought he to have pronounced it impossible to decide how far the previous damages of a British vessel were the cause of her capture, without noticing that a fact is asserted in the British official account,† which would show those damages to have been wholly decisive of the action?‡ Ought he, in his account of an unsuccessful attack on the coast, to have omitted all notice of the British boats having been prevented from landing, by grounding within point-blank shot of the batteries?§ These omissions, and, we regret to say, too many resembling them, will be more particularly noticed in the course of this article. While we acquit Mr Cooper of intentional unfairness, we cannot but feel that such negligence as this is only one degree less culpable. Without demanding from the American historian any extraordinary degree of industry, we might surely expect that so well-known a work as Mr

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* See Cooper, vol. ii. p. 199; James's 'Naval Occurrences,' p. 112.

† For our quotations from this and other official letters and papers, we are indebted to James's 'Naval Occurrences,' in the appendix of which work, every official document, relating to the naval actions of the American war which has been made public, is given at full length. From a passage in Mr Cooper's history, (see vol. ii. p. 448,) it is clear that he had access to this work, though his notice of it is confined to a single unimportant sentence.

‡ See Cooper, vol. ii. p. 215; James's 'Naval Occurrences,' App. p. 22.

§ See vol. ii. p. 315; James's 'Naval History,' vol. vi. p. 233.

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James's history would scarcely escape his researches. The high authority of that history for accuracy and research, demanded from Mr Cooper some notice of such of its assertions as contradict his own; and we think that the offensive remarks by which it is too often disfigured, ought to have been but an additional incentive to an able and diligent American writer, fairly to meet, and if possible triumphantly to overthrow, its statements and inferences.

We must farther remark, that in more than one instance the consequences of this remissness recoil upon Mr Cooper himself, and upon the service to which his work is dedicated, with unexpected and most injurious weight. Mr James, amid much unjust disparagement, has certainly succeeded in particularizing some few acts of flagrant misconduct on the part of American officers, with a minuteness which must be admitted to establish a strong *primâ facie* case against them. And we have now a naval history, by one of the most distinguished American writers living—himself, we believe, educated in the American navy—in which no attempt is made to answer these disgraceful imputations! We need scarcely dilate upon the singularly awkward appearance assumed by these facts. The outrage committed on board an American frigate, upon a British sailor applying for his discharge at the commencement of the war, (see James, vol. vi. p. 86)—the extraordinary flight of an American commodore from an inferior force, (see p. 213)—the treacherous attempt of two American officers to seize and carry off a British midshipman under a flag of truce, (see p. 313)—and the inhuman attack of an American corvette on a small armed brig, after peace was known to have been concluded, (see p. 388,) are all examples of the kind to which we allude. They are statements on the authenticity of which we suspend our judgment, but which are certainly made with such clearness, and supported by such a show of evidence, as must render the absence of all notice of them on the part of Mr Cooper, a serious mortification to the officers whose honour they impugn.

For our own part, we can attach no real value to a history in which the conflicting evidence on every disputed point of importance is not fairly balanced; and we shall therefore consider it our duty to compare the details given in Mr Cooper's work with the evidence which he has thought proper to reject, and to submit the result to our readers. As a lively and well-written sketch of a series of most interesting events, we are prepared to allow very high praise to his production; but we feel ourselves called upon to protest against its reception as a carefully compiled and authoritative history.

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The three principal struggles in which the navy of the United States has been engaged, have been the Revolutionary and Tripolitan wars, and the war of 1812. We consider it unnecessary to enter into the particulars of Mr Cooper's history of the first; the remoteness of the events which occurred in it having deprived them of their interest, and rendered their details scanty and uncertain. But the Tripolitan war is perhaps the event upon which American naval officers look back with the greatest pride. In May 1801, these barbarians were induced to commence hostilities, by the refusal of the American Government to comply with their demands of presents and tribute; and it was not until June 1805, that peace was concluded upon terms favourable to the United States. During the continuance of this war, the port of Tripoli was repeatedly blockaded by American squadrons, the town was bombarded, and the most hazardous means of annoyance were resorted to by the American officers, many of whom appear to have displayed the utmost personal daring in their attempts. We regret that our limits will not permit us to extract Mr Cooper's admirably written accounts of two, in particular, of the most celebrated adventures which distinguished this desperate warfare. We allude to the achievement of Decatur, in surprising and destroying a captured American frigate in the harbour of Tripoli; and to the melancholy fate of Captain Somers and his brave companions, in a desperate attempt to destroy the Tripolitan shipping by means of a fire-ship. We can only recommend them to the perusal of our readers, who, we think, will agree with us, that few scenes even in Mr Cooper's naval romances surpass in eloquent description and deep interest these two striking passages.*

We now enter upon a less welcome portion of our present task. The first naval collision which took place between England and America, subsequent to the revolutionary war, was an unfortunate accident, which created great indignation in the United States, though, as it appears, upon very insufficient grounds. In April 1806, the British fifty-gun ship Leander, Captain Whitby, while cruising off New York, chased some American merchantmen, and fired a shot ahead of one of them to bring her to. The shot unfortunately struck a small fishing vessel lying under the shore, which was not observed on board the Leander, and killed one of her men. Captain Whitby was tried for murder on his return to England, and of course acquitted; the above facts being fully proved on oath before the court. Most persons, in such a

* See vol. ii. pp. 27–36; and pp. 79–82.

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case as this, would have given more weight to the solemn depositions of three or four British officers, than to the mere conjecture of a few exasperated American fishermen. But the following is Mr Cooper's account of the incident:—'On the 25th of 'April 1806, the British ship Leander, fifty, Captain Whitby, in 'endeavouring to cut off a small coaster that was running for 'Sandy Hook, fired a shot into her, which killed one of her people.' Not a single word of explanation is added, nor is the court-martial held on Captain Whitby noticed, though its proceedings have been printed at full length in more than one British publication.

The unfortunate rencontre between the British ship Leopard and the American frigate Chesapeake was so much a political question, and so little a naval battle, that we shall be readily excused from discussing it. We shall therefore merely remark, that Mr Cooper appears to have stated the facts with correctness, and has commented upon them with a sense and moderation, for which, considering the peculiarly distressing circumstances of the case, he deserves great credit.

In the spring of 1811 occurred the well-known action between the President frigate and the Little-Belt sloop-of-war. As Mr Cooper states the conflicting evidence with sufficient fairness, we shall not enter upon the question which party commenced hostilities. We cannot, however, forbear the passing remark, that the hostile feeling towards America, which could induce the commander of a sloop-of-war to make an unprovoked attack on a frigate of fifty-two guns, must certainly have been unaccountably strong. We are inclined to believe that, in such a situation, Mr James himself would have preferred pacific measures as long as any choice was left.

On the 18th of June 1812, war was declared between Great Britain and the United States; and a few days afterwards the first shot at sea was fired: the British frigate Belvidera, Captain Byron, being chased by an American squadron under Commodore Rodgers, and engaged for some time by the leading ship. Captain Byron, however, defended his ship in a very gallant manner, and at length succeeded in making his escape. This action is remarkable for the somewhat singular comment made upon it by Captain Hull of the United States' navy:—'I am confident,' says that officer, in an official letter, 'that could the Commodore have 'got alongside the Belvidera, she would have been his in less than 'one hour.' This confident prediction that three powerful frigates and two sloops would not have required above an hour's close action to capture a single eighteen-pounder frigate of forty-two guns, must be allowed to possess the merits of modesty and probabi-

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lity, though but an equivocal compliment to the officers of the chasing squadron.

We now come to the three well-known and frequently discussed actions, which terminated in the capture of British by American frigates. It will be sufficient, so far as the facts are concerned, to state generally, that, on the 19th of August 1812, the Guerriere, Captain Dacres, was captured by the Constitution, Captain Hull; on the 25th of October, the Macedonian, Captain Carden, by the United States, Commodore Decatur; and on the 29th of December, the Java, Captain Lambert, by the Constitution, Commodore Bainbridge. The Guerriere and Java were destroyed at sea; but the Macedonian became an American frigate. The actions, though of course differing in details, possessed several characteristics in common. Each captured frigate made an obstinate resistance, during from one to two hours of *actual firing*, according to the British accounts; and all the three actions were decided in consequence of the British ship becoming dismasted by the heavy metal of her opponent, which enabled the latter to rake her with impunity until further resistance was impossible.

Our first remark upon these three celebrated actions will naturally be a comparison of the force of the combatants. The English frigates were all of the same class, and mounted from forty-six to forty-eight guns; twenty-eight long eighteen-pounders, four nine-pounders, and the rest thirty-two-pounder carronades. In size they were all below eleven hundred tons, and their regular complement was three hundred men and boys; but the Guerriere was nearly forty men short, and the Java had on board from seventy to eighty supernumeraries. As a specimen of the force of the American ships, we shall state that of the President, a vessel of the same class, subsequently captured by the British. This powerful frigate measured 1533 tons; her sides and bulwarks were thicker, and her spars and rigging stouter, than those of a British seventy-four gun ship,* and she was an excellent sailer. She was pierced for fifty-six guns, and mounted at her capture fifty-two; thirty-two long twenty-four-pounders, and twenty forty-two-pounder carronades. Her complement was understood to be four hundred and eighty men. In these details there is no room for mistake, the President having

* The President's sides were 20 inches thick at the midship main-deck port-sill; those of an ordinary British seventy-four in 1812 were 19 inches, and those of a British first-class eighteen-pounder frigate only 15 inches.

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been surveyed as a British frigate, and every particular respecting her being now recorded in the official archives of the British navy. The United States and Constitution are acknowledged by the Americans to be precisely similar in size and force to the President, except that each, we believe, mounted fifty-four instead of fifty-two guns; and that the Constitution carried thirty-two instead of forty-two-pounder carronades. Thus the weight of broadside of the lightest of the two Americans was nearly one-half heavier than that of any one of the three British frigates. Such a superiority as this renders it needless to mention the crippled masts of the Guerriere, or the inexperienced crew of the Java. That there should have been a different result in either of the three actions, was clearly a physical impossibility.

We now proceed to Mr Cooper's remarks on the subject. After mentioning the Guerriere's loss and damages, he says, 'All 'this execution had been done between the time when the ships 'opened their fire a-beam, and the moment when the Guerriere's 'masts fell; for the few shot thrown by the Constitution pre-'viously to the first event were virtually of no use, and subse-'quently to the last she did not discharge a gun. The whole 'period between the time when the Guerriere commenced her 'fire at long shot, and that when she actually hauled down her 'jack, something like two hours, was included in the enemy's 'accounts of the duration of the combat; but it is well under-'stood by professional men, that in truth the battle was decided 'in a fourth of that time,' (vol. ii. p. 198.) We may here remark, that Captain Dacres asserts in his official letter that the Constitution 'returned his fire' an hour and twenty minutes before the firing terminated, and two hours before the Guerriere's surrender; and adds that the ships continued 'exchanging broad-'sides' until they came to close action. Whether the Constitution's long twenty-four pounders were 'virtually of no use' except at close quarters, we should imagine the party against whom they were directed must have been best able to decide.

Mr Cooper avoids any detailed comparison of the size and force of either of the American frigates with that of her opponent. He however states pretty correctly the force of the British party, and admits generally that their opponents were 'larger and 'heavier ships.' But he adds, 'It is understood that the 'Guerriere was nearly as long a ship as her adversary, and it has 'been asserted on respectable authority that she was actually 'pierced for fifty-four guns, though it is admitted that she had 'but forty-nine mounted in the action, one of which was a light 'boat carronade,' (vol. ii. p. 199.) 'It is stated on authority 'deemed worthy of credit,' he subjoins in a note, 'that the

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'Guerriere was pierced for thirty guns on the gun-deck, but that 'she had no bridle port below. Five ports that could have been 'fought in broadside, are said to have been vacant when the 'Americans took possession.' These exaggerations are soon disposed of. The precise dimensions of the Guerriere, as well as those of the President, are to be found in the lists of the British navy, as recorded from actual measurement by responsible officers. On this authority, not less 'respectable and worthy of 'credit' than those cited by Mr Cooper, the President measured, as above mentioned, 1533 tons; her length 'over all,' or from head to stern, was 204 feet, and that of her lower deck 173 feet 3 inches—being equal to that of most British seventy-fours. On the same authority, the Guerriere measured 1092 tons; her length over all was 180 feet 4 inches, and her length on deck 154 feet 6 inches; that is, she was from 19 to 24 feet shorter than her opponent. She was pierced for only forty-eight broadside guns, but, as Mr Cooper states, mounted forty-nine, having on board two standing bow-guns which could only be used in chase. And we have to add, that every one of the particulars here quoted respecting her, has been in print and uncontradicted for upwards of twenty years.

Mr Cooper next attempts to reduce the disparity in weight of metal by an argument long ago, we had thought, silenced—certainly long ago satisfactorily answered.* He says, 'An officer 'of the Constitution, of experience and of great respectability, 'who is now dead, assured the writer that he actually weighed 'the shot of both ships, and found that the Constitution's 'twenty-fours were only three pounds heavier than the Guer-'riere's eighteens, and that there was nearly the same differ-'ence in favour of the latter's eighteens,' (vol. i. p. 200.) Some particulars to the same purpose are given at p. 445, vol. i.; and, among Mr Cooper's remarks on the capture of the Java, we find the following extraordinary statement:—'The dis-'cussions in the public prints, which naturally followed the dif-'ferent combats, in nations speaking the same language, brought 'forth some minute statements at the time, which seem to have 'been better founded than common. By one of these statements, 'which was evidently made by an officer of the Constitution, 'that ship mounted, in the action with the Java, fifty-four guns, 'and threw 677 lbs. 5 oz. of metal at a broadside; the apparent 'deficiency between the metal and the known calibre of the guns

* See James's Nav. Occ. p. 10.

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'arising from short weight in the shot. On the other hand, the 'Java is said to have mounted forty-nine guns, and to have 'thrown 605 lbs. of metal at a broadside. It is affirmed in this 'account, that the Java's eighteens threw a shot that weighed '19 lbs,' (vol. ii. p. 225.) By this convenient manner of reckoning, the Constitution's superiority is reduced from one-third to little more than one-eighth! Now, some difference does frequently exist between shot of the same weight, in consequence of the metal being more or less compressed by the method of casting used. Old and rusty shot, likewise, generally diminish perceptibly in weight; and shot are occasionally cast hollow, in order to render them less cumbrous in handling, and from an idea that it increases their range. But we believe it is admitted by all persons skilled in gunnery, that in shot of the same *diameter*, a slight difference in mere weight will neither increase nor diminish the effect produced on the object aimed at. Now, that American shot will fit British guns, and consequently that British and American shot of the same nominal weight are of the same actual diameter, appears from the singular coincidence, that the main-deck guns of the Constitution and United States were actually of British construction;* and also from the fact of two of the Macedonian's guns having been found on board an American sloop of war.† If, then, the shot on which the experiments mentioned by Mr Cooper were tried, did not, as is most probable, accidentally differ from that generally used on board the respective ships, it still appears that the alleged variation must have been merely in specific gravity, and therefore of little or no importance; so that the opponents were to all intents and purposes what they appeared to be, twenty-four and eighteen-pounder frigates. By way of rendering his hypothesis respecting the shot more probable, Mr Cooper suggests that the Guerriere and Java, which were French prizes, may have retained their French guns, and consequently made use of French shot, (pp. 199–225.) This very consequence, we think, might have shown Mr Cooper the improbability of his singular conjecture. How were frigates, equipped in an English port and supplied with English stores, to provide themselves with French shot? Does Mr Cooper suppose that the Guerriere and Java, when captured by the British, had French shot enough on board to last them for ever? Or does he think it probable that, whenever they wanted a new supply, French shot were cast or procured

* See James's 'Naval History,' vol. vi. p. 5. † See Ibid. p. 221.

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expressly for their use? But, waiving this argument, we find, on turning to James's 'Naval History,'* that the upper-deck guns at least of both these frigates, must have been changed while they were in the English service; as all the guns so mounted at the first capture of the vessels were wholly different in calibre from those carried by them when they respectively encountered the Constitution. It is therefore most improbable that any of their French guns were retained. Having thus, we hope, disposed of Mr Cooper's arguments on the point of comparative force, we shall not consider it necessary to reply to his vague insinuations, that 'it is *believed* that the actual difference be-'tween these vessels was less than might be inferred from 'their respective rates,'† (vol. ii. p. 199;) or that 'it is *probable* 'that the actual difference between the broadsides of the ships 'was much less than the apparent,' (vol. ii. p. 225.)

Another of Mr Cooper's arguments is, that, admitting the superiority of the American ships, 'the difference in execution was 'greatly disproportioned to the disparity in force,' (vol. ii. p. 225;) and consequently, that if the vessels had been equal, the American would still have had the advantage. As this appears rather a favourite plea of Mr Cooper's, we shall devote a few lines to answer it. Even where two ships of unequal force have been opposed fairly, broadside to broadside, and the smaller has been overpowered, such reasoning is scarcely admissible, especially if the defence has been obstinately protracted. For in such a case the weaker party's means of offence diminish as the combat proceeds; and there is generally a time during which, resistance having nearly ceased, the victor is enabled to maintain his fire with comparative impunity, and consequently with a coolness and deliberation which ensure a great disparity in execution. Nor is it reasonable to expect from men who are chilled by the consciousness that they can scarcely hope for victory, and who fight under the certainty that every moment is diminishing what hope they have, the same coolness and alacrity which the near prospect of success is sure to inspire.

But this is much more emphatically the case where, as in the unsuccessful frigate actions with America, the weaker combatant, from the inferior strength and solidity of her equipment, and her opponent's superior metal, becomes early dismasted, and lies

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* Vol. iv. p. 249, and vol. vi. p. 21.

† The Constitution was rated as a forty-four; the Guerriere and Java as thirty-eights. Who would infer from this, that the American frigate was one-half superior in force to either of her opponents?

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helplessly enduring an incessant raking fire, until further resistance is out of her power. In such a case, the loss inflicted by the conquered ship may have been in full proportion to that suffered by her, up to the moment when she was deprived of the means of resistance; nor have we any proof that this was not actually the case. But surely it is most unfair, in estimating the comparative skill of the combatants by the execution done by each, to place to the credit of the captor the loss inflicted by him during a time when, thanks to some inches of additional diameter* in his masts, he was enabled to sweep the decks of his opponent with entire security.

But there is another reason which tends to increase in appearance that disparity of loss in which Mr Cooper finds so much ground for exultation. In the British service, every seaman wounded in action, however slightly, is entitled to a gratuity called *smart* money, of an amount proportioned to the severity of his wounds; but in the American navy no such custom exists. It is therefore the duty of every British commander, and one which he cannot neglect without gross impropriety and injustice, to include in his official account of an action, the name of every individual of his crew who has received in it the smallest injury. Hence every trifling scratch and contusion contributes to swell the total of the British 'loss in killed and wounded;' while the American commander, having no motive for enumerating among his wounded such as are not seriously hurt, very naturally and reasonably thinks it unnecessary to do so; and indeed most probably never hears of the injuries of such of his men as are not disabled from attending their duty. That slight hurts are not generally included in the American lists of wounded, appears from the testimony of more than one captured British officer;† and also in some measure from the unusually small proportion which the American wounded are stated to have borne to their killed, in most of their successful actions. Thus we find 'seven 'killed and seven wounded' given as the loss of the Constitution in her action with the Guerriere, (Cooper, vol. ii. p. 198;) 'five killed and seven wounded' as that of the United States when she took the Macedonian, (p. 207;) and 'five killed and 'five wounded' as that of the Wasp when engaging the Frolic,

* The President's main-mast was two feet eleven inches in diameter, and was fortified by fishes, which made it three feet five inches. That of a first-class eighteen-pounder British frigate, was only two feet three inches.

† See James's 'Naval History,' vol. vi. pp. 101, 134.

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the American navy, and assuming that the American officer was not enabled by his Government to hold out any peculiar inducements to seamen volunteering for his ship, let us look simply to the number of vessels of war to be manned by each belligerent. We find from the abstract for 1812, given by James, that at the commencement of the war with America, England had 584 cruising vessels in commission, 102 of which were ships of the line. We also find from Mr Cooper's History, (vol. ii. p. 167,) that at the same period America possessed seventeen men-of-war, exclusive of gun-boats, eleven of them being frigates, and the remaining nine sloops-of-war and armed brigs. So that, in 1812, Great Britain had to furnish 584 crews, 102 of which necessarily required from 500 to 900 men each; while America had to supply seventeen crews only, the largest of them being composed of not more than 480 men. Now, assuming the practice of impressment to be a powerful agent in manning a navy, we imagine that Mr Cooper will scarcely assert, that to man 584 vessels with its aid, is as easy as to man seventeen without it. It would have been strange indeed if compulsion had been necessary to muster, at the utmost, 5000 able man-of-war's men in so maritime a country as America. And we think we may confidently, under these circumstances, appeal to any reasonable man, whether, after making the amplest allowance for the difference of population and the aid of impressment, every American commander of the seventeen must not have found it easy to procure for his ship a larger number of first-rate seamen than any ten British cruisers of the same rate were likely, by their utmost exertions, to get together.

We shall conclude our remarks on these three celebrated actions by a supposititious case, for the original suggestion of which we are indebted to Mr James's pamphlet above mentioned, and which we think calculated to put their real nature in a just and striking point of view. The largest two-decked ships belonging to the British navy during the American war, were rated of eighty, and mounted eighty-six guns each; thirty long thirty-two pounders, thirty-two long twenty-four-pounders, eighteen thirty-two-pounder carronades, and six twenty-four-pounder carronades. Their complement was 720 men and boys, and their usual size was about 2200 tons. A simple arithmetical process will make it clear, that the proportion of force borne by such a vessel as this to the Constitution frigate, was scarcely so great, except in mere number of guns, as that which the latter ship bore to the Guerriere or Java. Now, let us suppose that a British eighty-gun ship had engaged the Constitution, and that the latter had surrendered, as the captured British frigates did, after an hour's

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close action, in a sinking state, and with one-third of her crew killed and wounded—with which party would Mr Cooper have considered the honour of such a conflict to remain? And what would he have said if a British historian, aware of the comparative force of the combatants, had devoted half-a-dozen pages to expatiate on the 'moral effect of the combat,' (Cooper, vol. ii. pp. 197-201;) declaring, that 'after making all proper allow-'ance for the difference of force,' all good judges 'saw the pro-'mise of many future successes in this,' (p. 200;) and styling the event of the action 'a brilliant and unexpected success,' (p. 199,) and the 'commencement of a new era in naval warfare?' (pp. 201, 214.) And yet, either the facts and figures we have above stated must be shown to be erroneous, or the cases must be admitted to be parallel.

About the time of the engagement between the Constitution and Guerriere, the American sloop Wasp, Captain Jones, encountered the British brig Frolic, Captain Whinyates, which vessel had been partially disabled by carrying away her main-yard and springing her main-topmast in a gale. The vessels engaged, and a very slight additional damage rendered the Frolic wholly unmanageable; while the Wasp, though her injuries in the action were, to all appearance, much more severe, was enabled to take a raking position, which she maintained until the Frolic became perfectly defenceless. The opponents, but for the Frolic's disabled state, would have been equally matched, each mounting eighteen guns, and being armed with thirty-two-pounder carronades. Mr Cooper, however, says that the Frolic 'mounted on her main-deck sixteen thirty-two-pounder carron-'ades, and four long guns, differently stated to have been sixes, 'nines, and twelves, with two twelve-pounder carronades on her 'topgallant forecastle. This armament would make a force 'greater than that of the Wasp by four guns—a disparity that 'is not immaterial in vessels so small,' (vol. ii. p. 212.) Our reply to this statement will be very simple. We affirm that all the first-class brigs which belonged to the British navy during the American war, were precisely uniform in size, force, and construction. They measured about 380 tons, and mounted sixteen thirty-two-pounder carronades, two long sixes, and a twelve-pounder boat-carronade, (the latter very rarely used in action;) and their complement was 120 men and boys. To this well-known class the Frolic belonged, and this was her exact force; and we are certain that we shall be supported by the experience of every person then or previously connected with the British marine, when we assert that, at the peace of 1815, there did not

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exist, and never had existed, any British brig of war of greater size or force than that just described.

Speaking of the previous damages of the British vessel, Mr Cooper remarks—'As respects the particular combat between 'the Wasp and the Frolic, in the published accounts of the 'English captain much stress was laid on the crippled condition 'of his ship when she went into action. It is admitted that the 'Frolic had her mainyard on deck when she engaged, and, as 'little canvass was required, her aftersail was reduced to her fore 'and aft mainsail. There are circumstances in which the loss of 'a brig's main-topsail would be of the last importance, and there 'are circumstances again in which it would be of little moment. 'On this occasion it does not appear to have materially influenced the result; and the very fact that the yard was down, may 'have prevented the mast from falling during the engagement, 'instead of falling after it. On details of this nature it is difficult 'to reason accurately, so much depending on minute circumstances which must escape the general observer. In effect, the 'loss of the mainyard converted the Frolic into a half-rigged 'brig; a species of vessel that is in much request among seamen, and which it would require fewer men to manage than a 'full-rigged brig,' (vol. ii. p. 215.) And to support this argument, Mr Cooper, in his account of the action, omits all notice of the Frolic's becoming unmanageable, and seems to represent the commanding raking position obtained by the Wasp, as the accidental consequence of the manner in which the vessels became foul. Now, considering that, according to Captain Whinyates' official letter, the Frolic, early in the action, had her gaff headbraces shot away, or, in other words, was deprived of that fore and aft mainsail which Mr Cooper admits to have been the only aftersail left her by her previous casualties, we think it difficult to contend that the 'circumstances in which the loss of 'a brig's main-topsail would be of the last importance,' did not exist in the present case. But we are sorry to observe that Mr Cooper, while noticing in a general manner the 'stress' laid by Captain Whinyates on his previous damages, omits all notice of the conclusive fact by which the British commander shows that those damages actually decided the battle. The American historian certainly seems to have found it 'difficult to reason accu'rately' on the circumstances of the engagement; but we think Captain Jones and his officers must have been very 'general ob'servers' indeed, if the loss of the Frolic's only aftersail was a 'circumstance so minute as to escape' their notice. And we are entirely at a loss to comprehend what difference the fall, 'during 'the engagement instead of after it,' of a mast on which she was

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already unable to spread an inch of canvass, could have possibly made in the brig's condition.

Lastly, supposing that the Frolic had really been a half-rigged brig, or brigantine, how would the case have been altered? The disadvantage under which that vessel laboured, consisted simply in being compelled to commence the action in such a state that the loss of a single spar left her wholly unmanageable; while her opponent was deprived of several, without material inconvenience. We do not see how this disadvantage would have been lessened by being the consequence of her original style of equipment, and not of injury accidentally sustained. In neither case, we think, could the American crew fairly boast that they had rendered her unmanageable by their superior skill or energy. Every seaman knows that a ship possesses a considerable advantage in action over even a full-rigged brig, and still more over a brigantine, by being less easily disabled. And, in point of fact, we believe that no cruiser of any considerable force, either in the British or American navies, has been rigged as a brigantine; one reason for which may, perhaps, be the increased probability of such a vessel, from the peculiar simplicity of her after-rigging, being disabled by a chance shot.

Shortly after the action between the Constitution and Java, the American sloop Hornet, Captain Lawrence, of twenty guns, engaged the British brig Peacock, of eighteen guns; which vessel was captured after a short but very close action, and shortly afterwards sunk. The Hornet was armed with thirty-two-pounder carronades, and had on board, by the account of Mr Cooper, one hundred and thirty-five men—by that of Mr James, one hundred and sixty-five. The Peacock differed from the usual force of brigs of her class; being fitted with twenty-four-pounders only. This decided disparity of force is sufficient to account for the event of the action, but not for the extraordinary circumstances which are stated to have attended it. 'The only shot,' says Mr Cooper, 'that touched the hull of the Hornet, was one fired as the latter 'ship was falling off in wearing; and it merely glanced athwart 'her bows, indenting a plank beneath the cathead,' (vol. ii. p. 230.) This, in an action which commenced within half-pistol shot, and terminated considerably closer, may appear an incredible circumstance. But the fact is, that the guns of the Peacock had been secured in so ineffectual a manner as to overset and break loose at every discharge,*—a defect which, we regret to say, disabled several British sloops of war at this time, and among

* See James's Nav. Hist. vol. vi. p. 194.

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others the Epervier and Avon brigs, afterwards captured by the Americans. Correct aim was, of course, out of the question; it presently became unsafe even to fire the guns; and, in short, the Peacock was very soon as defenceless as a merchantman. To reduce such a vessel to a sinking state, after lying close alongside for full twenty minutes, would have been no difficult task for any well-armed and well-disciplined ship of the Hornet's force. We are sensible that the defects in the Peacock's equipment are but a palliation of her inability to defend herself. They were certainly highly discreditable to the persons employed in supplying her with stores; and must, we should think, have been discovered, if her crew had been regularly exercised at the guns. But that a properly armed British sloop of war should be actually sunk in action, without having planted a single shot in her opponent's hull, would be a circumstance, long, we trust, to remain unprecedented in the history of naval warfare.

We now come to the famous action which terminated in the capture of the Chesapeake frigate by the Shannon. The circumstances of this extraordinary exploit are too well known to need repetition; we shall therefore merely state that the Chesapeake was carried by boarding after a battle of only fifteen minutes. We proceed to Mr Cooper's observations on the subject. He attributes the success of the British frigate to certain 'fortuitous 'events,' (p. 294;) the most prominent of which appears to have been the cowardice and negligence of a certain bugleman, whose duty it was to summon the boarders of the Chesapeake. The discomfiture of this recreant minstrel is stated to have prevented the men on the Chesapeake's main-deck from being aware of the emergency, until the quarterdeck, where all the boarding-weapons were stowed, had been occupied by the enemy, and resistance consequently became impossible. Mr Cooper, however, has been unable or unwilling to enlighten his readers on one or two important points connected with the incident just noticed. Were none of the Chesapeake's officers or men able to sound the bugle of the fugitive? Or, if so, were their powers deranged by the advance of the British boarders? How came the men on the Chesapeake's main-deck not to know that the ships were foul, and that a scuffle was going on over their heads? And may they not have had good reasons for keeping below, independent of that afforded them by the desertion of their Tyrtæus? We think Dr Scriblerus himself would have acknowledged that the miraculous powers of ancient music are no longer wholly unrivalled, had he lived to hear of a frigate captured in fifteen minutes, because her bugleman failed at the proper moment to strike up 'Hail, Columbia!'

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Another, and a far more plausible excuse for the Chesapeake's capture is found in the assertion of Mr Cooper, that, by a fatal chance of war, every officer of rank on that frigate's quarterdeck had been disabled just before the boarding. 'The upper deck,' he says, 'was now left without an officer on it above the rank of a midshipman,' (vol. ii. p. 288.) Now, we have the direct authority of the American official letter for disputing this statement. By that account, Mr Ludlow, the Chesapeake's first lieutenant, and one of the officers stated by Mr Cooper to have been disabled as above, 'was wounded in attempting to repel the 'boarders.'* And yet Mr Cooper enumerates this officer's name among those who 'fell before the enemy boarded,' (vol. ii. p. 291.)

Mr Cooper also mentions that 'some disaffection existed among 'the crew of the Chesapeake;' that 'she had an unusual number 'of mercenaries in her;' and that 'Captain Lawrence went into 'this engagement with strong reluctance, owing to the peculiar 'state of his crew,' (vol. ii. p. 285.) We have, of course, no means of meeting these statements; but we may observe that, by insisting so much upon them, Mr Cooper betrays his doubts whether the 'fortuitous events,' elsewhere noticed by him, are sufficient to constitute by themselves a satisfactory explanation of the Chesapeake's capture. A subsequent assertion of Mr Cooper's will also appear to British readers somewhat inconsistent with his disparagement of the American crew.

'The Chesapeake,' he affirms, 'did not fire until all her guns 'bore, when she delivered as destructive a broadside as probably 'ever came out of a ship of her force. For six or eight minutes 'the cannonading was fierce, and the best of the action is said to 'have been with the American frigate, so far as the general effect of the fire was concerned,'† (vol. ii. p. 287.) It must be a most pleasing reflection to Mr Cooper, that the Chesapeake's seamen, notwithstanding their 'peculiar state,' fired so much better than a thoroughly disciplined British crew, and only owed their defeat to the lamentable defection of their bugleman; but we doubt whether its credibility will be generally admitted. 'When the 'enemy,' says Mr Cooper, 'entered the ship from his fore-chan- 'nels, it was with great caution, and so slowly that twenty reso- 'lute men would have repulsed him,' (vol. ii. p. 289.) Mr Cooper may rest assured that, by such attempts at detraction, he

* See James's Nav. Occ. App. 59.

† In this assertion Mr Cooper rather softens the language of the American Court of Enquiry, who actually give it as their opinion, that the Shannon 'was reduced almost to a sinking condition.'—(See James's Nav. Occ. App. pp. 59, 60.)

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only injures his own cause. Captain Broke was himself the first man on board the Chesapeake; and considering that, by Mr Cooper's own account, the struggle on board her could not have lasted more than five or six minutes, we think his men could scarcely have been very inactive in supporting him. We trust, for the credit of Mr Cooper's countrymen, that they were not; for, if so, we can only account for the short duration of the combat by the disagreeable hypothesis, that the deliberation of the British entrance on the Chesapeake's deck must have been compensated by the singular agility and unanimity of the American exit. Why could not Mr Cooper acknowledge at once that the Chesapeake was taken by a sudden *coup-de-main*, skilfully timed and gallantly executed, and which the fortune of war crowned with deserved success?

'The enemy,' by Mr Cooper's account, 'fired down the 'hatches, and killed and wounded a great many men in this man-'ner, but it does not appear that their fire was returned,' (vol. ii. p. 290.) The latter clause is skilfully worded. Their fire was not *returned*, for it produced immediate submission; but it was *provoked*—provoked by a discharge of musketry up the Chesapeake's hatchway, which killed a British marine.*

For our own part, we do not lay any extraordinary stress on the unusual quickness with which this brilliant action was decided. The accident of the ships becoming foul, appears to have been unexpected by both parties; and a naval action which has once become a hand to hand struggle is seldom very protracted. But that the British crew were backward in making use of the opportunity given them, or that their fire was inferior to that of their opponent, are assertions which we think will meet with credit from few persons who remember what the Shannon was in 1813.

In September 1813, the British squadron on Lake Erie, commanded by Captain Barclay, and consisting of two ships, a brig, a schooner, and two gun-boats, was captured by the American squadron, under Captain Perry, of two large brigs and eight schooners heavily armed. The battle was desperately maintained for three hours, during which the American commodore's brig was compelled to strike her flag, but could not of course be taken possession of. The American loss was 123, and the British 135 killed and wounded.

The British vessels mounted together 63 guns, and were manned with 345 men; of whom only 50 were British seamen, the rest being soldiers and Canadian peasants. Some idea may be formed

* See James's Nav. Hist. vol. vi. p. 104.

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of their state of equipment from the fact, that, for want of proper implements of gunnery, the men were compelled to discharge the ship's guns by snapping pistols over the touch-hole. (James, vol. vi. p. 230.) The American squadron mounted together 54 guns; but, owing to the large proportion of shifting and pivot pieces on board, they presented in broadside exactly the same number of guns as the British; and their metal was so greatly superior, that their aggregate weight of broadside was fully double that of their opponents. These details, no part of which Mr Cooper contradicts, we take from the British official letter. According to Mr James, 'Commodore Perry had picked 'crews to all his vessels, and his total of men amounted to at 'least 580,' (vol. vi. p. 250;) but Mr Cooper thinks, that 'in 'number of men at quarters there could have been no great dis-'parity between the two squadrons,' (vol. vi. p. 464.) Be this as it may, we think the above statement of comparative force sufficient to exonerate the British from all discredit, except perhaps that attaching to temerity; and to give a somewhat awkward appearance to Mr Cooper's declaration, that the American navy 'has long considered this action one of its proudest achieve-'ments on the water,' (vol. ii. p. 468.)

The American historian, in his remarks on this engagement, says, that 'it is not easy to make a just comparison between the 'forces of the hostile squadrons,' (vol. ii. p. 463;)—a remark in which, so far as it applies to the readers of Mr Cooper's history, we cordially agree. It is true that he accurately enumerates the number of guns mounted by each party, (pp. 448, 452;) but he neither takes any notice of the peculiar mode of equipment by which the American vessels were enabled to equal their opponents in number of broadside guns, nor gives any detailed account of the weight of metal on either side. 'Under some circumstances,' he continues, 'the Americans would have been materially supe-'rior, while in others the enemy might possess the advantage in 'perhaps an equal degree. In those under which the action was 'actually fought, the peculiar advantages and disadvantages were 'nearly equalized, the lightness of the wind preventing either of 'the two largest of the American vessels from profiting by their 'peculiar mode of efficiency until quite near the close of the en-'gagement, and particularly favouring the armament of the De-'troit; while the smoothness of the water rendered the light ves-'sels of the Americans very destructive, so soon as they could be 'got within a proper range.' 'In short,' he adds, 'the battle, for 'nearly half its duration, appears to have been fought, so far as 'efficiency was concerned, by the long guns of the two squadrons,' (p. 463.) The meaning, we suppose, intended to be conveyed by

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all this vague balancing of advantages and disadvantages, is simply that, under the circumstances, the force employed by the two squadrons was about equal. Why could not Mr Cooper, in a straightforward manner, particularize the long guns and carronades mounted on each side, and so give his readers the means of testing his decision? Leaving this question to be answered by some harsher critic, we shall content ourselves with supplying the deficiency. It is certainly true that Captain Barclay's ship was armed with long guns, while the American brigs carried thirty-two-pounder carronades; but, notwithstanding this, the advantage in long guns was, on the whole, greatly on the side of the enemy. The British, on the authority of the official letter above mentioned, presented in broadside, besides a few smaller pieces, one long twenty-four-pounder, one eighteen-pounder, five twelves, and seven nines; the Americans, three long thirty-twos, four twenty-fours, and six twelves. If, therefore, as Mr Cooper asserts, Captain Barclay's 'long guns had committed great havoc 'before the carronades of the American vessels became available,' (p. 461,) their effect was clearly not owing to any want of means to return their fire. Coupling these particulars with the omission of all details on Mr Cooper's part, and the studied generality of his remarks, we cannot avoid the painful conclusion, that in his account of the action he has been guilty of something nearly approaching to equivocation.

'Stress was laid at the time,' says Mr Cooper, 'on the fact, 'that a portion of the British crews were provincials; but the 'history of this continent is filled with instances in which men of 'their character have gained battles that went to increase the re-'nown of the mother country, without obtaining any credit for 'it. The hardy frontier men of the American lakes are as able 'to endure fatigue, as ready to engage, and as constant in battle, 'as the seamen of any marine in the world,' (vol. ii. p. 464.) This may be true; nor do we understand the British accounts as tending to disparage the military character of our North American fellow-subjects. But this is not the point. It is the utter inexperience, not the nation, of Captain Barclay's crews, that is complained of. And what Mr Cooper has to maintain, if he wishes to dispute the effect of those complaints, must amount to this, that Canadian *landsmen* were, under the circumstances, as useful as British *seamen* would have been.

Our notice of the operations on Lake Ontario will be very brief. No event of consequence took place on that lake until 1813, when Sir James Yeo commanded the British, and Commodore Chauncey the American squadron. Several skirmishes and partial engagements occurred during that year, in one of which the British

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squadron captured two American schooners. Each commander threw upon the other the reproach of having declined the contest, and each professed to desire nothing more ardently than a fair trial of strength. Mr Cooper, who naturally tells the story of the American commodore, thinks it probable that Sir James Yeo was restrained by strict orders from a decisive engagement. We should be inclined to resort to a similar explanation, though without deciding to which party it ought to be applied, but for the official statements, to the purport of which we have alluded. The supposition that an officer, under an express prohibition to engage, would write letter after letter to his government, detailing his persevering efforts to disobey his orders, and complaining of the caution by which his opponent prevented him from being guilty of insubordination, is too ludicrous to be seriously entertained. And that either officer would have submitted to the falsification of his despatches for the purposes of effect, is an idea which we are sure Mr Cooper would join with us in unhesitatingly rejecting. We therefore acknowledge ourselves at a loss. The high character of Sir James Yeo was generally known and esteemed in the British navy, in which he had been distinguished as an enterprising officer, and particularly for more than one act of desperate personal daring. Commodore Chauncey, according to Mr Cooper, was universally esteemed in his own service as an admirable seaman, and an officer of undoubted honour and bravery. Under these circumstances, we decline the delicate and invidious task of balancing probabilities between their statements; and it consequently becomes unnecessary to discuss the different accounts of the opposing forces, or to enter into the various incidents which each historian, as might be expected, colours so as to give the chief credit to his own party.

We are disappointed to find that Mr Cooper has left unnoticed and unexplained one of the most unaccountable events of the war, which happened about this time. Commodore Rodgers of the United States' Navy, in an official letter dated September 17th, 1813, states, that while cruising in the North Sea with the President frigate and an armed schooner, he was chased by a British seventy-four and frigate, from whom he escaped after a pursuit of three days and nights, during which the enemy was several times within six miles of the President. Now, an inspection of the logs of the chasing ships, and a comparison of dates, latitude, and longitude, seem to make it positively certain, that the supposed seventy-four and frigate were in fact the Alexandria, a twelve-pounder frigate of less than half the President's size, and the Spitfire, a small sloop of war. (James, vol. vi. p. 213.) Upon this singular occurrence we offer no comment.

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In October 1813, the British brig Pelican, Captain Maples, after a smart action, captured the American brig Argus, Captain Allen. The Pelican was an ordinary eighteen-gun brig; the Argus mounted eighteen twenty-four-pound carronades, and two long twelves; had on board 127 men, and was about seventy tons smaller than the Pelican. The engagement lasted three-quarters of an hour: the British loss amounted to seven, and the American to twenty-two men. It is clear that the British vessel was here superior in guns by about one-eighth. But Mr Cooper contrives to increase this disparity, by giving to the Pelican 'sixteen thirty-two-pound carronades, *four* long guns, 'and one twelve-pound carronade;' and by stating that the Argus mounted her twenty guns, 'by crowding guns into the bridle ports,' (vol. ii. p. 308.) 'It ought, moreover,' he says, 'to be added, that the Pelican was about a fourth larger than 'her antagonist,' (p. 309.) These statements are incorrect. It is true that the Pelican mounted four instead of two six-pounders, but two of these were standing stern-chasers, which could not be used on either broadside. 'The Argus,' says Mr James, 'al-'though a trifle shorter on deck than the Pelican, carried her 'ten guns of a side with ease; first, because, being of a smaller 'calibre, they took up rather less room, and next, because her tiller 'worked between decks, and admitted her aftermost port to be 'nearer the stern by several feet,' (Nav. Hist. vol. vi. p. 222.) With respect to the size of the vessels, the Pelican measured 385, and the Argus 316 tons; making the former larger by little more than a sixth instead of a fourth.

Exclusive of the Pelican's superior force, Mr Cooper's chief excuse for the defeat of the Argus appears to be the *drowsy* state of the American crew, from their late exertions in the capture of several English merchantmen. 'They have been described,' he says, 'as nodding at their guns from excessive fatigue,' (vol. ii. p. 309.) We may here remark, how much more easy it appears to console Mr Cooper for the defeats sustained by his countrymen than to diminish his satisfaction at their successes. The panic of a breathless bugleman, and the fatigue of destroying a few prizes, are allowed as satisfactory reasons for the loss of an American frigate and sloop; while the crippled spars of the Frolic are pronounced a disadvantage of no consequence, and the defective guns of the Peacock and Epervier are considered unworthy even of notice.

In the year 1812, the American frigate Essex, Captain Porter, sailed for the Pacific, where she made a long cruise, and where she captured a British packet and twelve whalers, none of which, however, succeeded in reaching the United States. In

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the early part of 1814, Captain Porter was blockaded in the harbour of Valparaiso by the British frigate Phœbe, Captain Hillyar, and the sloop Cherub, Captain Tucker. And, in March 1814, having carried away a topmast in attempting to escape, the Essex was brought to action, and captured by these vessels. A comparison of guns and men is, on this occasion, unnecessary; because it is admitted that the British force, though somewhat overstated by Mr Cooper, was decidedly superior to the American, and that the circumstances under which the action was fought were also materially favourable to the captors. Nor should we have thought it necessary to notice the affair, had Mr Cooper confined himself to mere exaggeration of the sufferings and resistance of the Essex, without further endeavouring to throw discredit on the British commander.

Mr Cooper commences his account of the blockade by relating a ridiculous story of a treacherous design, on the part of the Phœbe, to carry the Essex by surprise while lying in a neutral harbour; and of the generous forbearance shown by Captain Porter, after he had frustrated the attempt. (See vol. ii. p. 260.) Captain Porter, in an official letter, makes the same charge; prefacing it, we are sorry to say, by a remark on the 'perfidy' of the gallant opponent, whose 'generous and delicate deportment' towards his prisoners, the American commander himself was compelled to acknowledge. An accusation of this sort we cannot be expected to refute by evidence; it was clandestinely made, and therefore was never, we believe, publicly contradicted. We leave it to the contempt of such of our readers as know how to appreciate the honour of a British officer.

A statement scarcely less offensive occurs shortly after. 'On 'the 27th of February,' says Mr Cooper, 'the Cherub being nearly a league dead to leeward of her, the Phœbe ran close in, hove to off the port, hoisted a motto flag, and fired a gun to windward; when the Essex immediately weighed and stood out of the harbour, and answered the weather-gun of the enemy. On this occasion the ships got within gunshot of each other, and the American frigate opened her fire, when the Phœbe ran down and joined her consort. This conduct excited a good deal of feeling among the officers of the Essex, who rightly judged that the challenge should not have been given, if it were not the intention of the enemy to engage singly,' (vol. ii. p. 262.) On this singular occurrence Mr Cooper has the modesty to remark in a note, that 'no incident of the war so unanswerably shows 'the character obtained by the American navy, at this time, as 'the fact that a thirty-six declined meeting a thirty-two in single 'combat.' This remark is at least as absurd as it is presump-

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tuous and offensive. Until the very end of the war, by Mr Cooper's own statement, British ships continued to bring to action Americans of their own rate, wherever and whenever they encountered them; and Mr Cooper well knows that a British officer, by acting as he states Captain Hillyar to have acted, would have infallibly forfeited his commission. The following is Mr James's account of the incident to which Mr Cooper alludes: —'On the 27th, at about 6 h. 45 m. P.M., when the Phœbe was 'about four miles W.N.W of the anchorage, and the Cherub 'about six miles N.N.W. of her, the Essex and Essex junior 'got under weigh, with a light breeze from the westward, and 'stood out towards the British frigate. On seeing them approach, 'the Phœbe backed her main-topsail, and hoisted her colours. At 'this moment, by a mere accident as it appears, a gun went off 'from the Phœbe's windward side. This was at once interpreted 'by Captain Porter into a challenge. At 7 h. 20 m. P.M., as the 'Phœbe was in the act of wearing to bring her starboard guns to 'bear, the Essex and Essex junior hauled to the wind on the 'starboard tack, and the former fired one gun to windward. Soon 'after this little flourish, Captain Porter and his lieutenant stood 'for the anchorage, followed by Captain Hillyar under all sail.' (Nav. Hist. vol. vi. p. 285.) Without pretending to decide between these contradictory statements, we may be allowed to remark, that, before Mr Cooper ventured to impute to a British officer a tame admission of American superiority, he ought to have ascertained that his facts were as 'unanswerable' as his deductions.

We are induced to make some further observations, which we should otherwise have spared, on the subject of this action, by the unworthy imputations cast by Captain Porter on his opponents, and the generally unhandsome and offensive character of his account of the action; the whole of which is marked by the acrimony of an angry and disappointed man, and by a tone of exaggeration highly unbecoming a brave officer. We have then to remark, that notwithstanding the highly wrought description given by both Captain Porter and Mr Cooper of the desperation of the engagement, the British loss is admitted to have been only fifteen killed and wounded; and in Captain Hillyar's official letter, which, with a very different feeling from that displayed by his prisoner, he permitted Captain Porter to inspect, the firing is stated to have lasted altogether but fifty-five minutes. Without pausing to dispute the amount of the American loss, which is stated at the extraordinary number of one hundred and fifty-four killed and wounded, (a disparity, to use Mr Cooper's favourite argument, far more than proportioned to the difference

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of force,) we may add, that though, according to Captain Porter, the Essex 'was cut up in a manner perhaps never before wit-'nessed,' she was not, by Captain Hillyar's account, 'in such 'a state as to give the slightest cause of alarm respecting her 'being able to perform a voyage to Europe in perfect safety.' She sailed and arrived accordingly, and immediately on her arrival, as a proof of her sea-worthy condition, was added to the British navy as a cruising frigate. The present is not the only occasion where Captain Porter has indulged a turn for gasconade at the expense of a British officer. At the commencement of the war, we find the Essex chased by two British frigates, and preparing to close with one in the night and carry her by boarding. (Cooper, vol. ii. p. 193.) One of these two 'British 'frigates' was a *merchantman:* it was, notwithstanding, fortunate for Captain Porter that he did not encounter the other, for that was the Shannon! (James, vol. vi. p. 90.)

Early in 1814, the American Government launched some large new corvettes; and in the month of April one of these, named the Frolic, was captured, as we have already had occasion to notice, by a British frigate. All the new American sloops were of the same size and force; and that of the Frolic, which became a British cruiser under the name of the Florida, is of course accurately known. She was a fine ship of 540 tons, and mounted twenty thirty-two pounder carronades, and two long eighteen-pounders, with a complement of one hundred and seventy-five men. This vessel, as Mr James observes, 'came into British 'possession very opportunely for elucidating the merits of the 'three actions which we have next to record,' (Nav. Hist. vol. vi. p. 291.)

In June 1814, the British eighteen-gun brig Reindeer, Captain Manners, fell in with the American sloop Wasp, Captain Blakeley, and was taken by her after a gallantly maintained conflict of half-an-hour, during which repeated attempts to board were made by the British crew. The loss of the Wasp amounted to nearly thirty men; that of the Reindeer comprised more than half her crew, including among the killed her brave commander. The Wasp was not the American sloop of that name already mentioned, but a new vessel of the size and force of the American Frolic. The Reindeer, like the Peacock, mounted only twenty-four-pound carronades; so that the American ship was more than one-half heavier than her opponent in guns, and her superiority in size and crew was nearly in proportion. 'It is understood,' says Mr Cooper, 'that the enemy had en-'deavoured to persuade himself that the Chesapeake had been 'captured by his superior prowess in hand to hand conflicts; a

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'delusion so general in Great Britain, as has been already stated, 'that it has frequently led their officers into serious disasters in 'America. And it is possible that the commander of the Rein-'deer may have believed his crew, which is said to have been better 'than common, able to carry the Wasp in this manner. The result 'showed the difference between a crew that was well commanded, 'and one that had no leaders,' (Vol. ii. p. 334.) Some of our readers will perhaps think the 'result' as satisfactorily accounted for by the fact, that the Chesapeake's crew were very little superior in number to the Shannon's; whereas, in the Reindeer's action, the Americans were three to two when the firing commenced, and must have been fully two to one when the first attempt to board was made. Considering that American cruisers are almost always more numerously manned than British ships of the same rate, Captain Manners could scarcely have felt much confidence of prevailing against such a superiority in number as he must naturally have expected to encounter on board a vessel so much larger than his own as the Wasp. The fact is stated by the British accounts to have been, that the Reindeer, from her disabled state, fell on board the Wasp in such a position that an immediate attempt to board was the only resource left her. (James, vol. vi. p. 295.)

In the course of 1814, two more British eighteen-gun brigs were captured; the Avon, Captain Arbuthnot, by the Wasp, and the Epervier, Captain Wales, by the Peacock, Captain Warrington, another sloop of the Wasp's class. Except the fact that the guns of the Epervier, at least, were in a worse state than even those of the British Peacock, neither of these actions presents any thing remarkable. We shall therefore content ourselves with pointing out, what the details given above will satisfactorily show, that the disparity in force between such a ship as the American Frolic and an ordinary British eighteen-gun brig, equalled as to weight of broadside, and far surpassed as to size and crew, that which existed between the Pelican and the Argus. And yet, in that case, Mr Cooper declares that 'the enemy was so much heavier, that 'it may be doubted whether the Argus could have captured 'her antagonist under any ordinary circumstances,' (vol. ii. p. 308.)

In September 1814, an American squadron on Lake Champlain, under Captain Macdonough, defeated a British force under Captain Downie. The latter consisted of the Confiance,* a

* Mr Cooper is pleased to infer, from the name given to this ship, that the British were fully satisfied with the state of their preparations for

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large ship, mounting thirty-three broadside guns, a brig of sixteen guns, two armed cutters, and several gunboats, which escaped. Their crews amounted to 714 men, little if at all superior in quality to those of Captain Barclay's squadron. The American vessels were a large corvette of twenty-six guns, a brig of eighteen guns, a large schooner of seventeen guns, a sloop of nine guns, and ten gunboats; total, eighty-six guns. Their number of men Mr Cooper states at 850; Mr James, on what authority does not appear, at 981. The action lasted three hours; the Americans lost 110, and the British 129, killed and wounded.

Mr Cooper gives a very accurate statement of the guns mounted by the American squadron, (vol. ii. pp. 495–6;) but, by reckoning thirty main-deck guns (without noticing that four of them were standing chase-guns) on board the Confiance, and by some other more trifling overstatements, he raises the British force from about eighty to 'ninety-five or ninety-six guns,' (p. 498.) By a much more extraordinary exaggeration, he increases their number of men to 'about 1000,' (*ibid.*)—a mistake which is the more singular from the mode in which he estimates them. After having stated the united crews of the four captured British vessels at 480 men, which is only sixty more than the British accounts give them, he actually allows 520 men to the gunboats, which, by his own account, were twelve in number, and carried altogether but twenty guns; and which Mr James reduces to ten, carrying thirteen guns, with only 294 men. Considering that Mr Cooper had just before stated the two armed cutters to have had only forty men each, the average of forty-five to each gunboat is surely disproportionately large.

'The known force of the enemy,' says Mr Cooper, 'was 'materially greater than that of the Americans,' (vol. ii. p. 497.) There is a singular discrepancy between this confident assertion and the details which precede and follow it. Summing up the weight of metal of the respective squadrons, as given by Mr Cooper, the reader will be surprised to find that, on our author's *own showing*, the weight of broadside of the American vessels was actually superior to the British as four to three; and reckoning long guns only, precisely equal. Correcting Mr Cooper's account by the particulars already given, we find this admitted superiority considerably increased; and to this it must be added,

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battle. Why they expressed their anticipations of triumph in a foreign language, he does not explain. The truth, we believe, is, that the *Confiance* was so named in compliment to Sir J. Yeo, after a French corvette captured by that officer, and commanded by him for several years.

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that the British commander was shamefully deserted, at the very commencement of the action, by all his gunboats but three; and that one of his vessels, mounting eight or ten guns, ran ashore while going to her station, and took, in consequence, so little share in the engagement as to have only two men wounded. We think that this victory, though by the American Navy 'placed 'among the very highest of its claims to glory,' (p. 516,) will now appear no very conclusive evidence of superior prowess.

But we have still to notice some minor observations of Mr Cooper's on this subject. That zealous historian expatiates largely upon the desperate emergency in which Captain Macdonough's 'little ship,' the Saratoga, was placed, by having to sustain, for a considerable time, the chief part of the fire of the Confiance. He speaks of that ship as 'a vessel of double the force, and nearly 'double the tonnage of the Saratoga,' (p. 512;) and says that 'few 'professional judges will deny that a ship with the gun-deck di- 'mensions, metal, and battery of a forty-four, ought to have been 'fully equal, at least, to contending with two such vessels as the 'Saratoga and Eagle,' (p. 513.) The exact dimensions of the Confiance are given by Mr James, (Naval Occurrences, p. 420.) She was a ship of 831 tons, resembling in size and construction a frigate cut down; and her 'gun-deck dimensions,' taking length and breadth together, were about equal to those of the American ship Essex, (the smallest frigate in the United States' navy, and repeatedly mentioned as a 'thirty-two' by Mr Cooper,) and were actually inferior to those of several captured French and Spanish twelve-pounder frigates. Now the Saratoga, as she mounted twenty-six very heavy guns, (forty-two and thirty-two-pounder carronades and long twenty-fours,) on a flush deck, must necessarily have been a corvette of the very largest class; and could scarcely have measured less than 650 or 700 tons.* So much for the comparative size of the vessels. With respect to their comparative force, it will give the reader a singular idea of Mr Cooper's accuracy, to learn that by his own statement the Saratoga's weight of broadside was only inferior by one-eleventh, when within carronade range, to that of the Confiance. By the British account, it was actually superior.

We shall conclude our notice of this action by quoting some facts from Mr Cooper, which conclusively prove the inexperience and ignorance of the crew with which Captain Downie was compelled to go into action. 'After the first broadside of the Con- 'fiance, the fire of that ship became much less destructive, the shot

* Mr James conjectures her size to have been about 800 tons.

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'passing higher at each successive discharge. Nearly all the ham-'mocks were cut to pieces in the Saratoga's netting at the second 'broadside; and it was seen as the battle advanced, that the shot 'struck the standing rigging further from the deck.' 'On en-'quiring into a circumstance so curious, when the ships lay at the 'same distance and in smooth water, the American officers came 'to the conclusion that the enemy had levelled his guns to point-'blank range previously to engaging, and that, as the quoins were 'loosened at each discharge, they were not properly replaced.' 'After the battle, the charges of her (the Confiance's) guns were 'drawn, and on the side she had fought, one gun was found with a 'canvass bag holding two round shot, rammed home and wadded, 'without any powder, another with two cartridges and no shot, 'and a third with a wad below the cartridge,' (vol. ii. p. 508.) Further apology for the defeat of the British is unnecessary.

The operations on Lake Ontario, in 1814, are easily sketched. Several new vessels had been laid down during the winter; and as each party in turn increased their force by launching fresh ships, each obtained in turn the command of the lake. Mr Cooper does not fail to expatiate upon the alleged mortification of Sir James Yeo and his squadron, while blockaded in consequence of these vicissitudes of power; and endeavours to make it appear that once at least the British declined to engage when challenged by a force very little superior to their own. Without entering into details, we shall simply notice that the particulars given by Mr James make the American squadron, on the occasion alluded to, superior in force to the British by a full half; and that, by his account, Commodore Chauncey actually commanded the stronger force even while he permitted Sir James Yeo to blockade him with impunity. In consequence of the above circumstances, no engagement occurred in 1814 on this lake, and peace was concluded before the water became open in the succeeding spring.

Before we take leave of Lake Ontario, we must be permitted to remark that Mr Cooper, as if troubled by misgivings that Sir James Yeo's backwardness and Commodore Chauncey's gallantry were not quite so conspicuous as he has endeavoured to prove them, tries to keep up his spirits by repeated vaunts of the certain success which awaited the American squadron in the event of an engagement. Thus we find him affirming that Sir James Yeo's 'whole force would have been sacrificed' but for a certain timely retreat, which the British commodore denies ever having made, (see vol. ii. p. 433;) and thus, after describing the blunder of an American reconnoitring vessel, he asserts that 'there is little question that this unfortunate mistake alone saved 'the British squadron from a signal defeat;' and that, 'had

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'Commodore Chauncey followed Sir James Yeo into Burlington 'Bay on that occasion, he would probably have obtained one of 'the highest reputations in the American navy, without as much 'deserving it as at present,' (p. 445.) Finally, he sums up his account of the operations on this lake by a splendid eulogium on the discipline of Commodore Chauncey's squadron, which he closes with the following startling declaration:—'Discreet ob-'servers have even doubted whether the English could have got 'out had they attempted it, as they must have advanced bows-on 'through a channel less than a mile wide; for it is believed that 'every spar would have been taken out of them before they could 'close,' (vol. ii. p. 488.) We are greatly mistaken in our opinion of two sensible and cool-headed nations, if such unmeaning gasconades as these prove either mortifying to the English or satisfactory to the American public.

We do not consider it necessary to enter into any detailed notice of the various descents and boat attacks which took place during the presence of the British squadron in the Chesapeake. Mr Cooper's natural partiality to his countrymen is sufficiently evident throughout the account which he gives of these transactions; but, generally speaking, it is not displayed in any unfair or offensive manner.

To this acknowledgment, however, there are some exceptions. In June 1813, a division of British boats made an unsuccessful attack upon Craney Island, near Norfolk in Virginia. The leading boats, while pulling towards the shore, grounded upon a shoal only one hundred yards from the American batteries, which effectually checked their advance; and they were finally, after the most persevering efforts, compelled to retire. (James, vol. vi. p. 232.) It is pretty clear that in this case the British could scarcely have got their boats ashore, even if Craney Island had been wholly undefended. Mr Cooper, however, singular as it may appear, omits all notice of this decisive circumstance, and attributes the repulse wholly to the fire of the Americans; of which he says, 'there is no doubt that the enemy 'found it much too cool and direct to be faced,' (vol. ii. p. 316.) Our readers, we think, will agree with us, that it could scarcely have been more cool and direct than Mr Cooper's mistatement of its performances.

A remark occurs shortly after, not less reprehensible, we think, than the extraordinary omission which we have just noticed. After detailing the capture of some American gunboats by a squadron of British boats, Mr Cooper repeats sundry exaggerated reports, originating with the captured American officers, as to the loss sustained by the captors. 'It was the opinion,' he says,

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'of Lieut. Jones, who was carried on board the enemy's fleet, 'that their killed and wounded amounted to nearly four hundred; 'while other prisoners, who, from not having been wounded, had 'perhaps better opportunities of ascertaining facts of this nature, 'have never placed it lower than between two hundred and three hun- 'dred men. By the official statement of the enemy, as published, 'his loss was ninety-four,' (vol. ii. p. 367.) Undisturbed by his own admission, that either Lieutenant Jones or the other prisoners were here guilty of a blunder of at least one hundred men, Mr Cooper proceeds to remark in a note:—'The disagreement in official ac- 'counts, in matters that will not well admit of mistakes, leaves 'no choice but to suppose intentional departure from facts some- 'where.' 'It was of so much importance to impress the seamen 'with the idea that the danger of attacking in boats was not 'great, that we find a motive for the difference in the accounts 'of the two parties, in the affair of Lake Borgne. It by no 'means follows that an officer writes what is published.'

We think we might safely leave the evidence cited by Mr Cooper to be destroyed by its own gross inconsistency; but the unjustifiable comment which he makes upon it, induces us to offer a few remarks on the subject. We have already endeavoured to show the extreme difficulty which a British officer would find in omitting to enumerate the whole amount of his loss in an action. Hence any suppression of this kind must have been, as Mr Cooper conjectures, the work of the Government which published the despatch. The first remark which occurs upon this serious charge, thus made without a particle of evidence, except vague and inconsistent reports founded on the hurried observation of a party of prisoners, is naturally the question,—What facilities did the British Government, more than the American, possess for the concealment of such a forgery? And why may we not argue, and that upon grounds which Mr Cooper at least is bound to consider sufficiently strong, (James' Nav. Hist. 101, 134,) that the official letters of Captains Decatur and Bainbridge were curtailed by authority in their accounts of loss and damages? But we do not, in fact, believe that either Government would attempt or could succeed in such a deceit. It has, indeed, been confidently asserted, and in some instances the assertion appears to be proved, that the French Emperor, from the feeling of petty jealousy towards the English nation which that great man so unworthily indulged, and in which he appears too likely not to want imitators, frequently caused French official narratives of naval disasters to appear in the *Moniteur* under an altered and garbled form. In such a case, it is clear that the officer whose despatches were so falsified had no means of setting right the public; nor, had such

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means existed, could he have used them without incurring professional ruin, not to say personal peril, from the displeasure of his absolute sovereign. But the case of an English officer is wholly different. The real amount of his loss must necessarily be known to many persons, whose comments on a false statement could scarcely be suppressed. Thus the falsification of his official return would compel him either to stand before his brother officers convicted of having depreciated, by a wilful falsehood, the merit of a brave enemy, or to embrace the ready means afforded by a free press of asserting his innocence. It is true his professional prospects are at the mercy of the men whose unfair dealing he would thus expose; but their authority is not irresponsible, and no Government would venture to incur the general indignation which would naturally be excited by the neglect of a deserving officer, for refusing to become a party to a gross fraud on the public. No British minister would risk the disgrace of such a deception; and we are sure that no British officer would hesitate at all risks to expose it.

In January 1815, the American frigate President, Commodore Decatur, in an endeavour to escape from New York, was chased by a blockading squadron of British frigates, and was brought to action by the Endymion, Captain Hope. The two frigates were closely engaged for two hours and a half, at the end of which time the Endymion, from the damaged state of her rigging and sails, dropped astern out of gunshot. The President continued her course; but, on being overtaken and fired at by one of the other British frigates, immediately surrendered without making the slightest resistance. The loss of the President, according to Mr Cooper, amounted to 80 killed and wounded. This is certainly the number given in Commodore Decatur's official letters; but he there declares his opinion that his return was short of the fact; and his officers, as Mr James asserts, afterwards stated it at 105. (Vol. vi. p. 366.) The loss of the British frigate was twenty-five men. The Endymion was a ship of 1277 tons, and mounted forty-eight guns, twenty-six long twenty-four-pounders, and twenty-two thirty-two-pounder carronades, with a crew of 346 men and boys. She was thus decidedly inferior to the President, whose force has already appeared. On this action Mr Cooper remarks, that, at the moment when the President left the Endymion astern, 'there 'is no doubt, by choosing her position, she (the President) might 'easily have compelled her adversary to strike,' (vol. ii. p. 542;) and afterwards adds, that 'nothing would have been easier than 'for the President to have chosen her position when she left 'the Endymion, and probably to have captured her without any

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'material additional loss to herself; since a ship virtually without canvass would evidently have been at the mercy of one that 'went out of action with royal studding-sails set,' (p. 545.) We think we are justified in censuring these remarks for ignorance, partiality, and presumption. Surely it does not follow that every ship, whose light sails are injured or shot away, is 'virtually 'without canvass.' A vessel may be disabled from overtaking a fast-sailing enemy, carrying a press of sail in a hard chase, without being left so wholly unmanageable as to lie at the mercy of her opponent. If this were otherwise, every privateer which escaped during the war by damaging the rigging of a chasing frigate, had nothing to do but to turn upon her pursuer, and come to close action; in which case, according to Mr Cooper, 'by choosing her position, she might easily have compelled her 'adversary to strike.' The Endymion had not lost a single spar, and though undoubtedly many of her sails had been cut to tatters, quite enough were left to be serviceable in a single-handed engagement with the President, that being a sort of action which Captain Hope would no doubt have preferred to fighting under easy sail. Nor, with submission to Mr Cooper, are we prepared to admit, because a ship continues to carry a press of canvass after an engagement, that her rigging must necessarily be in such a state as to ensure precision in the nice manœuvres of a single combat, or to enable her to 'choose her position' with such certainty as to capture an opponent 'without any 'material additional loss to herself.' But we cannot help remarking, that Mr Cooper seldom uses such phrases of boastful confidence, as 'there is no doubt,' 'nothing would have been 'easier,' and the like, except as introductions to some unsupported bravado, alike unworthy of his literary character and his professional education.

Following the American official letter, Mr Cooper asserts that Commodore Decatur, on being overtaken by the Endymion, resolved to attempt to carry the latter by boarding, in order to make his escape in her; but that, on his endeavouring to close with her for this purpose, Captain Hope avoided his approach. Without disputing that Commodore Decatur was really bent on attempting this daring enterprise, we shall content ourselves with stating that the British commander was ignorant of his intention, and therefore cannot be reproached with shrinking from the struggle. The President, it is true, did bear down early in the action towards the Endymion; but her manœuvres merely indicated an intention to cross the latter's bows; and consequently

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the British frigate, as was but prudent, steered a course parallel to that of the enemy, in order to avoid being raked. (James, vol. vi. p. 364.)

Mr Cooper accounts for the great disparity of loss on this occasion, by the necessity under which the President found herself, of directing her fire chiefly at the rigging of her opponent. Admitting this to have been the case, how came it that the Endymion, after sustaining this fire for two hours and a half, was not deprived of a single mast or yard; and that, according to a published extract from her log, (James's Nav. Occ. p. 429,) she was again under all sail and in chase, within an hour after its termination? It is true that she was partially dismasted in a gale which succeeded the action; but, as the President was wholly so, this is no proof that the British frigate was the more damaged of the two. Since Mr Cooper has set us the example of indulging in speculations as to the probable event of this action, if circumstances had allowed it to be completed, we shall take leave to add, that, coupling the severe loss, shattered hull, and defenceless condition of the President, with the comparatively slight damages and subsequent activity of the Endymion, we consider it as very clear, that, when the engagement terminated, the American frigate was a *beaten ship*. We have merely to add, that, by the British account, the Endymion rejoined the President within an hour and a half after her surrender, instead of 'three or four hours,' as Mr Cooper (p. 545) states; and that Captain Hope discontinued the action before the President got out of gunshot, (see p. 542,) merely because he conceived, from the latter's ceasing to fire, and, as the British thought, showing a light, that she had already surrendered.* (James's Nav. Occ. p. 433.)

About a month after the capture of the President, the Constitution frigate, Captain Stewart, fell in with and engaged two British sloops of war; the Cyane, Captain Falcon, of thirty-two, and the Levant, Captain Douglas, of twenty guns. The frigate having the weather-gage, and being greatly superior in sailing, kept, during the first half hour, at such a distance from the British ships, which were wholly armed with carronades, that

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* We cannot quit this action without the remark, that Commodore Decatur most unworthily endeavours to imply that he had silenced the fire of the Endymion,—a ship which had only lost 25 men! and that the American court-martial actually uttered the astonishing assertion, that the President, in her action with the Endymion, 'had sustained but little injury!' (James's Nav. Occ. App. pp. 185, 191.)

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their fire was quite ineffectual. By this time the Cyane was quite disabled, and the Levant was compelled to bear away to secure her masts. The American frigate, therefore, closed with the former, who was of course soon overpowered; and afterwards engaged the Levant, who, having partially refitted herself, had most gallantly returned to the assistance of the Cyane, and was now, after a long running fight, and an obstinate resistance, also compelled to surrender.

The carronades of both the British vessels were thirty-two-pounders, except ten or twelve of the Cyane's, which were only eighteen-pounders. In size they averaged about 500 tons, and their united crews amounted to only 302 men and boys. On the striking inferiority of two such vessels to a large twenty-four-pounder frigate of 54 guns and 470 men, especially when at long shot, we need offer no comment; except that we are surprised to find Captain Stewart, in his official letter, boasting of their 'superiority in weight and number of guns' to the Constitution. (James's Nav. Occ. App. p. 195.) On the American frigate's share in the action, Mr Cooper makes this remark: —'The manner in which Captain Stewart handled his ship 'on this occasion, excited much admiration among nautical men, 'it being an unusual thing for a single vessel to engage two ene-'mies and escape being raked. So far, however, from this occur-'ring to the Constitution, she actually raked both her opponents; 'and the manner in which she backed and filled in the smoke, 'forcing her two antagonists down to leeward, when they were 'endeavouring to cross her stern or fore-foot, is among the most 'brilliant manœuvring in naval annals,' (vol. ii. p. 531.) Disclaiming all desire to detract from the merits of the American commander, we must nevertheless remark, that we should not have thought a fast-sailing frigate, engaging two remarkably dull sloops at the distance of three-quarters of a mile, direct in the wind's eye, in such imminent danger of being raked by either of her opponents. That the Constitution, however, did, while wearing, receive at least one raking broadside, Mr Cooper will find from the American official details of the action. On the other hand, both the Cyane and Levant, while vainly endeavouring to shorten their distance by carrying sail close to the wind, could scarcely, with ordinary vigilance on the part of their opponent, avoid being repeatedly exposed to her raking fire.

The concluding naval action of the war took place off Angier, in the Straits of Sunda, on the 30th of June 1815; when the Nautilus, Lieutenant Boyce, a small armed brig belonging to the East India Company, was captured by the Peacock sloop, already mentioned. Previously to the action, Lieutenant Boyce

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hailed Captain Warrington, and informed him that peace had been concluded, but no notice was taken of the assurance. Mr Macgregor, the British master-attendant at Angier, had come on board the Peacock to give the same information, some time before she attacked the Nautilus. He communicated it to more than one of the American officers; but the only reply given was, that 'they did not see how they could avoid a little brush' with the brig; and Mr Macgregor was sent below and detained. The Peacock then fired into the Nautilus, a vessel of less than one-third her force, killed and wounded fourteen of her people, and compelled her to strike her colours! *The above facts Mr Macgregor has stated upon oath; his deposition has been officially made public; has been twenty years in print; and has never, in as far as we are aware, received the slightest contradiction.* (James's Nav. Occ. App. p. 210.) We certainly expected that Mr Cooper would have made some effort to rescue the honour of an American officer, thus publicly and formally charged with an act so foul. But Mr Cooper, without taking the slightest notice of an accusation so utterly disgraceful to Captain Warrington and his officers, contents himself with calling the action 'an unfortunate 'mistake,' and saying that it occurred 'in consequence of Cap-'tain Warrington having no knowledge of the peace,' (vol. ii. p. 553.) With this achievement concluded the American war, and with that war Mr Cooper's history closes.

After having so frequently found occasion to dissent from Mr Cooper's observations, we may be expected to state our own opinion upon the general character of the naval actions which took place in the war. It is a custom with American writers, and one most liberally patronised by Mr Cooper, to speak of the gunnery displayed on these occasions by American seamen, as something unprecedented in naval warfare. We have already endeavoured to show that it is unfair to expect a ship, when opposed by an overwhelming force, to do execution in proportion to her comparative strength. But assuming for argument's sake that the American cruisers, generally speaking, were really superior in gunnery to their opponents, what does this fact prove? Simply the truth of a complaint, then and for some years before too often heard from officers of experience, that a want of opponents had rendered British cruisers less diligent in practising this important art than they ought to have been. That the line-of-battle ships employed in blockading the French fleets, did not partake in this negligence, the tremendous execution done by them at Algiers sufficiently proves; but the ships on the North American station, from being, until war broke out with the United States, almost certain never to

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encounter an enemy, must have been peculiarly liable to it. But that the best performance of an American man-of-war in action was superior to what has been, and we trust long will be, common in the British navy, we utterly deny.

The most unerring test of a cruiser's proficiency in gunnery, is the proportion which the loss inflicted by her in action bears to her own force, to the duration of the firing, and to the number of men on board her opponent. This test we will apply to the actions of the late war; and for that purpose we will appeal to historical facts—a species of argument carefully avoided by Mr Cooper. We find, then, that of the captured British frigates, the Guerriere lost 78, the Macedonian 104, and the Java 124 killed and wounded. The best performance, therefore, of an American twenty-four-pounder frigate during, by her own account, more than two hours of close action, and with the exclusive advantage of giving numerous raking broadsides, was to disable 124 men out of 370, or about one man in three, on board a ship not two-thirds of her force. This execution was no doubt severe; but surely, under the circumstances, by no means unprecedented. None of the captured British sloops suffered a greater loss, in proportion, than the Java, except only the Frolic and the Reindeer, each of whom had about half her crew injured in the action. But, considering the utterly defenceless state of the former of these two brigs after the first few broadsides, and the desperate manner in which the crew of the latter, in their attempts to board, exposed themselves to be mowed down by the grape and musketry of their opponent, it will readily, we think, be conceded, that neither of these actions can be taken as a fair test of American gunnery. It would be easy to enumerate scores of actions, in each of which a British frigate has captured an *equal* opponent in less than two hours; and after inflicting a greater loss, in proportion to the force employed by the captor, than was suffered by the Java. But we shall go further than this, by producing a few examples, which a very slight search has discovered in Mr James's history, of execution so fearfully severe, as to make the achievement of the American frigate appear utterly insignificant. In 1794, the Sibylle, a French frigate of the Java's size and force, was taken by the Romney, one of the old two-decked fifty-gun ships, and therefore very little superior in guns, and inferior in men and size, to her opponent. The Sibylle lost 156 out of 380 men, in an action of little more than an hour, fought fairly broadside to broadside. In 1795, the Blanche, a small British twelve-pounder frigate, captured the Pique, a French ship of superior size, but equal force; the latter losing 186 out of 279 men. In 1798, the British seventy-four Mars captured the French ship Hercule,

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of equal force, after an action of an hour and a quarter, in which the captured ship lost 290 out of 680 men. In the same year, the British ship Leander, of fifty guns, was taken by the French ship Genereux, of seventy-four guns, a vessel double the size and treble the force of the captured ship. The latter made a most desperate resistance for six hours, during which she lost 92 out of 282 men, and killed and wounded 288 out of 936 on board her opponent. In 1799 the Sibylle, already mentioned, captured the French frigate Forte, of superior force, after an action of two hours and a-half, during which the Sibylle planted more than 300 round shot in her opponent's hull, and disabled by her fire 145 out of 370 men. In 1801, the Bordelais, of twenty-four guns, being attacked by the Curieux, of eighteen guns, and two smaller vessels, sunk her principal opponent in thirty minutes, with a loss of 50 out of 158 men. About the same time the British frigate Phœbe captured the French frigate Africaine, of equal force, after an action of two hours, in which the latter, out of 715 men, (she having 400 troops on board,) sustained the dreadful loss of 343 killed and wounded, of whom scarcely 100 survived. In 1805, the British sixteen-gun-brig Curieux captured the French privateer Dame-Ernouf, of equal force, after disabling 70 out of 120 Frenchmen, in forty minutes' firing. In 1808, the British eighteen-pounder frigate Seahorse took the Turkish frigate Badere-Zaffer, of very superior size and force, with a loss of 370 out of 540 men; and the British frigate Amethyst captured the French frigate Thetis, of equal force, after an action of three hours, and with a loss of 236 out of 436 men. Lastly, in 1813, the British frigate Amelia and the French frigate Arethuse fought a desperate drawn battle of three hours and a-half, in which the former lost 141 out of 300, and the latter 105 out of 340 men.

Striking instances of destructive firing are also to be found in some of the engagements which have taken place between fleets. On the 1st of June 1793, Lord Howe's ship, the Queen Charlotte, is stated by the French accounts to have killed 100 men on board the French Admiral's three-decker by a single raking broadside. At the battle of the Nile, the Orion seventy-four sunk the French frigate Serieuse by a single broadside. At the battle of Trafalgar, Lord Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, poured into the Spanish first-rate Santa Anna a raking broadside, which alone, by the admission of the Spanish officers, killed and wounded nearly 400 of her crew, and disabled fourteen of her guns. The first broadside which the Victory fired into the French admiral's stern on the same occasion, was of an equally destructive character. It was stated by M. Villeneuve

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himself to have disabled 400 Frenchmen, dismounted twenty-one guns, and rendered the ship nearly defenceless during the rest of the action. We think we have now cited instances enough to show that the execution done by an American frigate, equal in force to a British sixty-four, was not more than has been frequently inflicted, under less advantageous circumstances, by a British ship one-third inferior in force.

We shall make no reply to Mr Cooper's assertions respecting the surprise and alarm created in England by the naval successes of the Americans, and the anxiety and dejection with which good judges contemplated (and we are to suppose still contemplate) the rising navy of the United States. Such assertions are easy to make, and difficult to refute. They cannot be tested by facts, and are therefore peculiarly adapted for the use of such historians as desire to make as little use as possible of those stubborn and dangerous materials. But we think we are justified in asserting, that when Mr Cooper talks of the skill displayed by American ships as having 'produced a new 'era in naval warfare,' he displays a degree of ignorance of the previous naval history of England, sufficient to have prevented any man of common prudence from even alluding to the subject.

Passing over these assertions, and looking merely at the general result of our unsuccessful naval actions, we cannot perceive that any of them could, under the circumstances, be expected to terminate differently. In one of the eleven victories we have noticed, the Americans were doubly superior in force; in six, they were superior as three to two; in two, as four to three; in one, long guns were opposed to carronades out of range of the latter; and in the remaining one, the British vessel had been previously disabled. We appeal to facts and arithmetic to confirm this statement; and we put it to any reasonable man whether, if eleven such actions as these had occurred between two old-established naval belligerents, and the circumstances had been accurately known, they would have been likely to cause either discouragement on the one side, or exultation on the other? We acknowledge, however, that this remark is not applicable to the conflicts of which we are speaking. The American navy was then in its infancy, almost untried against civilized enemies, and obnoxious to the unmanly taunts of too many English party writers. The people of the United States felt a just and laudable pride when they saw their marine take its post among the best of Europe, and even assert its claim to the respect of the proudest maritime nation in the world. Such circumstances will easily excuse a somewhat overweening degree of patriotic exultation; they will even palliate the exaggerated encomiums

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with which the public press of America rewarded their defenders.* But the time for such feelings is long past. It is now twenty-seven years since the Constitution captured the Guerriere, and twenty-four since the last warlike exploit of the American navy. During this time the United States have been constantly acknowledged and respected as a maritime power; and they should learn to contemplate their position, not with childish delight, but with the calmness of conscious merit. The illiberal enemies of the American nation are said to have boasted, that British sloops would shortly be considered a match for American frigates. They are now convinced of their presumption. The American navy encountered their rivals, generally speaking, with circumstances of decided advantage; but those advantages they used with skill and resolution, and by so doing deserved, and frequently obtained, success. This was enough to establish the reputation of an infant navy; but this is by no means enough to support a claim of supremacy by that navy when come to maturity. The American marine is now of age; and must learn to put away childish things. The fact is universally acknowledged, the occasion has been sufficiently celebrated, and all that remains is to submit its pretensions to the standard by which those of other maritime nations are measured.

Let the Americans then look at the naval actions between England and France. What British eighteen-pounder frigate ever captured a French ship of the Constitution's force? or what British eighteen-gun brig was successful against a French corvette, such as the Wasp or Peacock? It is well known that no British twelve-pounder frigate could ever succeed in capturing a French eighteen-pounder frigate, and that many suffered most severely in the attempt; and yet the disparity here was greatly inferior to that which existed between the Constitution and the Guerriere, or Java. The contrary, however, has occurred. In 1805, the Cleopatra, a British twelve-pounder frigate, was captured in single action, with a loss of fifty-eight men, by the Ville-de-Milan, a French frigate, carrying eighteen-pounders. But what

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* We cannot so easily make allowance for the singular unfairness which pervaded the proceedings of the American courts-martial held during the war. The reports of those which sat on the loss of the President and Chesapeake (the one signed by Commodore Murray, the other, we regret to say, by the gallant Decatur) are the most offensive. Of each of these we have already given a slight specimen. They abound in ridiculous bombast, and in mistatements alike numerous and extraordinary.

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Frenchman, knowing the circumstances, would consider such a victory as this a matter of extraordinary exultation?

Even if the successful American cruisers had captured ships equal to themselves in size and force, the simple result would have been, that the United States had proved capable of equipping some eight or ten sloops and frigates, any one of which was superior in discipline and efficiency to the *average* of ships of their class in a navy of near six hundred sail! No seaman, we are sure, will deny the force of this argument. Suppose that a war were to break out with France, what would be said of a French general who should claim a superiority in personal prowess for his countrymen, because a dozen *maitres-d'armes*, picked out of his whole army, had killed in single combat an equal number of British recruits?

When we see the Americans, in time of war, not sending out their cruisers singly to prey upon merchantmen, or pick off inferior vessels, but victorious in equal conflicts, and fitting out fleets capable of protecting their coasts from insult and their harbours from blockade,—then, and not till then, shall we acquiesce in Mr Cooper's presumptuous declaration, 'that it is not 'improbable the battle for the mastery of the seas will have to 'be fought over again,' (vol. ii. p. 556.)

We cannot conclude this article without emphatically disclaiming all intention of unduly depreciating Mr Cooper's merits, or of finding more fault with his work than is absolutely necessary to vindicate the credit of the British navy. We trust we shall never give vent to our disapprobation of the feeling with which Mr Cooper too obviously regards the English nation, by such an illiberal affectation of contempt for his talents as we have lately remarked with regret in some of our contemporaries. We recognise and respect the literary station occupied by the author of the 'Pilot' and the 'Prairie;' and it is because we do so, that we have offered that reply to his assertions which we refused to those of certain bombastic American histories, published several years ago under the first excitement of success. We trust that we have done sufficient justice to the merits of the present work, to show that none of its mistatements have so irritated our prejudices as to make us unable to appreciate the abilities of the author; and we can sincerely assure our readers, that we should have felt far greater pleasure in our present task, had our duty urged us no farther. But it has long been too evident that certain real or fancied mortifications undergone by Mr Cooper in his experience of English society, and publicly complained of by him, with more bitterness than dignity, in a late work, have created in his mind much strong prejudice against this country;

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and this has, no doubt, been exasperated by the unsparing ridicule which its injudicious display has provoked from the English press. We hope that this morbid resentment, so unworthy of the talents of the American writer, may yet be eradicated from his feelings. Its existence must necessarily be a source of regret to those who are its objects, and cannot but be deeply injurious to his own personal as well as literary reputation.

With equal sincerity, we express our hopes that none of the remarks which we have felt ourselves compelled to make upon Mr Cooper's history, will be thought to spring from a wish to undervalue the merits of the American navy. We readily acknowledge the gallantry and nautical skill so frequently displayed by their officers in the combats of the late war; and we are happy to recognise among them a high degree of that enthusiastic *esprit-de-corps*, and that nice sense of professional honour, the effects of which have been so long and so beneficially felt in the naval service of Great Britain. We are much mistaken if the brave men who opposed us in battle twenty years ago, entertain any feeling towards the British navy except the respect due to honourable rivals; and we are certain that they would be the first to despise the assistance of prejudiced arguments and partial statements. It is this confidence in the liberal feeling of the American nation in general, and their navy in particular, which encourages us to hope that no part of the contents of this article will be deemed inconsistent with the respect which we entertain for both. We believe that this feeling is reciprocal. Each nation probably assigns the first place to its own naval officers, and we trust it will be long before either has reason to repent this well-earned confidence; but neither, we are certain, is inclined to deny all due honour to the defenders of their relation and ally. To create permanent hostility between two nations which entertain this generous feeling of mutual respect, would require far stronger agents than the sneers of flippant novelists, the invectives of interested partisans, or the misrepresentations of prejudiced historians.

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ART. IV—*Poems* by Mrs Boddington. 8vo. London: 1839.

THE recent death of the amiable authoress imparts an additional and melancholy interest to this pleasing volume, the last production of her pen. Even trifles acquire an importance when associated with the memory of the dead; and many of the fugitive poems and occasional verses which it contains, trifling and unimportant in themselves, will now acquire a value in the eyes of friends, as simple and natural records of the kindly feelings, the graceful tastes and sympathies of the accomplished writer.

The appearance of a volume of poems by one who had already shown herself to be a poet in prose, was of itself calculated to excite some interest. When we noticed, some years ago, the 'Reminiscences of the Rhine and of a Corner of Italy,' we were struck with the truth and felicity with which every scene was described. The writer seemed to render back the very spirit of the spot, so as to awaken in the reader the very associations of which the spectator would have been conscious in viewing the scene itself. In this *insight* into the spirit of nature, by which not only its leading features are delineated, but the finer play of its expression is arrested and reflected, a certain portion of poetical power is implied; and when we felt how skilfully, in her 'Reminiscences of the Rhine,' the writer had embodied the gay and mingled associations derived from legendary lore, picturesque beauty, and fertility, which are called up by the banks of that 'exulting and abounding river;'—how much, again, of this species of local truth distinguished her portraits of the harder and grander features of Swiss scenery, 'where Nature cuts with a sharper chisel' than under the soft sky of Italy;—her sparkling and bustling Italian pictures, in which the reader felt himself involved in the whirl and confusion of the narrow streets, littered with fruit, macaroni, and vegetables, or stumbling among portable cookshops, puppet-shows, and itinerant musicians; or some of those charming landscapes, like the sunset near Gersau, describing the approach of still evening on the lake of Lucerne,—we could not but form the impression that the writer of such descriptions was a poet.

Nor was this impression diminished by her more recent 'Sketches from the Pyrenees,' in which the distinctive character and associations of that wild region of mountain grandeur, under all diversities of aerial effects, were depicted with the same intensity and the same artist-like breadth of light and shadow—the

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harmony and keeping in the colouring, with perhaps a greater unity of feeling than the first work had possessed. The reader seemed to feel with her the fresh breath of the mountain air—to experience the healthful elasticity of spirits imparted by those elevated regions—to catch, through rolling and shifting mists, the bright sun above, or the blue and far-stretching valleys below—to see the storm come travelling up the mountain side—to look down with terror into vast chasms, with still, black, lakes sleeping beneath, and eagles screaming overhead,—in short, to enjoy again a summer of romance in the Pyrenees. As circumstances prevented our noticing this volume when it appeared, we cannot resist the temptation of exhibiting a few short specimens of the mastery which the writer exhibited, in delineating the features of nature at once firmly, graphically, and poetically; and in connecting these with reflections, at once just in themselves and happily expressed. The following is *a propos* of the serene and rich scenery of Touraine, watered by the Loire:—

'Moonlight is the true setting off of calm, broad, silvery scenery, where a river forms the great feature, and the dependent landscape is just enough indented to throw down shadows on its lucid bosom: the wide blue sky so full of hope, the earth of peacefulness, the long track of light, compact yet broken, marking its starry way on the waters, and the tall spire rising from its dark base, and growing gleamy in the moonshine, are sweet ingredients, of which the mind makes magic.'

She thus describes twilight among the valleys of Cauterets:—

'A fine tone of solemnity in the deep valleys, half an hour before absolute night, when there are no shadows, but a deep and universal tint spread over the face of nature. Darkness, gathering not from one settled point, but coming, as age does on the human face, imperceptibly yet palpably. Trees growing indistinct, and taking fantastic shapes, houses looking like rocks, rocks like castles; but as we come up into the last light of the western sky, the tender gauzy lilac, how beautiful it is! and the stars that tremble through it coming out one by one, until the firmament is studded over, and then the pale lilac growing paler, and melting into the true starlight blue—the blue of heaven.'

What a feeling of loneliness and seclusion does the following description of a mountain lake leave upon the mind!—

'Descending to the lake,' (the Lac de Gaube,) 'it becomes wild and dreamy like a Highland superstition. The Vignemate, furrowed with glaciers, closes the gorge, and, though still at a considerable distance, appears to rise from the very borders of the Lac de Gaube itself—a mountain lake of wild and melancholy aspect, still, and pure, and blue, as if it had never been rippled by net or oar, or stirred by wind. A

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fisherman's hut on a gentle swell of green land, and a fairy lawn at the southern end, with a few trees upon it, alone break the precipitous lines that descend from the tops of the mountains, and hide themselves in the waters. In some places there is no room even for a footpath, nor sign of life any where but on the spot before the hut. No oar glimmers on the bosom of the lake, no bird flies over it, no summer leaf rustles on its bare shore; and yet, notwithstanding its cold glaciers, and the bleak mountains, and the poverty of vegetation, it is a gentle rather than a savage scene. The influence of a southern climate is sensibly felt; it is visible in the colouring of the air—in the lights that fall upon the water. . . . . As we returned homewards through the pine-woods, we stopped to look back upon the great lake: it was in shadow, and evening had already dropped upon its mountains, while a valley opening from the west crossed them with a line of light that had a whole day of sunshine in it. The contrast was exquisite; so were the lights and shadows that fell upon the pines: the ground was covered with wild pinks and other flowers, and the air full of sweetness. There were no birds: as evening came I missed their whistle, the sweet *Ave Maria* of the desert: brakes and bushes, to build and warble in, abound; but they have no tenants.

'There is something inexpressibly solemn in the stillness of a wood at the close of day; and the pine-tree, which has no light leaves to tremble as the breeze passes over it, and whose stationary darkness doubles that of evening, has something visionary in its gloom that works magically on the fancy. The air, the light, the shadows that pass over the face of the heavens, seem subject to some secret and mystical influence; it speaks in the passing wind; it descends from the mountains with the last beams of the setting sun.'

One other short and fanciful passage on the character and associations of trees, and we have done.

'There is something so solemn and monumental in the aspect of a pine-tree, that when I find a few planted together in a solitary spot, it seems to me like a woodland cemetery, where the hunter whose chase is over, or the wanderer who loved to repose beneath their shade, has found a resting-place. Trees are powerful speakers: the single pine, or melancholy cypress, has the solemnity of the grave it shadows in its silent speech: it tells of the dead below—of the hand that found a mournful pleasure in planting it. The light acacia waves its beautiful boughs, to let you know it is a pleasure garden or a summer bower which its bright leaves decorate. The oak is ancestral, heraldic, feudal from head to foot, and would talk old castle legends, and feats of noble hunting and moonlight revelry, by the hour, if you would but stop and listen to them. The rooky elm is a rustic lover's story-book, full of twilight meetings, hand graspings, honest vows, and "if you love me as I love you" poesy. The palm transports you to the Georgian vales in whose deep shades the royal Abras wooed the wise and tender Abra. The pear-tree brings you back to the cottage wall; the apple puts in its word, with a long score of schoolboy larcenies,—all speak, from the stately royalties of the forest

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down to the humble hawthorn, perhaps the fullest of any, of what the village boys and girls call *secrets*.'

No one, in short, could peruse Mrs Boddington's Continental Sketches without perceiving the writer possessed, in a high degree, pictorial talent, fancy, and sensibility; and it was therefore with some curiosity that we turned to the present volume, in order to see how far these qualities had been preserved or heightened in the more artful and ornate form of verse. We cannot say that the result has altogether fulfilled our expectations; for candour obliges us to confess, that the authoress appears to us more poetical in her prose than in her poetry; or rather, while her prose and verse display nearly the same merits and the same defects, those negligences and imperfections which were readily overlooked in the unpretending form of prose description, cannot so easily escape notice in the elaborate garb of versification. Description in prose is to description in verse what a sketch in water-colours is to a painting in oil. In the former, we are satisfied if the character of the scene be indicated by a few light and spirited touches—a few happy and truthful tints of colour; we care not though much be left unfinished; the very negligence and *abandon* of the manner are not without their charm. In the latter, we expect depth, finish, careful composition in all the parts; the eye is offended by any traces of haste or carelessness of execution, because we apply, and are entitled to apply to such, a more critical standard of judgment. So in poetry, we expect to have the best thoughts in the best words—condensation and selection of images, reflections novel in themselves, or rendered such by the felicity of their expression. We are far from meaning to convey the impression, that within the compass of this volume, much which well deserves the name of poetry, in its best sense, may not be found: but we are perpetually reminded how much the effect of many of its happiest specimens would have been increased, had the labour of the file been more assiduously applied, both in regard to the expression and the rhymes. Such colloquialisms as, 'It matters not about the flowers,' are the offspring of a vicious school; the constant use of the words wingéd, abuséd, embosséd, thus accented, savours of affectation; while such delusive rhymes as 'branches' and 'glances,' 'lonely' and 'comely,' are several degrees worse than no rhymes at all. Occasionally, too, as in her prose, Priscian is made to suffer; as in these lines from a little poem entitled 'The Pontine Marshes:'—

'Beauty, too,
Soft, young, and woe-struck, tells the bear
A mournful tale, that its dark hue
Of sorrow to the thoughts *impart*.'

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Let us add, in order to exhaust our objections, that some of the smaller poems are absolutely trifles—mere hints, which required expansion and development to give them poetical interest, and might, with advantage we think to the rest, have been omitted.

We do not, indeed, perceive in the present volume traces of a high imagination, nor do we often meet with those reflections, instinct with a poetical wisdom and deep knowledge of the human heart, which, in the simple expressions of a great poet, touch the heart as with a spell. But the same qualities which characterised the writer's prose compositions distinguish her poems—tenderness of heart, sensibility both to material and moral beauty—the eye and the pencil of a painter—though she works with words, not colours, and paints only to the eye of the mind. How picturesque, how cheerful, how Italian, is the following evening scene at the Baths of Ischia, from the poem entitled, 'Excursion from Naples:'—

'A moment more, and night sails slowly on,
Lowering her wings, and darkening all, save where
In the red west, sea, sky, and islands glow,
And where the narrow line of silver light
Follows the sweeping shore, dividing it
From the dark steel-like spread of the calm sea:
Various, and bright, and full, the earth's green tint
In this contrasted light, as if it threw
On the last sunbeams, deepening as it fed
Into unusual richness. The bays
Are still; and though few moments since they rang
With sound of busy voices, now a bell,
A shrill sound from a boat, or distant bark
Of churlish cur, or gently rippling wave,
Alone are heard.
I scarcely thought 'twas night, so bright a day
Lay sleeping on the hills. In Italy,
The moon seems coming down on earth; elsewhere
'Tis fitted to its socket. Now the sound
Of music's heard below: the terraced roof
Of Sentinella * fills with idle groups,
Listing the tingle of the soft guitar,
Join'd with the sideway sound of squeaking fiddle:
And now the tarantella is begun,
And every foot beats time. From gallery,
Cool arch, and colonnade, heads peep:

* The inn at Ischia.

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And in the court below, on a stone bench,
With flowers above it, sat two grave old men,
Whose music sets four nimble feet in motion.
On they go, each circling round the other,
Then shooting off with pretty reeling step,
One holds her arms in air, and nimbly shakes
Her castanets, now flying, now pursued,
Then, suddenly on the knee dropping down,
Ends the fleet chase, while swift the other wheels
In giddy circlets, spinning round and round
Her stationary comrade. Wreathe a vine
In her dark hair, and she's a young Bacchante,
Charming with spell the evil eye or touch.
Then off both start again, or face to face
Move gravely to slow measure, or in play
Meet, separate, unite, convolving round,
Like two twin flow'rets on one pliant stalk.
'Then would our gay nymphs try their English feet
In the light dance, and following joyously
Its merry call, soon fall into the step,
Catching its time, as if 'twere native to them:
And round they whirl'd, two mixing their fair locks
And one her dark, with the Greek-kerchief'd heads
Of the two nimble-footed Ischiot girls.
'Delicious scene! that while Vesuvius blazed,
With quick and certain danger gathering fast
In its hot core—for it had presaged long—
Charm'd us beneath the blue and starry cope
Of a pure southern heaven. Late we sat,
Breathing sweet scents, and listening to sweet sounds,
Music, and gentle laughter, and the beat
Of tripping feet, light as the giddy ones
That swift convolving danced the mystic round
With mother Circe's son.'

Very pleasing, in the same style, is the poem, entitled, 'Home 'Images in Italy;' particularly the following stanzas, which describe the sudden fall of an Italian night upon the landscape, with its accompaniments of sights and sounds:—

'But sudden, twilight's gone—and its short stay
Tells us of distance; 'tis not here the light,
Flush'd, deepening, lingering, that preludes the night,
And seems to elude its coming—second day,
Sweeter than noon, that in its tardy flight
Blushes to go, though lingeringly, away.

'No, when the red light's o'er, the abrupt pall
Drops on the woods; and the cigala's note,

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The foreign grashopper, with rasping throat,
That all day long rang out, yields to the call
Of thrilling nightingale, whose lone notes float
In darkness to the heart, and there like moonbeams fall.

'On every spray, in every summer bower,
A thousand lamps are lighted; twinkling by,
Like fairy's torch-bearer, the southern fly
Carries its starry fire; and in the hour
Of nature's sleep, when the night beauty's eye*
Is gently oped, enshrines it in its flower;

'Or like a gossip's lantern, in the ridge
Of furrow'd corn-fields, lightly glides along,
Or hangs upon a vine leaf; while the song
Of the lone bird wakes, through the light-knit hedge,
A shivering life, and 'midst the planet throng,
Slowly appears the moon above the mountain ledge.'

The lines on Venice somewhat disappointed us; but it must be admitted to be no easy task to say any thing on a subject which 'Otway, Radcliffe, Shakspeare, Schiller's art' has illustrated, and to which Byron has consecrated some of his finest stanzas. Sorrento—a sketch of the meeting of Tasso and his sister at his home, after his liberation from the prison at Ferrara—is interesting; and there is much tenderness in the little piece written at the Baths of Lucca, entitled, 'Evening in the 'Forest.' The following, too, are pleasing stanzas, descriptive of the Pontine Marshes:—

'They talk of death, of poison'd gales,
And yet the flowers are fresh and fair;
The air that through the foliage steals
Is sweet as any other air.

'And herds repose, and wild-birds fly,
As though life's healthy flush were there;
Clear, blue, and cloudless is the sky,
And nothing talks of danger near.

'And there is beauty in the spell,
(And thought—how much a dearer charm!)
Of those wild Volscian hills, that tell
Of warlike woman's potent arm.

'The fleet Camilla sprang to war
From these rude mountain-depths; and she
Who sang men to their doom, afar
Is still seen watching o'er the sea.†

* '*Belle de nuit*—the convolvulus, that uncloses its blossom at night.'
† The promontory of Circe.

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'But false the sky and false the flowers,
And false the gentle air we breathe;
Death in the passing vapour lowers,
And lurks within the budding wreath.'

The difficulty of writing a good song is proverbial; nor perhaps, in the whole compass of English literature is there any department in which it is poorer. In fact, no species of lyric poetry involves so much of difficulty. Essentially popular in its character, it requires that the idea to be developed shall be simple, natural, and obvious, without being commonplace; while its brevity renders it essential that every thing strained, rugged, or weak, either in the expression or the rhymes, shall be most carefully eliminated. It implies, therefore, the most subtle combination of nature and art—of those universal feelings to which the humblest heart is sensitive, with those mechanical aids and refinements of composition which are the result of study and practice. And accordingly, the combination is of extreme rarity. Not a few of the finest of Burns's lyrics, so far as regards the natural and touching expression of a sentiment, natural without being hackneyed, lose half their effect by the occasional introduction of an ill-chosen epithet, a vulgar turn of expression, or a careless rhyme; while some of those of Moore, on the other hand, elaborate as they are in choice of diction and smoothness of rhythm, betray, by their overstrained ingenuity and glitter of fancy, the absence of that deep and genuine feeling which forms the true inspiration of the song. Mrs Boddington's volume contains several attempts in which the manner of Moore is certainly more apparent than that of Burns. In that entitled 'Irish Air,' the imitation of Moore is very obvious, while another, 'Where are the lilies that blew in the morning?' seems to have been evidently suggested by Mrs Cockburn's touching lines adapted to the air of the 'Flowers of the Forest,' and in none of which can we consider her as very successful.

On the whole, we think the present volume will not diminish, though it is not likely to increase, the reputation which the authoress had acquired by her lively and feeling sketches in prose. It is unequal, and in some parts careless; but it is pervaded by a redeeming tone of sweet and feminine feeling, and characterised by an absence of pretension and affectation, peculiarly acceptable at the present moment, when so much even of the best of our poetry is deformed by strained sentiment and an '*enthousiasme de commande*.'

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ART. V.—*Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.* Edited by the Executors of his Son. Vols. III. and IV. 8vo. London: 1839.

THE antagonist whom Lord Chatham first encountered on his entering into public life, was the veteran Walpole, who instinctively dreaded him the moment he heard his voice; and having begun by exclaiming,—'We must muzzle that terrible Cornet 'of horse!' either because he found him not to be silenced by promotion, or because he deemed punishment in this case better than blandishment, ended by taking his commission from, and making him an enemy for ever. It was a blunder of the first order; it was of a kind, too, which none were less apt to commit: perhaps it was the most injudicious thing, possibly the only very injudicious thing he ever did; certainly it was an error for which he paid the full penalty before he ceased to lead the House of Commons and govern the country.

Few men have ever reached and maintained for so many years the highest station which the citizen of a free state can hold, who have enjoyed more power than Sir Robert Walpole, and have left behind them less just cause of blame, or more for which his country has to thank him. Of Washington, indeed, if we behold in him a different character, one of a far more exalted description, there is this to be said, both that his imperishable fame rests rather upon the part he bore in the Revolution, than on his administration of the government which he helped to create; and that his unequalled virtue and self-denial never could be practised in circumstances which, like those of Walpole, afforded no temptation to ambition, because they gave no means of usurping larger powers than the law bestowed: consequently, his case cannot be compared, in any particular, with that of a prime minister under an established monarchical constitution. But Walpole held for many years the reins of government in England under two princes, neither of them born or bred in the country—held them during the troubles of a disputed succession, and held them while European politics were complicated with various embarrassments; and yet he governed at home without any inroads upon public liberty; he administered the ordinary powers of the constitution without requiring the dangerous help of extreme temporary rigour; he preserved tranquillity at home without pressing upon the people; and he maintained peace abroad without any sacrifice either of the interests or the honour of the country. If no brilliant feats of improvement in our laws or in the condition of the state were attempted;—if no striking movements of external policy were executed;—at least all was kept safe and

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quiet in every quarter, and the irrepressible energies of national industry had the fullest scope afforded them during a lengthened season of repose, which in those days of 'foreign war and domes-'tic levy,' was deemed a fortune hardly to be hoped for, and of which the history of the country had never offered any example.

Walpole was a man of an ancient, honourable, and affluent family, one of the first in the county of Norfolk, to whose possessions he succeeded while yet too young for entering into the church, the profession he was destined to had an elder brother lived. Rescued from that humbler fortune, (in which, however, he always said he would have risen to the Primacy,) he had well-nigh fallen into one more obscure—the life of a country gentleman; in which he might have whiled away his time like his ancestors, between the profession of a sportsman pursued with zeal, and that of a farmer always failing, because always more than half neglected by him who unites in his own person both landlord and tenant. The dangers of the Protestant succession at the close of King William's reign, excited his attention to political matters upon his entrance into Parliament. The death of the Duke of Gloucester, Princess Anne's son, had alarmed both the illustrious prince on the throne and the liberal party in general; the Tories had thrown every obstacle in the way of the Act of Settlement, by which the King was anxiously endeavouring to bequeath the freedom he had conquered for his adopted country; they had only introduced it in the hopes of its miscarrying; and the near balance of parties in Parliament, when the Abjuration Oath was carried by a majority of one, (188 to 187,) evinced too clearly that in the country the decided majority were for the exiled family. It is easy to conceive how greatly the having commenced his public life at such a crisis, must have attracted him towards state affairs,* and how lasting an impression the momentous question that first engaged his attention must have produced upon his political sentiments in after life. Soon after came the great question of privilege, the case of the Aylesbury men, arising out of the action of Ashby and White; and here he, with the other leading Whigs—the Cowpers, the Kings, the Jekyls, the Cavendishes—took a decided part for the general law of the land, against the extravagant doctrines of privilege maintained by the Tories. Sacheverell's trial—a Whig folly, which he privately did all in his power to prevent—completed his devotion to political life: he was one of the managers, and was exposed to his share of the popular odium into which

* He seconded the motion of Sir Charles Hedges for extending the oath to ecclesiastical persons. It was carried without a division.

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all the promoters of that ill-advised proceeding not unnaturally fell. The Church party were so powerful, that the mob was on their side as well as the Queen's Court; and this incident in Whig history, described by Bolingbroke as having a parson to roast and burning their hands in the fire, made Walpole dread that fire ever after; for it is not more certain that the share which he successfully commenced his public life by taking in the Act of Settlement, gave a strong Whig bias to his after life, than it is that the Sacheverell case gave him a constitutional abhorrence of religious controversy, and an invincible repugnance to touch any question that could connect itself with church or with sectarian clamour. Through his whole public life, he betrayed a lurking dread of any thing on which the religious sentiments of the community could be brought to bear; as if aware that these being subjects on which men feel rather than reason, it is impossible to calculate beforehand on the course public opinion may take upon them, or fix bounds to the excitement they may produce. This, and not any indifference to the great cause of toleration, always kept him from seeking securities which there is every reason to think he would naturally have wished to obtain against the High-Church party, and in favour of the Sectaries.

The sagacity of such men as Godolphin and Marlborough early recommended Walpole to their favour; and with the latter, to whom he owed his first appointment of Secretary at War, his intercourse was always intimate and confidential. When a vile court intrigue saved France from being undone by the victories of that great man; when what St Simon calls the '*Miracle de* '*Londres*,' unexpectedly rescued Louis XIV. from his doom; when, as Frederick II. many years after said, Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet, were all unable to defend him against detraction, and the French King was lost had the intrigues of a mistress of the robes and a bedchamber woman suffered the great Captain to remain two years longer in power—Walpole threw up his place with the Duke, and nobly refused to join some shuffling place-seeking Whigs, who were talked over to remain under the Tories, by Harley and St John. This was an offence not to be forgiven; his aggravation of it, by boldly defending the conduct of Marlborough against the slanderous attacks of the adverse faction, produced the charges against him of corruption while at the War-Office; and he was sent to the Tower upon an accusation of having received L.900 from a contractor, was expelled the House of Commons, though never either impeached or prosecuted, and, on being re-elected in the same Parliament, was declared ineligible by a majority of the House.

That Walpole, through the whole of this proceeding, was regarded as the victim of party rancour; that, but for the factious

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spirit of the day, he never would have been accused; that nothing can be less decisive against any one than a vote carried by a majority of twelve in a full House of Commons, in which many of the adverse party voted with the accused, and many more refused to vote at all; and that the greatest distrust of their case was shown by the accusers in never uniting to institute judicial proceedings of any kind—may all be easily admitted; and yet there rests a stain upon this part of Walpole's public conduct. For what was his defence? Not to deny that the contractors had given two notes, one of 500 guineas and the other of as many pounds, (of which all but 100 were paid;) but to affirm that they were only paid through Walpole's hand to a friend named Mann, whom he had meant to favour by giving him a share of the contract, and who had agreed to take so much for his share of the profit. Mann was dead; the contractors had made the notes payable to Walpole in ignorance of Mann's name, and only knowing he was put upon them as a friend of the minister; and thus a case of fraud and suspicion appeared against the latter, which the unfortunate accident of the former's death prevented from being clearly removed. Now, that such a proceeding, admitting it to have been as Walpole himself describes it, would in our purer days have been deemed most incorrect, nay, sufficient to stain the character of any minister, cannot be doubted. In those days the course of office seems to have sanctioned such impropriety; and that no man was ever injured by having so behaved, any more than the reputations of French ministers seem to be the worse for the wear they undergo on the Stock Exchange, must be obvious from the fact of Walpole having, in four years after, been placed at the head of the Treasury, though without the place of Premier; and afterwards become, and continued head of the government for nearly the whole residue of his life, with no diminution of his influence or his estimation in consequence of the transaction at the War-Office, and with hardly any allusion ever made to that remarkable passage of his life, during the many years of the most factious opposition which his long administration encountered, when, for want of the materials of attack, it was seriously urged against him that so long a term of power by one man was detrimental to the state, if not dangerous to the constitution. Nothing can more strikingly show the great improvement which the principles of public men have undergone during the last hundred years.

When he quitted office, a charge of a different complexion, though connected with pecuniary malversation, was made against the veteran statesman. A sum of between seventeen and eighteen thousand pounds had been received by him upon two Treasury orders, two days before he resigned, in February 1741–2; and to

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raise the money before the Exchequer forms could be gone through, they were pawned with the officer of the Bank. Now, Walpole never would give a detailed explanation of this transaction, but began to draw up a vindication of himself, alleging that the money was taken, with the king's approbation, for the public service. This paper is extant but unfinished; and it consists of a clear and distinct statement of the course of the Exchequer in issuing money;—from which the inference is, that no one can appropriate any sum to himself, in defiance of, or escape from so many guards and checks. This, however, is a lame defence, when the receipt of the money by him is admitted. The reason offered for his desisting from the completion of the paper is, that he must either leave it incomplete, or betray the secret service of the crown. And it may be admitted, that, except the suspicion arising from the date of the transaction, there is nothing in it more than an ordinary dealing with secret service money.

The general charge of peculation grounded on the comparison of his expenditure with his means, appears more difficult to meet. With a fortune originally of about L.2000 a-year, and which never rose to more than double that amount, he lived with a profusion amounting to extravagance; in so much that one of his yearly meetings at Houghton, 'the Congress' as it was called, in autumn, and which lasted six or eight weeks, and was attended by all his supporters in either House and by their friends, cost him L.3000 a-year. His buildings and purchases were estimated at L.200,000, and to this must be added L.40,000 for pictures. Now, it is true that for many years he had his own official income of L.3000, with L.2000 more of a sinecure, and his family had between L.3000 and L.4000 more, in places of the like description.* Still, if the expensive style of his living be considered, and that his income was at the very outside only L12,000 clear, including the places of his sons, it is quite impossible to understand how above L.200,000, or nearly twice the average value of his whole private property, could have been accumulated by savings. His incumbrances were only paid off by his wife's fortune; his gains upon the fortunate sale of his South-Sea stock, just before the fall, could hardly account for the sum, although he states in a letter to one of his friends, that he got a thousand per cent on what he purchased. On the whole, we must be content to admit that some cloud hangs over this part of his history; and that the generally prevailing attacks against him in this quarter, have not been so successfully repulsed.

It has been much more universally believed, that he carried on

* L.2000 granted in reversion only, did not fall in till 1737.

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the Government with a profuse application of the influence derived from patronage; and that the most open bribery entered largely into his plan of parliamentary management. That in those days the men were far less pure who filled the highest places in the state, and that parliamentary as well as ministerial virtue was pitched upon a lower scale than it happily has been, since a fearless press and a watchful public scrutinized the conduct of all persons in any situation of trust, may be at once admitted. It is a truth which we have repeatedly asserted in these papers; and if any decisive proof of it were required, it is the proof we have in the universally known fact, that the combinations of political party now proceed so much more upon principle than upon personal connexions; or when they are framed upon the latter, the pretext of principle is always used to cloak over arrangements which the improved character of the times will no longer suffer to meet the light. It may be further granted, that the period of Walpole's power was one likely to introduce extraordinary forces into the political system, since the stake was not always a ministry alone, but oftentimes also a crown. When such is the game, measures are readily resorted to, which, in the ordinary matches of politicians, would be reluctantly if at all adopted. That it was usual in those days for men out of office who had voted with the Government during the session, and had obtained no promotion, nor any other favours, to receive sums of money—whether as a token of ministerial gratitude, or as a reimbursement of their expenses in attending parliament—has been so often asserted, and in some instances with such detailed particulars, that it seems to pass for one of the usual modes of House of Commons' management—pretty much like the shares (technically called *slices*) of loans distributed among persons in certain offices.* But we may safely assert, that Sir Robert Walpole's reputation for having carried on the Government with unprecedented corruption, rests on no better ground than his open and honest way of avowing the more accustomed exercise of patronage, and his reflections, rather merry than well considered, on the nature of political

* Some notion of the free use made in those days of the current coin as a political agent, may be gathered from the fact which Shippen himself related to the celebrated Dr Middleton. The Prince of Wales, to testify his satisfaction with a speech which the sturdy old Jacobite had made, sent him £1000 by General Churchill, Groom of his Bedchamber. Shippen refused it. That Walpole himself had known of similar attempts made on Shippen's honesty by the Hanoverian party, is pretty evident from his well-known saying respecting him,—'I won't say who is corrupt, but who is not corruptible I will say, and that is Mr Shippen.'

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men—which gave rise to the notion, that he held statesmen as more venal than others had believed them to be. His famous saying, that 'all men have their price,' can prove nothing unless 'price' be defined; and, if a large and liberal sense is given to the word, the proposition more resembles a truism than a sneer, or an ebullition of official misanthropy. But it has been positively affirmed that the remark never was made; for it is said that an important word is omitted, which wholly changes the sense; and that Walpole only said, in reference to certain factious or profligate adversaries, and their adherents resembling themselves, 'all '*these* men have their price.'* His general tone of sarcasm, when speaking of patriotism and political gratitude, and others of the more fleeting virtues, is well known. 'Patriots,' he said, 'are easily raised; I have myself made many a one. 'Tis but to 'refuse an unreasonable demand, and up springs a patriot.' So the gratitude of political men he defined to be a lively sense of favours to come. The opinion of mankind which such speeches as these imported, made Pope say,—

> 'Would he oblige me? Let me only find
> He does not think me what he thinks mankind.'

But if it is certain that his low estimate of public virtue, always openly, perhaps too openly, expressed, tended to lower men's estimate of his own, by making them suppose that he was likely to act upon his notions of those he had to deal with, it is at least equally clear, that the question more fit to be asked before we condemn him of exaggerated misanthropy, is,—Whether or not he very greatly erred in the mean opinion of others which he had formed? No one who has been long the dispenser of patronage among large bodies of his fellow-citizens, can fail to see infinitely more numerous instances of sordid, selfish, greedy, ungrateful conduct, than of the virtues to which such hateful qualities stand opposed. Daily examples come before him of the most unfeeling acrimony towards competitors,—the most far-fetched squeamish jealousy of all conflicting claims—unblushing falsehood in both its branches, boasting and detraction—grasping selfishness in both kinds, greedy pursuit of men's own bread, and cold calculating upon others' blood—the fury of disappointment when that has not been done which it was impossible to do—swift oblivion of all that has been granted—unreasonable expectation of more, only because much has been given—not seldom favours repaid with hatred and ill treatment, as if by this unnatural course the account might be settled between gratitude and pride—such are the secrets of the

* Coxe's Life of Walpole, Vol. I. p. 757.

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human heart which power soon discloses to its possessor: add to these, that which, however, deceives no one—the never-ceasing hypocrisy of declaring, that whatever is most eagerly sought is only coveted as affording the means of serving the country, and will only be taken at the sacrifice of individual interest to the sense of public duty. It is not believed that in our own times men are at all worse than they were a century ago; why then should we suppose that one who had been prime minister for twenty years, and in office five or six more, had arrived at his notion of human nature from a misanthropical disposition rather than from his personal experience? But still more unjust is the inference which is drawn even from a supposition of exaggerated misanthropy, that because he thought less favourably of men than they deserved—therefore he had ministered to their corruptions, and availed himself of their frailties. A far more rigorous test was applied to his conduct than any other minister ever underwent. His whole proceedings were unsparingly attacked towards the close of his reign, by a motion personally directed against him, supported with the most acrimonious zeal, and prefaced by the minutest enquiry into all his weak points. In the House, when he was present to meet the charge of corruption, none was made; after he ceased to rule, a committee sat for weeks to investigate his conduct. The result of the enquiry was the charge already adverted to; and a futile statement of his having offered a place to the mayor of a borough, and a living to his brother, in order to influence an election. In the great debate on Sandys's motion, a proud testimony to his pure administration of one most important branch of the public service, was borne by Sir C. Wager, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who declared, that during the nine years he had presided over the navy, Sir Robert had never once recommended any one for promotion; adding, that had he done so, he, the Admiral, would have thrown up his employments. It may well be doubted if all the successors, either at the Treasury or the Admiralty, have been equally pure in their high offices. Undue interference with men's parliamentary conduct, by removing those who had voted against him, was of course charged upon him and hardly denied; but it is a proceeding which ministers are as often praised for as blamed; it is the use of legitimate influence to support the government. He loudly denied that ever a threat had been employed to deter men from voting according to their conscientious opinions; and when all were challenged to convict him of such a course, none offered to accuse.

Having cleared away the ground from the entanglements with which contemporary prejudices and interests had encumbered it, we may now the more distinctly perceive the merits of this great statesman; and we shall easily admit that he was one of the

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ablest, wisest, and safest rulers who ever bore sway in this country. Inferior to many in qualities that dazzle the multitude, and undervaluing the mere outward accomplishments of English statesmanship, nay, accounting them as merits only so far as they conduced to parliamentary and to popular influence—and even much undervaluing their effects in that direction—Walpole yet ranks in the very highest class of those whose unvarying prudence, clear apprehension, fertility of resources to meet unexpected difficulties, firmness of purpose, just and not seemingly exaggerated self-confidence, point them out by common consent as the men qualified to guide the course of human affairs, to ward off public dangers, and to watch over the peace of empires. His knowledge was sound and practical; it was like all his other qualities, for use and not for ornament; yet he lacked nothing of the information which in his day formed the provision of the politician. With men his acquaintance was extensive, and it was profound. His severe judgments, the somewhat misanthropic bias to which reference has been made, never misled him; it only put him on his guard; and it may safely be affirmed that no man ever made fewer mistakes in his intercourse with either adversaries, or friends, or the indifferent world. From these great qualities it resulted, that a better or a more successful minister could not preside over any country in times of peace; and if we are unable to conjecture how far his sagacity, his boldness, his prudent circumspection, his quickness of apprehension, would have sufficed to make him as great a war minister, we have to thank his wise and virtuous policy; which steadfast in desiring peace, and his matchless skill, which, in the most difficult circumstances happily securing the execution of his grand purpose, have left us only to conjecture what the last of national calamities could alone have shown. Nor had he ordinary circumstances to contend against, or ordinary men, in the undeviating pursuit of peace, which made his course so truly useful and so really brilliant. The impatience of France to recover her power and her military reputation, dimmed by the wars of William and of Anne; the Spanish politics, complicated beyond their usual degree of entanglement; Austria, alternately exposed to danger of being conquered, and putting the balance of Europe to hazard by her ambition and her intrigues, never perhaps active or formidable at any other period of her history; Prussia, rising into powerful influence, and menacing Germany with conquest; the great capacity of the Regent Orleans, his inexhaustible resources of address, his manly courage, his profligate character; the habitual insincerity and deep cunning of Fleury, whose pacific disposition, nevertheless, made him Wal-

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pole's natural ally—such were the difficulties and the adversaries among which he had to steer the vessel committed to his care; while he had to thwart his councils at home, the King, first the father and then the son, constantly bent upon projects of ambition, reckoning conquest the only occupation worthy of princes, war their natural element, and peace an atmosphere in which they can scarcely breathe. It may be added to this, and it forms a higher eulogy still on this great statesman, that beside the opposition to his wise and virtuous policy which he encountered among courtiers and colleagues, often misled by the public impatience, not seldom taking their tone from the Sovereign, an opposition even broke out publicly in high and unexpected quarters; for the Chancellor himself, on one occasion, made a warlike harangue on quitting the woolsack.* A constant feeling of national pride and national prejudice were operating against France, in hatred or jealousy of French alliance, in dislike even of peace itself. The deep-rooted prejudices of the English people never set in more strongly against their French neighbours than during Walpole's administration. One half the country hated them because they were French, although friends of the Pretender; the other half, both because they were French, and because they were adverse to the Hanoverian settlement. The soreness felt ever since the interests of the country and all the fruits of her most glorious actions had been sacrificed at Utrecht, continued to gall the nation, and make it desirous of regaining by arms the footing which politics had lost; and during the long administration of Walpole there hardly passed a year in which the public eye was not jealously pointed to some quarter of the world, remote or near, as offering a reason why the public voice should be raised for war. It was this general tide of public opinion, as well as the under current of royal and courtly inclination, that Walpole had to stem for many a long year. He did stem it; gallantly he kept the vessel to her course; and he was not driven from the helm by the combined clamours of the mob and intrigues of party, until after he had secured the incalculable blessing of a repose without example for all the great interests committed to his charge.

If after so long a struggle he at length gave way, it must be

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* When Lord Hardwicke, carried away by the national enthusiasm beyond his accustomed moderation and even gentleness of speech, was declaiming with vehemence on the Spanish depredations in 1739, Walpole, standing on the throne, said to those near him, 'Bravo, Colonel Yorke! 'bravo!'

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remembered that the whole country was with the King, and the Court determined upon the Spanish war—one of the greatest blots in English history. Walpole's opposition to it was strenuous, and it was unavailing. He tendered his resignation to the King, and the King refused to accept it, passionately asking his minister 'Whether he would desert him at his greatest 'need?' He then laid his commands on him to remain, and unluckily for his reputation Walpole obeyed. Had he persisted in resigning, he might not have been able to prevent the catastrophe, but he would have saved himself from the reproach of superintending councils which he no longer directed; he would have been spared four years of continued mortifications; and his name would have remained to all posterity without a single blot to checker its lustre.

That he had at all times, in the conduct of foreign affairs, fearlessly counselled the Crown, and without the least regard to personal feelings spoken out like a man the whole truth in the closet, where such sounds so seldom are echoed from the walls, no doubt whatever exists.

Early in George I.'s reign he resisted vigorously his pressing desire for measures against Prussia, on account of a Mecklenburg quarrel, in which the Elector of Hanover took a very vehement part: he absolutely refused him money too, and was reproached by the King for breach of his promise. His answer was, though respectful, yet firm, and it was sincere. He would not dispute, he said, the assertion of his Majesty; but if he had ever made such a promise, he was wholly unable to recollect it. To the rapacity of the German favourites, he offered so firm a resistance that he was the abhorrence and detestation of them all, both men and women. When George was, five years after, bent upon opposing the Czar's attempts in favour of the Duke of Holstein's views upon the Swedish throne, Walpole plainly and firmly explained his views, refused the sum demanded, and so impressed the King with the wisdom of his pacific policy, that he joined him against all his other ministers, both English and German; With George II. he held the same honest, independent conduct; in so much that at one time the King's displeasure rose to the height of making it impossible for Queen Caroline, his steady supporter, to defend, or even name him in her husband's presence. Her only means of assuaging the Royal anger was to ascribe the minister's peaceful, or as the King termed it unworthy and feeble policy, to his brother Horace's influence over his mind on all foreign matters. His remonstrance against 'the petty Germanic 'schemes' of that prince, were unremitting; and once he had the courage to tell him how much 'the welfare of his own dominions

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'and the happiness of Europe depended on his being a great 'king rather than a considerable elector!' If such a speech was likely to be little palatable to his Electoral Highness, still less pleasing must have been the remark which the same minister ventured to make on one of the many occasions, when the implacable hatred of the House of Brunswick towards that of Brandenburg broke out. 'Will your Majesty engage in an en-'terprisewhich must prove both disgraceful and disadvantage-'ous? Why, Hanover will be no more than a breakfast to the 'Prussian army.'*

In commemorating the inestimable service which Walpole's pacific policy rendered to his country and the world, strict justice required us to enumerate the obstacles which were offered to his wise and honest course. The other great service which he rendered to his country, was the securing of the Protestant succession;—invaluable, not merely as excluding the plague of the Romish hierarchy and Romish superstition, but as perpetuating the settlement of the Revolution; by which the right of the people to discard their rulers, and to choose such as will protect, not abrogate, their liberties, was recognised and acted upon. Then Walpole had to struggle, not only against the intrigues of the exiled family, sometimes openly, always secretly favoured by France, but against a majority of the landed interest in England, perhaps in Scotland, certainly in Ireland—a majority in number as well as in value of the whole people. The accession of George I. had added to the weight of the Stuart party all those whom that prince excluded from his favour, by the policy which he from the first pursued of placing himself at the head of a party. The appearance among us of a foreigner to exercise all the functions of royalty, cooled the loyalty of some natural friends, while it converted many indifferent persons into enemies. Above all, the inroad of a foreign court, foreign mistresses, foreign favourites, all insatiable of English money as soon as they reached the land of promise, created a degree of discontent and even of disgust, which mightily

* The only serious objection ever urged against Sir Robert's foreign policy, his suffering the Emperor (Charles VI.) to encounter much hazard from Spain and France rather than actively aid him in his measures, and thus to raise France at Austria's expense, has long since faded from the memory of all reflecting men, as a wholly groundless charge. In fact, although Charles was so incensed at our conduct respecting the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, as at times to be in a state of mental derangement, it is certain that by no other course could war with France, and a general war in Europe, have been avoided.

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increased the prevailing tendency to regret the sway of a native family. In this state of things did Walpole prove himself a match for the extreme difficulties of his position. By his universal and accurate intelligence, he was constantly aware of every design that was plotting in every corner of Europe, from Stockholm to Naples, by the restless intrigues of the exiled family—aware of them, long before they had time for ripening into mischief—aware of them, generally speaking, from the very first movement in any of their most secret councils. There was not, too, a family in the British dominions whose leanings he was not acquainted with, and whose relations, if they had any, with the Pretender, he did not know. This knowledge he used without ever abusing it: he acted upon it for the safety of the State, without ever once bringing it against the parties, or deriving from it the means of injuring, or of annoying, or of humbling his adversaries. The fact is well known, that he was possessed of proofs which would have ruined more than one of them. Shippen, among others, knew he was in his antagonist's power; but that antagonist never prevented him from honestly pursuing the course of his violent and indeed very factious opposition. It must be further observed, in honour of Walpole's wisdom and firmness, that when the Protestant succession was endangered by foreign movements on the part of the Pretender, his all but invincible repugnance to warlike measures gave way to a provident spirit of wary precaution; and he at once, both in his foreign negotiations with Holland and Germany, and in his vigorous preparations for war with France, showed his resolute determination to defend at all hazards the Revolution settlement, and to punish those who would molest it.

The financial administration of Walpole has been deservedly commended by all but the zealots of a faction. Every one admitted the great improvements which he introduced into that department. A single measure by which he repealed above a hundred export duties, and nearly forty on imported articles, was only part of his system; which was clearly before his age, and therefore exposed him to the usual clamour raised against original thinkers on state affairs. He held that raw commodities for manufactures, and articles of necessity for consumption, should be relieved from all taxes; that the impost upon land should be reduced as far as possible; that the revenue collected from the customs, being liable to evasion by contraband trade, should be transferred to the excise; and that articles of luxury should thus be more securely and economically made to bear the burdens of the public expenditure. Every one knows the clamour

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which the great measure of the Excise, the principal illustration of his doctrine, encountered. His reason for relinquishing it is not discreditable to him. He had carried it by majorities always decreasing, and, when finally the majority was under twenty, he gave it up on ascertaining that the people were so generally set against it, that it must need the aid of troops to collect it. 'No revenue,' said this constitutional minister, 'ought to be 'levied in this free country, that it requires the sabre and the 'bayonet to collect.' A learned and eminently narrow-minded man, hating Walpole for his Revolution principles, has not scrupled to record his own factious folly in the definition of *Excise* given in his own dictionary. Another, a greater, a more factious, and a less honest man, helped, and much less impotently helped, to clamour down the only other part of Walpole's domestic administration which has ever been made the subject of open attack; though doubtless the extinction of Jacobitism was the real, but hidden, object of all these invectives;—we mean Dean Swift, whose promotion in the church he had prevented upon discovering the most glaring acts of base perfidy on the part of that unprincipled wit; and whose revenge was taken against the provision made, rather by Walpole's predecessors than himself, for supplying a copper coinage to Ireland, upon terms to the trader perfectly fair, and to the country sufficiently advantageous. The *Drapiers' Letters*, one of his most famous and by far his most popular productions, the act of his life, he was accustomed to confess, upon which rests his whole Irish popularity—and no name ever retained its estimation in the mind of the Irish people nearly so long—urged his countrymen to reject these halfpence; it being, the very reverend author solemnly asserted, 'their 'first duty to God next to the salvation of their souls;' and asserted, impudently asserted, that the coin was only worth a twelfth of its nominal value. Impudently, we repeat, and why? Because a careful assay was immediately made at the English mint, by the master of the mint, and the result was to ascertain that the standard weight was justly proved. And who was that master? None other than Sir Isaac Newton. The calumnies and the ribaldry of the Dean prevailed over the experiments of the illustrious philosopher, and the coinage was withdrawn from circulation. Let us hope that the person who in our day occupies himself with printing his mathematical reveries against the method of Fluxions and the first section of the *Principia*, and who insults the public taste by inculcating the foulest, most vulgar abuse of the 'Saxon Philosopher,' may not succeed in making his reflecting countrymen believe that the name which

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all mankind have consecrated to receive only veneration, represents a '*driveller*' and a '*knave.*'

The private character of Walpole is familiarly known; and all contemporary writers join in giving the same impression of it. Open, honest, unaffected, abounding in kindness, overflowing with good-humour, generous to profusion, hospitable to a fault, easy in his manners to excess—no wonder that the ruler of the country should have won all hearts by qualities which would have made a private gentleman the darling of society. With these merits, however, were joined defects or weaknesses, which broke in somewhat upon the respect that severe judges require a great statesman to be compassed with, round about. His mirth was somewhat free, and apt to be coarse; and he patronised boisterous hilarity in the society which he frequented, and at the merry meetings which were the relaxation of his life. He regarded not the decorum which sober habits sustain, and he followed, in respect of convivial enjoyments, rather the fashion of his own day than of ours. He indulged, too, in gallantry more than beseemed either his station or his years; and he had, like a celebrated contemporary* of his, the weakness of affecting to be less strictly virtuous in this respect than he was, and considerably more successful in his pursuit of such recreations. This mixture of honest openness and scorn of hypocrisy, with some little tendency to boast of fortune's favours, made the only trait like an exception to the wholly plain and unaffected nature of the man. Nor is it easy to define with accuracy how much was affectation, and how much ought to be set down to the account of a merely joyous and frank temper. The delight which all persons, of whatever age or cast, took in his society, is admitted by every witness.

Of Sir Robert Walpole's character as an orator, or rather a great master of debate, it is of course at this distance of time, and with so little help from the parliamentary history of the day, not easy to speak with confidence or discrimination; because we must rely on the estimate formed by others, and handed down to us, with few, indeed, of the materials on which their judgment rested. That he despised not only all affectation and all refinements, but all the resources of the oratorical art beyond its great 'origin and fountain,' strong sense, clear ideas, anxious devotion to the object in view, carrying the audience along with the

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* Louis XIV., when some one was recounting his nephew the Duc d'Orleans's (afterwards Regent's) foibles and vices, said, in language much eulogized by St Simon, who relates the anecdote—'Encore est il 'fanfaron de vices qu'il n'a point.'

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speaker, may well be supposed from the manly and plain, the homely and somewhat coarse, character of his understanding. Eminently a man of business, he came down to Parliament to do the business of the country, and he did it. He excelled in lucid statement, whether of an argument or of facts; he met his antagonist fearlessly, and went through every part of the question; he was abundantly ready at reply and at retort; he constantly preserved his temper, was even well-natured and gay in the midst of all his difficulties; and possessed his constitutional good-humour, with his unvaried presence of mind, in the thickest fire of the debate, be it ever so vehement, ever so personal, as entirely as if he were in his office, or his study, or the common circle of his friends. He was, too, a lively and not ever a tiresome speaker; nor did any man, hardly Lord North himself, enjoy the position—to any debater very enviable, to a minister the most enviable of all—that of a constant favourite with the House which it was his vocation to lead. Such is the general account left us of his speaking, and on this all witnesses are agreed.

It may be added, that his style was homely for the most part; and his manner, though animated and lively, yet by no means affecting dignity. In figures of speech he but rarely indulged, though his language seems to have been often distinguished by point. His personal retorts, though hardly ever offensive, were often distinguished by much force of invective and considerable facility of sarcasm. His description of the factious and motley opposition, moved by the dark intrigues of Bolingbroke, and his portrait of that wily and subtle adversary, appears to have been a passage of great merit, as far as the conception went; for of the execution we cannot in fairness permit ourselves to judge from the only record of it which is preserved, the meagre parliamentary remains of those days. The excellence of this celebrated speech, which eventually drove Bolingbroke abroad, is greatly enhanced by the important circumstance of its being an unpremeditated reply to a very elaborate attack upon himself, in which Sir William Windham had feigned a case applicable to Walpole's, and under that cover drawn a severe portrait of him. Notwithstanding the general plainness and simplicity of his style, some speeches remain distinguished by a highly ornamental and even figurative manner; that, for example, in opposition to the Peerage Bill, in which he spoke of the ancients having erected the temple of honour behind the temple of virtue, to show by what avenues it must be approached; whereas we were called upon to provide that its only avenue should be an obscure family pedigree, or the winding-sheet of some worthless

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ancestor. Some idea of his more animated and successful efforts may be formed, and it is a very high one, from the admirable exordium of his speech in reply to the long series of attacks upon him which Sandys's motion for his removal, in 1741, introduced. There remain of this speech only his own minutes, yet even from these its great merits appear clear. 'Whatever is the conduct of England, I am equally arraigned. If we maintain ourselves in peace and seek no share in foreign transactions, we are reproached with tameness and pusillanimity. If we interfere in disputes, we are called Don Quixotes and dupes to all the world. If we contract (give) guarantees, it is asked why the nation is wantonly burdened. If guarantees are declined, we are reproached with having no allies.'

In general, his manner was simple, and even familiar, with a constant tendency towards gaiety. But of this his finest speech it is recorded, that the delivery was most fascinating, and of a dignity rarely surpassed. In vehemence of declamation he seldom indulged, and any thing very violent was foreign to his habits at all times. Yet sometimes he deviated from this course; and once spoke under such excitement, (on the motion respecting Lord Cadogan's conduct, 1717,) that the blood burst from his nose, and he had to quit the House. But for this accidental relief, he probably would have afforded a singular instance of a speaker, always good-humoured and easy in his delivery beyond almost any other, dropping down dead in his declamation, from excess of vehemence; and at this time he was between forty and fifty years of age.

But in estimating any one's powers as a debater, and every minister's capacity for the conduct of affairs in Parliament, we must know by whom he was surrounded; above all, we must know to whom he was opposed. It often happens, too, that more is presumed of those statesmen who were only speakers, than of those whose oratory was lost in their more important functions as rulers; and hence we can arrive indirectly at a more correct knowledge of the powers possessed by the latter, when we have seen what forces were brought to bear against them, and what they were able to resist. Where the disparity is great between the debating power on the two sides, a minister must be defeated in the long run; but where the reputation of the times has left an impression that there was little inequality, if we know pretty accurately the value of the one party, we can be at no loss to calculate that of the other also. This has happened in the case of Walpole; for the speeches of his more distinguished adversaries have partly reached us, partly been distinctly described

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by their contemporaries, in a way that gives us a clearer idea of them than we have of his own; and no account calls in question his successfully, often triumphantly, always formidably, making head against all their assaults, through a long, and stormy, and factious opposition.

Of these antagonists, the Pulteneys, Daniel and William, held the first place. But the former, though a good and a graceful speaker, was chiefly remarkable for his business-like habits and his extensive knowledge, especially of foreign affairs, to which his employment abroad, as a diplomatic man, had accustomed him;* the latter was the great opponent of Walpole, after having been his warm supporter,† and he was one of the most accomplished debaters, perhaps one of the finest speakers, that ever appeared in our senate. Speaker Onslow describes him as 'having the most popular parts for public speaking of any man 'he ever knew'‡—and there could not be a better witness. His style was correct and classical beyond that of all other men; and his unpremeditated compositions were as correct and as elegant as his most prepared. The same high authority has recorded of his spirit and his fire, when upon popular topics, that it was 'the 'spirit and the fire by which the orators of the ancient common-'wealths governed the people;'—a praise of the very highest description certainly, and which acquires an extraordinary addition when it is added, that his wit and pleasantry were inexhaustible, that the dread of falling under their lash when the laugh went through the town at any remarkable stroke of his wit, or of being struck by some bitter expression of his, (for he seems to have possessed all the resources of eloquence,) was more than most men could bear; so that even he would make them ashamed of the truth by which they had been led before; and it was a familiar saying with Walpole, that he feared his tongue more than another man's sword. When to all these powers and these accomplishments, we add the weight derived from ample possessions, and the still more legitimate consideration bestowed by a private life of unsullied virtue, we shall easily be able to conceive the prodigious influence which this eminent person long enjoyed both in Parliament and in the country. That influence he lost, when, after driving Walpole from office, he refused to form a government exclusively of his partisans, and offended both that

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* His daughter, married to Sir W. Johnstone, succeeded to the great wealth of the family, and transmitted it to Lady Bath, her only child.

† This change came through his cousin Daniel, who was brother-in-law to Lord Sunderland.

‡ Coxe's *Life of Walpole*, Appen. v. 3.

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portion of the Whigs whom he had led to victory, and the whole Tory party by not making, as they supposed, a sufficient stand in their favour. He committed the further error, in a party view, of refusing office—willing to attempt the impossibility of directing a government to which he did not belong. But the principal cause of his losing at once all his power, and exchanging the admiration of years for a rancorous malignity which pursued him all the rest of his life, was his ill-counselled step of taking an earldom; although he had three several times refused the peerage under the administration of his adversaries, and had uniformly avowed his intention of retiring to the House of Lords as soon as he had destroyed the Walpole government. This promotion depriving him of the title he had so long enjoyed of the 'Great Commoner,' and placing him where his extraordinary talents for debate were almost thrown away, never was forgiven by those whom he had been accustomed to lead, and the senseless clamour of the multitude was joined with their chagrin to defame and harass their former idol. When we reflect calmly on those scenes of party and personal violence, our respect for the judgments of the contemporary public is assuredly not increased; but it is more strange to find so calm and so well-informed an observer as Onslow—one who so thoroughly knew, and one who has so graphically portrayed Pulteney's wonderful capacity, and done such justice also to the virtues of his private life—led away by the love of epigram to the pitch of observing, that 'as they who knew 'him best wondered at the popularity he once had; so he who 'knew himself least, wondered as much that he ever lost it.'

It was imputed to him that his conduct in joining and soon leaving the fierce opposition to Walpole, had been prompted by personal spleen towards his old colleague, and influenced by the accident of his kinsman Daniel's connexion with that cunning intriguer Sunderland; and certain it is, that factious motives rather than principle, seem to have guided that most important step in his public life. But on one subject he has been far less blamed than he deserved; and on that one his guilt, though shared with his party and with the country, is indeed heavy; for he led that party, and they with him fomented the bad spirit by which the country was excited and disturbed. He pursued his hostility to the minister of peace by becoming the advocate of war; while in all likelihood, had Walpole's policy been of a warlike cast, he would have preferred the counsels of peace. To drive the state into hostile enterprises; to inflame the natural animosities of the giddy vulgar; to plunge all Europe into the calamities of war about nothing—this was the darling object of his most strenuous exertions; this the favourite theme which called forth all his

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powers; this the vile, accursed ground upon which the choicest flowers of his great genius were lavished. And yet the purpose of all this profligate violence being once compassed in the destruction of his rival, the authors of the Spanish war, with a candour which would be truly commendable if it were not shameless effrontery, soon after confessed that they had not the shadow of ground for all their attacks upon pacific measures, and all their base patronage of war! It is well to record the evidence of this, to serve as a warning to nations and their leaders against falling into the pits which a factious spirit digs in their path. This 'testimony,' so to speak, 'has been perpetuated' by Mr Burke. Hear his remarkable words. After stating as the result of a careful examination of the case, and 'the original documents' connected with it, his decided opinion of the 'extreme injustice 'of the war, and the falsehood of the colours daubed over 'that measure,' he adds—'Some years after, it was my fortune 'to converse with many of the principal actors against Walpole, 'and with those who principally excited that clamour. None of 'them, no not one, did in the least defend the measure, or at-'tempt to justify their conduct; which they as freely condemned 'as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding 'in history in which they were totally unconcerned.' The reflection which this passage in the annals of party suggests to the eloquent sage is startling. 'Thus it will be. They who stir up 'the people to improper desires, whether of peace or war, will 'be condemned by themselves. They who weakly rule over 'them, will be condemned by history.'* But this reflection, just as far as it goes, stops very short indeed of the mark to which all sense of public virtue demands that it be pointed and made to fly. The men who blushed not to make the scandalous, the degrading avowal, that for party purposes—in other words, to serve their personal ends—they had brought upon their fellow-creatures the miseries of war, would have been hunted out of society, if the law did not hurry them out of existence, had they confessed to the invasion of either the life or the property of a single human being. Whence, then, comes it to pass that they should audaciously confess to a crime ten thousand times worse—and confess as if they were but recounting an indifferent, if not a meritorious occurrence in their lives? Whence, but because as yet mankind have been engaged in a preposterous combination against their own best interests—a combination to call things by their wrong names, to remove all blame from minor offenders,

* Regicide Peace, Letter I.

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and to suffer the real scourges of the human race—tyrants, intriguers, conquerors, the enemies of freedom, and virtue, and peace—to go free from all reprobation; nay, if their detestable efforts are only crowned with success, to award them a monopoly of the public respect?

Next to Pulteney, the most powerful of Walpole's antagonists was Sir William Windham. This distinguished personage yielded to none of his contemporaries in dignity of character, and whatever most confers weight upon men of talents in a political party; to few in sterling ability, whether as a counsellor or a debater: while he surpassed most men of his time in honesty and in steadiness of principle. It is the striking remark of Speaker Onslow, that 'every thing about him seemed great.' 'He was in my opinion,' said the Speaker, 'the most made for 'a great man of any one I have known in this age.' All the parts of his character suited and helped each other. In his conduct there was no inconsistency or variation; in his speech no deviation from the sustained dignity, and force, and gravity of its tone; in his manner, as in his person, the same dignity, tempered and set off with much grace. Originally little educated, he had, from his intimacy with Bolingbroke, acquired a kind of second-hand or reflected classical tone; but there was no display of ornament about him, nor any affectation of any kind. From a bad speaker he had, by practice, become an easy and fluent one; but his style was peculiarly solid and argumentative, insomuch that Onslow describes his reasoning to be, 'by a sort of induc-'tion, peculiar to himself;' and he bears this strong testimony to its effect, that 'it had a force beyond any man's he ever heard in 'public debate.' Nor must it be supposed that, as in the writings of his kinsmen the Grenvilles, weight, and statement, and argument, were studied at the expense of animation. If he had as little fancy as they, of whom it has been remarked that they were never known to use, even by chance, a figurative expression, he had abundantly more spirit; and though he made no pretence at all to wit or pleasantry, which indeed would have lowered his tone, yet the same witness testifies to 'the spirit and power that 'always animated himself and his hearers; and with the decora-'tion of his exceedingly ornamental manner, produced not only 'the most attentive and respectful, but even a reverent regard 'to whatever he spoke.' 'If,' says the Speaker, 'I have spoken 'of him too highly, it must be imputed to the opinion I conceived 'of him in the House of Commons, where I never saw him fail 'of being a great man.'

Add to all this, that he had a high and dauntless spirit, worthy of the long line of ancestry from which he was descended. His

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temper, naturally impetuous, and his pride, which in his younger days gave him an aspect of haughtiness, had mellowed down with years, and only sat gracefully to dignify, or stimulated to inspire his manner. The indulgences of youth, too, in which his passions had been wont to overflow with his licentious Mentor St John, though at one time they stained his manners, seem never to have corrupted his heart; and an undeviating integrity, public and private, united in him with a kindly disposition, which even the heats of party were unable to sour.

As were his private, so did his public principles prove incorruptible and unchanged. The High Tory sentiments of his family he inherited with their possessions, and his alliance by marriage was with the loftier, the wealthier, the more Tory house of Somerset. At an early age he mingled in the councils of the Jacobites, and was imprisoned on suspicion of treason during the Rebellion 1715. It is, however, very creditable to the sterling vigour of his understanding, that he overcame many of his most deep-rooted prejudices, became convinced of the strength of popular rights, was a convert to the necessity of a free government on the basis of the Revolution settlement, abandoned all connexion with the Jacobite party, and persevered to the end of his truly honourable life in the faith and in the lead of the constitutional Tory party.

When we read the remains of Pulteney and Windham in the meagre records of the parliamentary prints, we are led to one or other of two conclusions, and they are drawn from considering the cases of other orators as well as them: Either the records preserve nothing like the eloquence of those eminent persons; or much of the effect produced by it was made by their fine manner, by the appropriate topics which they handled, and by their using the very mode of illustrating and of enforcing their opinions, the best suited to the time and the place. Which of these is the sound view of the matter?—or must we partly resort to both explanations? For assuredly what we do read of their spoken compositions, falls immeasurably below the fame which they have left behind them. Now we incline to the opinion, that, though something is undoubtedly due to the scantiness of our older debates, and though some kinds of oratory thus lose much more than others; yet far more is owing to the other circumstance which we have mentioned, the magical power of spirit, voice, gesture—all we call manner—and to the perfect appropriateness of the topics, what the French call the '*a propos*,' of every thing they said. It seems fair to draw this conclusion, from the undoubted fact, that many fine passages remain of Lord Chatham's speeches, and nothing very striking can be pointed out in those either of

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Walpole, Pulteney, or Windham. Thus the occasion on which the latter most signalized himself was his famous attack on Walpole, which Smollett says, 'spoke him the unrivalled orator, the 'uncorrupted Briton, the unshaken patriot;' and which he adds—nor do other accounts at all differ—excited unbounded 'admira-'tion by the sudden burst of eloquence.' Yet he and the other panegyrists have preserved this passage; and the part which is the most pointed and vigorous reads sufficiently tame after such praises, absolutely flat after the more pointed and more effective invectives of later times. Here are the passages most charged with epigram, and most vigorous:—'Let us suppose a man aban-'doned to all notions of virtue or honour, of no great family and 'of but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state by the 'concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid or unwilling to 'trust any but creatures of his own making, and most of them 'equally abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour; ignorant 'of the true interest of his country, or consulting nothing but that 'of enriching and aggrandizing himself or his favourites.'—'Suppose him next possessed of great wealth, the plunder of the 'nation, with a Parliament of his own choosing, most of the 'seats purchased, and their votes bought at the expense of the 'public treasure.' He then supposes enquiry to be called for, and goes on—'Suppose these lightly refused, these reasonable 'requests rejected by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom 'he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest by 'granting them those posts and places which ought never to be 'given to any but for the good of the public.—Upon this scan-'dalous victory let us suppose this chief minister pluming him-'self in defiances, because he finds he has got a Parliament, like 'a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us 'further suppose him arrived to that degree of insolence and 'arrogance as to domineer over all men of ancient families, all 'the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; and, as he 'has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavour-'ing to destroy or corrupt it in all.' He then supposes—'With 'such a minister and such a Parliament, a prince upon the 'throne, either for want of true information, or for some other 'reason, ignorant and unacquainted with the inclinations and 'interests of his people, and hurried away by unbounded ambi-'tion and insatiable avarice. This case,' he adds, 'has never hap-'pened in this nation. I hope, I say, it will never exist; but 'as it is possible it may, could there any greater curse happen to 'a nation than such a prince on the throne, solely advised by 'such a minister, and that minister supported by such a Parlia-'ment?' Then comes what must be admitted to be fine, because

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it fits in admirably and naturally with the argument which he uses for the repeal of the Septennial Act. 'The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws; the existence of such a prince or such a minister we cannot prevent by Act of Parliament; but the existence of such a Parliament I think we may; and as such a Parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief while the Septennial law remains in force than if it were repealed, therefore I am most heartily for the repeal of it.' The success of this concluding passage, applying the whole, and closely applying it to the matter in question, was quite assured, and must at any time have been very great. But if we examine all the rest of this celebrated burst, we shall find that there is but a single clearly felicitous expression, ('scandalous victory')—another of very doubtful correctness, ('pluming himself in defiances,') but which must have produced much effect, because Walpole cites that phrase alone; one period which is distinguished by any point at all, that where he speaks of ridiculing and corrupting virtue; and one passage of any energy at all before the application, namely, the description of the curses accruing from such a prince, such a minister, and such a Parliament. We may also certainly conclude from these things being well preserved, that little or nothing has been lost by the way; and then we must allow the merit of the whole piece to be greatly exaggerated, or at least that its effect depended upon the manner, the boldness, and the application, far more than upon the excellence of the oratory as a composition.

If any additional proofs were wanting that our solution of the question is the right one, it might be easily supplied by the unerring test which the publications of these statesmen afford. There is nothing happy or striking in the pamphlets which they published at the time. Both Walpole and Pulteney have left several such tracts, and tracts which had much vogue in their day. But now they command as little interest from their composition, as from the questions of which they treat. They are generally distinguished by hardihood of assertion; often disfigured with coarseness and violence; seldom remarkable for any beauty or even correctness of diction. This test may be applied to some of the other statesmen who flourished in those times, and applied with perfect safety to their reputation. Chesterfield and Bolingbroke have left behind them a reputation for eloquence on which no doubt can rest; because, independent of all contemporary opinion, we have in their writings imperishable proofs that they are, the latter assuredly, to be classed with the great masters of speech.

But before any thing is said of these celebrated men, or rather

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of Bolingbroke, on whom alone it may be worth while to dwell, we may here pause to state why so large, as it may appear so disproportioned, a space has been allotted to Walpole, the centre figure in this group. It is because there is nothing more wholesome for both the people and their rulers, than to dwell upon the excellence of those statesmen, whose lives have been spent in furthering the useful, the sacred, work of peace. The thoughtless vulgar are ever prone to magnify the brilliant exploits of arms, which dazzle ordinary understandings, and prevent any account being taken of the cost and the crime that so often are hid in the guise of success. All merit of that shining kind is sure of passing current for more than it is really worth; and the eye is turned indifferently upon, and even scornfully from, the unpretending virtue of the true friend to his species, the minister who devotes all his cares to stay the worst of crimes that can be committed, the last of calamities that can be endured, by man. To hold up such men as Walpole in the face of the world as the model of a wise, a safe, an honest ruler, becomes the most sacred duty of the impartial historian; and, as has been said of Cicero and of eloquence by a great critic, that statesman may feel assured that he has made progress in the science to which his life is devoted, who shall heartily admire the public character of Walpole.

Few men, whose public life was so short, have filled a greater space in the eyes of the world during his own times than Lord Bolingbroke, or left behind them a more brilliant reputation. Not more than fifteen years elapsed between his first coming into Parliament and his attainder; during not more than ten of these years was he brought before the public in the course of its proceedings; and yet as a statesman and an orator his name ranks among the most famous in our history, independently of the brilliant literary reputation which places him among the best classics of our Augustan age. Much of his rhetorical fame may certainly be ascribed to the merit of his written works; but had he never composed a page, he would still have come down to our times as one of the most able and eloquent men of whom this country ever could boast. As it is upon his eloquence that his great reputation now rests, as upon that mainly was built his political influence, and as upon it alone any commendation of his political character must proceed, we shall do well to begin by examining the foundation before we look at the superstructure.

And here the defect, so often to be deplored in contemplating the history of modern oratory, attains its very height. Meagre as are the materials by which we can aim at forming to ourselves some idea of the eloquence of most men who flourished before

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our own day; scanty as the remains are of the speakers who even figured during the Seven Years' War, and the earlier part of the American contest; when we go back to the administration of Walpole, we find those vestiges to be yet more thinly scattered over the pages of our history; and in Queen Anne's time, during which alone Bolingbroke spoke, there are absolutely none. It is correct to affirm that of this great orator—one of the very greatest according to all contemporary history that ever exercised the art, and these accounts powerfully supported by his writings—not a spoken sentence remains, any more than of the speeches of Demades,* one of the most eloquent of the Greeks, any more than of Cicero's translation from Demosthenes, or the lost works of Livy and of Tacitus. The contemplation of this chasm it was that made Mr Pitt, when musing upon its brink, and calling to mind all that might be fancied of the orator from the author, and all that traditional testimony had handed down to us, sigh after a 'speech of Bolingbroke,'—desiderating it far more than the restoration of all that has perished of the treasures of the ancient world.

But although we may well join in these unavailing regrets, attempt vainly to supply the want by our conjectures, and confess our ignorance of the peculiar character of his oratory, the fact of its mighty power is involved in no doubt at all. The concurring testimony of all parties leaves this a matter absolutely certain. The friends and supporters of Walpole, to whom his whole life was hostile, all his acts, his speeches, and his writings, are here agreed with the friends, the associates of Bolingbroke; and no diversity of shade marks the pictures which have come down to us from the hand of the antagonist and of the panegyrist. His most intimate companion, Dean Swift, may be suspected of partiality when he represents him as 'having in 'his hands half the business of the nation, and the applause of 'the whole;' but when he tells us that, 'understanding men of 'both parties asserted, he never had been equalled in speaking,' and that he had 'an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable 'elocution,' we can find no fault with the exaggeration, for this account falls short of what others have told. In truth, his impression upon the men of his own age may well be conceived to have been prodigious, when we reflect that hardly any orator can now be cited as having flourished before his time. This circumstance might even detract from the weight of contemporary tes-

* The fragment given in some *codices* as his, appears of more than doubtful authenticity. The finest portion is taken from a very well-known passage in Demosthenes.

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timony in his favour, if we had not more specific reasons for believing implicitly in it, than the mere concurrence of general reputation.

He had received at Eton a complete classical education; rather let us say, had laid there the foundation of one, which, like all others who have shone as scholars, he afterwards completed. But his attention was more bestowed upon the remains of Rome than of Athens; he was extensively and thoroughly acquainted with Latin writers, as indeed his frequent quotation of passages little known may show. With Greek literature he seems not to have been familiar; nor can the reader of his own works fail to perceive, that his style is not so redolent of the flowers which grew into the more vigorous climate of the Attic school. With the authors of the age immediately preceding his own—the true Augustan age of English letters—he was well acquainted; and although his style is quite his own, none being more original, it is impossible to doubt that he had much studied and much admired (as who can stint himself in admiring?) the matchless prose of Dryden—rich, various, natural, animated, pointed, lending itself to the logical and the narrative, as well as the pathetic and the picturesque, never balking, never cloying, never wearying. To the literature of ancient and of modern times, he added a consummate knowledge of their history; and indeed appears of this to have made his principal study; for of natural science he was no professor, and his metaphysical writings have gained but little fame. Yet, that he was a profound moralist, had thoroughly studied the sources of human action, was well acquainted with the nature and habits of the mind, and had an understanding both adapted by its natural acuteness to take part in the most subtle discussions, as well as habituated to them by study, it would be absurd to doubt, merely because his metaphysical speculations have been unsuccessful; as it would be the height of unworthy prejudice to deny, merely because his opinions are tinged with scepticism, and because an unhappy veil of infidelity darkened his life, while it shrouded his posthumous works. They who look down upon even the purely ethical and purely metaphysical writings of Bolingbroke, would do well to show us any statesman or any orator, except perhaps Cicero, who in any age has brought to the senate the same resources of moral science, which even the failures of Bolingbroke, as a professed author on these subjects, prove him to have possessed; and it is hardly necessary to remark, how vast an accession of force to his eloquence, whether in its argumentative, its pathetic, or its declamatory department, would have been gained by even far less skill, capacity, or practice, than he had as a moral philosopher, a student of the nature of the mind, or an expert logician.

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Accordingly, when all these accomplishments, joined to his strong natural sagacity, his penetrating acuteness, his extraordinary quickness of apprehension, a clearness of understanding, against which sophistry set itself up in vain, as the difficulties of the most complicated subject in vain opposed his industry and his courage; with a fancy rich, lively, various beyond that of most men, a wit exuberant and sparkling, a vehemence of passion belonging to his whole temperament, even to his physical powers—came to be displayed before the assembly which he was to address; and when the mighty '*Armamentaria Cœli*' were found under the command of one whose rich endowments of mind, and whose ample stores of acquired virtue resided in a person of singular grace, animated a countenance at once beautiful and expressive, and made themselves heard in the strains of an unrivalled voice, it is easy to comprehend how vast, how irresistible must have been their impression. That is easy; but unhappily all we can now obtain is, the apprehension that it must have been prodigious, without being able ourselves to penetrate it, or to form any very distinct notion of its peculiar kind. For the purpose of approximating to this knowledge, it is necessary that we should now consider the style of his written discourses; because, although in general the difference is great between the same man's writings and his oratory, (witness the memorable example of Mr Fox, who, however, increased the diversity by writing on a system, and a bad one;)—yet in some this difference is much less than in others, and there seems abundant reason to believe, that in Bolingbroke's case it was as inconsiderable as in any other.

If we enquire on what models Bolingbroke formed his style, the result will be, as in all other writers of great and original excellence, that he was rather imbued with the general taste and relish of former writers than imitated any of them. That he had filled his mind with the mighty exemplars of antiquity is certain—for, though of Greek he had small acquaintance, with the Latin classics he was familiar, and habitually so, as his allusions and his quotations constantly show. As might be supposed in one of his strong sense, knowledge of man and of men, as well as free habits, Horace seems to have been his favourite; but the historians also are plainly of his intimate society. Among modern authors, he appears to have had Dryden's prose, and the admirable composition of Shaftesbury most in his mind. The resemblance of manner may indeed be frequently found with these excellent models—of whom the former, with Bolingbroke himself, may perhaps be admitted to stand at the head of all our great masters of diction. But though in vigour, in freedom, occasionally in rhythm also, in variety that never p[illegible]r distracts from

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the subject, in copiousness that speaks an exhaustless fountain for its source, nothing can surpass Dryden; yet must it be confessed that Bolingbroke is more terse, more condensed where closeness is required, more epigrammatic, and of the highest order of epigram where the point is not in the words but the thoughts; and when even in the thoughts, it is so subdued as to be the minister of the composer, and not his master—helping the explication, or the argument, or the invective, without appearing to be the main purpose of the composition. In another and a material respect, he also greatly excels Dryden; there is nothing flowery in any part of his writings; he always respects his reader, his subject, and himself, too much, to throw out matter in a crude and half finished form, at least as far as diction is concerned—for the structure of his works is any thing rather than finished and systematic. Even his tract 'On Parties,' which he calls a *Dissertation*, though certainly his most elaborate work, perhaps also the most admirably written, has as little of an orderly methodical exposition of principles, or statement of reasonings, as can well be imagined. It is a series of letters to a political paper, abounding in acute, sagacious, often profound reflections, with forcible arguments, much happy illustration, constant references to history, many attacks upon existing parties; but nothing can be less like what we commonly term a Dissertation. The same remark applies to almost all his writings—he is clear, strong, copious; he is never methodical; the subject is attacked in various ways; it is taken up by the first end that presents itself, and it is handled skilfully, earnestly, and strikingly, in many of its parts; it cannot be said to be thoroughly gone through, though it be powerfully gone into; in short, it is treated of as if a speaker of great power, rather than a writer, were engaged upon it; and accordingly nothing can be more clear than that Bolingbroke's works convey to us the idea of a prodigious orator, rather than of a very great and regular writer. When Mr Burke asked, 'Who 'now reads Bolingbroke?' he paved the way for another equally natural exclamation, 'What would we not give to hear him?' and this was Mr Pitt's opinion, when, as we have before observed, the question being raised in conversation about the *desiderata* most to be lamented, and one said the lost Books of Livy, another those of Tacitus, a third a Latin tragedy—he at once declared for 'A 'Speech of Bolingbroke.' Nor is it the method—rather the want of method—the easy and natural order in which the topics follow one another, not taken up on a plan, but each, as it were, growing out of its immediate predecessor—that makes his writings so closely resemble spoken compositions. The diction is most eminently that of oratorical works. It is bold, rapid, animated, natural, and racy, yet pointed and correct—bearing the closest scrutiny of

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the critic, when submitted to the eye in the hour of calm judgment; but admirably calculated to fill the ear, and carry away the feelings at the time of excitement. If Bolingbroke spoke as he wrote, he must have been the greatest of modern orators as far as composition goes—for he has the raciness and spirit, occasionally even the fire, perhaps not the vehemence of Fox, with richer imagery, and far more correctness; the accurate composition of Pitt, with infinitely more grace and variety; the copiousness, almost the learning, and occasionally the depth of Burke, without his wearily elaborate air; for his speech never degenerates for an instant into affectation, which Burke's scarcely ever avoids.

To characterise his manner of speaking from his writings would be difficult and tedious, if possible. There are in these, however, passages which plainly bear the impress of his extraordinary oratorical powers, and which, if spoken, must have produced an indescribable effect. Take a noble passage from the *Dissertation on Parties.*

'If King Charles had found the nation plunged in corruption; the people chusing their representatives for money, without any other regard; and these representatives of the people, as well as the nobility, reduced by luxury to beg the unhallowed alms of a court, or to receive, like miserable hirelings, the wages of iniquity from a minister; if he had found the nation, I say, in this condition, (which extravagant supposition one cannot make without horror,) he might have dishonoured her abroad, and impoverished and oppressed her at home, though he had been the weakest prince on earth, and his ministers the most odious and contemptible men that ever presumed to be ambitious. Our fathers might have fallen into circumstances which compose the quintessence of political misery. They might have sold their birthright for porridge, which was their own. They might have been bubbled by the foolish, bullied by the fearful, and insulted by those whom they despised. They would have deserved to be slaves, and they might have been treated as such. When a free people crouch, like camels, to be loaded, the next at hand, no matter who, mounts them, and they soon feel the whip and the spur of their tyrant, whether prince or minister, resemble the devil in many respects; particularly in this—He is often both the tempter and the tormentor. He makes the criminal, and he punishes the crime.'

Another fine passage, admirably fitted for spoken eloquence by its rapidity, its point, its fulness of matter, each hint rising above the last, may be taken from the celebrated Dedication to Sir Robert Walpole:—

'Should a minister govern, in various instances of domestic and foreign management, ignorantly, weakly, or even wickedly, and yet pay this reverence, and bear this regard to the constitution, he would deserve certainly much better quarter, and would meet with it too, from every man

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of sense and honour, than a minister who should conduct the administration with great ability and success, and should, at the same time, procure and abate, or even connive at such indirect violations of the rules of the constitution as tend to the destruction of it, or even at such evasions as tend to render it useless: A minister who had the ill qualities of both these, and the good ones of neither; who made his administration hateful in some respects, and despicable in others; who sought that security by ruining the constitution, which he had forfeited by dishonouring the government; who encouraged the profligate, and seduced the unwary to concur with him in this design, by affecting to explode all public spirit, and to ridicule every form of our constitution; such a minister would be looked upon most justly as the shame and scourge of his country; sooner or later he would fall without pity, and it is hard to say what punishment would be proportionable to his crimes.'

Lastly, take this instance of another kind, but alike fitted for the senate:—

'The flowers they gather at Billingsgate to adorn and entwine their productions, shall be passed over by me without any explication. They assume the privilege of watermen and oysterwomen. Let them enjoy it in that good company, and exclusively of all other persons. They cause no scandal; they give no offence; they raise no sentiment but contempt in the breasts of those they attack; and it is to be hoped, for the honour of those whom they would be thought to defend, that they raise, by their low and dirty practice, no other sentiment in them. But there is another part of their proceedings which may be attributed by malicious people to you, and which deserves, for that reason alone, some place in this Dedication, as it might be some motive to the writing of it. When such authors grow scurrilous, it would be highly unjust to impute their scurrility to any prompter, because they have in themselves all that is necessary to constitute a scold—ill-manners, impudence, a foul mouth, and a fouler heart. But when they menace, they rise a note higher. They cannot do this in their own names. Men may be apt to conclude, therefore, that they do it in the name, as they affect to do it on the behalf, of the person in whose cause they desire to be thought retained.'*

The gracefulness of Bolingbroke's manner has been so greatly extolled by his contemporaries, that we can hardly believe his eloquence to have risen into the vehemence ascribed to it by one who had studied his works more than other men, for he had written an excellent imitation of his style. Mr Burke speaks of that rapid torrent of an impetuous and 'overbearing eloquence 'for which he is justly admired,' as well as 'the rich variety of his 'imagery.' There is assuredly nothing in his style to discountenance this notion; and, as Burke lived much nearer Bolingbroke's times than we do, there can be little doubt that his panegyric is correct. But all accounts agree in describing the exter-

* Preface to the Vindication of Natural Society, (*Sub Fine.*)

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nal qualities (so to speak) of his oratory, as perfect. A symmetrically beautiful and animated countenance, a noble and dignified person, a sonorous and flexible voice, action graceful and correct, though unstudied, gave an inexpressible charm to those who witnessed his extraordinary displays as spectators or critics; and armed his eloquence with resistless effect over those whom it was intended to sway, or persuade, or control. If the concurring accounts of witnesses, and the testimony to his merits borne by his writings, may be trusted, he must be pronounced to stand, upon the whole, at the head of modern orators. There may have been more measure and matured power in Pitt, more fire in the occasional bursts of Chatham, more unbridled vehemence, more intent reasoning in Fox, more deep-toned declamation in passages of Sheridan, more learned imagery in Burke, more wit and humour in Canning;* but as a whole, and taking in all rhetorical gifts, and all the orator's accomplishments, no one, perhaps hardly the union of several of them, can match what we are taught by tradition to admire in Bolingbroke's spoken eloquence, and what the study of his works makes us easily believe to be true.

In considering Bolingbroke's character, there is even less possibility than in ordinary cases of separating the politic from the natural capacity; less pretence for making the distinction, so often and so incorrectly made, between that which is becoming or honest in political life, and that which is virtuous or pure in private. It is seldom, indeed, that the lax morality can be tolerated, or even understood, which relieves the general reputation of a man from the censure naturally descending upon it, by citing personal merit as a kind of set-off to political delinquency; seldom that there is any kind of sense in believing a man honest who has only betrayed his colleague, because he never cheated his friend; or in acquitting of knavery the statesman who has sacrificed his principles for preferment, merely because he has never taken a bribe to break some private trust, embezzled a ward's money, sold a daughter or a wife. Nothing

* It is inconsistent with the plan of these sketches to mention living speakers; and this imposes a restraint on us in illustrating by comparison. For who can fail to recollect that the utmost reach of eloquence has been attained by those who survive? Who can doubt that Lord Plunket will, in after times, be classed with the very greatest orators, and that his style, of the highest excellence, is also eminently original, entirely his own? It affords the most perfect study to those whom its perfection may not make despair.—In confining the mention of Mr Canning to wit and humour, it must only be understood that we speak of the thing defective in Bolingbroke, not as confining Mr C.'s excellence to that department; he was a very great and first-rate orator.

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can be more shadowy than such distinctions, nothing more arbitrary than such lines of demarcation. To say that a dishonest, or sordid, or treacherous politician may be a virtuous man, because he has never exposed himself to prosecution for fraud, or forgery, or theft, is near akin to the fantastical morality which should acquit a common offender of horse-stealing because he had never been charged with burglary. It must, however, be confessed, that as there are some cases of political offences much worse than others, so in these the impossibility of making such distinctions becomes more apparent; and both the kind and the amount of the crimes charged upon Bolingbroke, seem to point out his as an instance in which all contrast between public and private character signally fails. If, then, we advert to his conduct under these two heads, it is only in order to treat of *different kinds* of delinquency in separation and in succession.

He came into Parliament as a declared Tory; the ancient families from which he sprung, the St Johns and the Ports, had ever been of that faith. In the ministry which the Queen formed during the latter few years of her reign from the members of that party, he held a conspicuous place; having been Secretary of State and a leading supporter, first in the Commons, then in the Lords. He began under Harley, and to Harley he devoted himself; to Harley he seemed firmly attached. Soon there broke out symptoms of jealousy: these occurred on the promotion of his chief to an earldom, while he only was made a viscount himself; the want of a blue riband completed the philosopher's chagrin; the incapacity, real or fancied, of his former patron, called down the moralist's vengeance instead of exciting his compassion or claiming his help; and the latter part of his official life was passed in continually renewed and continually failing attempts to supplant and to ruin him. But we know the interior of the cabinet too little, are too superficially acquainted with personal details, to be prepared for pronouncing a safe judgment upon the degree of blame which he thus earned: possibly he only shares it with the other party; not impossibly the whole may be Harley's. Upon the schemes in which he was engaged for restoring the Stuarts, undoing the work of the Revolution, exposing the civil and religious liberties of the country to the most imminent peril, and effecting this change through the horrors of civil war, possibly aggravated by foreign invasion, there can no doubt whatever exist. We shall first advert to the result of the evidence upon this head: and then consider his case, as made by himself, to see how far he can be said to stand acquitted even upon his own showing.

That some at least of the Queen's Tory ministers, possibly the

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Queen herself, were desirous of restoring the exiled family, and setting aside the Act of Settlement, extorted from the same party by King William, there can be no doubt. Bolingbroke always professed himself the fast friend of the Revolution, and cited his having helped to bring in the Act of Settlement in proof of it. But the coldness and the sluggishness of that proceeding, on the part of himself and the King's Tory ministers, is well known; nor does any one now doubt that they endeavoured to protract the bill in its progress, until the decease of the King should interrupt or supersede the measure. But Bolingbroke's denial of any design favourable to the Pretender, until after his attainder and during his exile, was constant and peremptory. Nor did any probabilities the other way suffice to convince men how false his assertions were, until the publication of Marshal Berwick's 'Memoirs' at once disclosed the truth; and then we had a clear statement of his treason having commenced during the Queen's lifetime—a statement under the hand of the very person through whom he has himself said that his communications to and from the Pretender uniformly passed, at the period when he confesses himself to have been engaged in the Stuart councils. There is an end, therefore, of his defence against the main body of the accusation, and it is ended by a witness to whose testimony he has precluded himself from objecting. But this is not all. His own conduct bears testimony against him as loudly as his own witness. Upon the Queen's demise, Harley, Ormond, and himself, being vehemently suspected of treasonable practices, were accused in Parliament constitutionally, legally, regularly, formally. What was the course pursued by the three? Harley, conscious of innocence, like a guiltless man remained, awaited his impeachment, faced his accusers, met his trial, was unanimously acquitted. Nor does any one now believe, nor did any but they whom faction blinded then believe, that he had any share at all in the intrigue set on foot to restore the Stuarts. Ormond and Bolingbroke fled; they would not stand their trial. Now, the former never denied his accession to the treasonable plot—never having indeed professed any favourable disposition towards the Revolution Settlement; the latter, though he pretended to deny his guilt, yet gave none but the most frivolous reasons to explain his flight. He could only say, that so odious to him had his former friend, his original patron, become, that he could not think of submitting to be coupled or mixed up with him in any matter or in any manner. So that his hatred of another prevailed over his love of himself—his inveterate dislike of his neighbour over the natural desire of self-defence; his repugnance

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for an enemy made him reject life itself when the terms on which it was offered involved the act of taking the same precaution with his rival to secure his safety; and rather than defend his honour, clear his character from the worst of accusations, in the way common to all men, and which one whom he disliked, had, like all innocent men, pursued, he preferred wholly abandoning the defence of his reputation, and passing with all for a false traitor. It is not often that a guilty person can make an honest-looking worthy defence; not seldom that the excuses offered by suspected culprits work their conviction. But never yet did any one when charged with a crime, draw the noose around his own neck more fatally than Bolingbroke did, when he resorted to so wretched an explanation of the act, which, unexplained, was a confession—the flight from his accusers. If that act, standing alone, was fatal to the supposition of his innocence, the defence of it was, if possible, more decisive to his condemnation.

But his subsequent proceedings, and his own general defence of his whole conduct, are still more destructive of his fame. As soon as he fled, his attainder passed, and passed, be it observed, without a dissenting voice through both Houses—a circumstance demonstrative of the universal impression entertained of his guilt; and a thing which never could have happened to a man so lately minister, among his own supporters and his own party, upon any the lowest estimate of public virtue or political friendship, had any doubt existed regarding his conduct, or had he ventured even to deny the charges in private communications with his adherents. He arrived in France: without a day's delay he put himself in communication with the Pretender and his agents; and he at once accepted under him the office of his Secretary of State. Here then let us pause, and ask if this step was consistent with the charge against him being groundless. A statesman, professing inviolable attachment to the Revolution Settlement, is accused of treasonable correspondence with the exiled family; he flies, and because he has been, as he alleges, falsely accused of that offence, he immediately proceeds to commit it. Suppose he made the only feasible excuse for running away from his accusers—that the public prejudices against him were so strong as to deprive him of all chance of a fair trial—did he not know that all such prepossessions are in their nature, in the nature of the people, in the nature of truth and justice, temporary, and pass away? Then would not innocence, if acting under the guidance of common sense and an ordinary knowledge of mankind, have waited more or less patient, more or less tranquil, for the season of returning calm, when justice might be surely expected? But could any thing be more inconsistent with all supposition of innocence than instantly to commit the offence in question, because there

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was a delay of justice, through popular prejudice, prevailing? What would be said of any man's honesty who had fled from a charge of theft which he denied, and feared to meet because supported by perjured witnesses, if he instantly took to the highway for his support? If, indeed, he says that the attainder gave him a right to take part against the government, then it must be observed that some months were allowed him by the act to return and take his trial, and that he never even waited to see whether, before the given time expired, men's minds should become so calm as to let him encounter the charge. But another and a higher ground must be taken. Who can maintain that it is the part of an honest man, to say nothing of a patriotic statesman, to leave the party of his country, and go over to her enemies, the instant he has been maltreated, however grievously, however inexcusably by her—that is, by a part of his enemies who happen to guide her councils? Is it the part of public virtue—but is it the part of common honesty—to side with the enemy, and war with our own country because she or her rulers have oppressed us? Then, if all men are agreed that this affords no justification for such treason, how much worse is his crime who would plunge his country into civil war, to wreak his vengeance on the faction that has oppressed and banished him? The Revolution Settlement had obtained Bolingbroke's deliberate approbation: no man has spoken more strongly in its favour; it was the guarantee, according to him, of both civil and religious liberty. Yet against this settlement he declares war; to subvert it he exerts all his powers; because the Whig party had maltreated himself, and created against him a prejudice he was afraid to face. Nay more—be the settlement the very best conceivable scheme of government or not—it was established, and could only be upset by civil commotion, and probably required the aid of foreign invasion to overthrow it. To darken the face of his native land with these greatest of all plagues, he willingly consented, that he might take his revenge on his enemies, and trample upon them, raised to power under the restored dynasty of the bigoted and tyrannical Stuarts! This is not the charge made against Bolingbroke by his adversaries; it is not the sentence pronounced upon him by an impartial public; it is the case made for himself by himself, and it is as complete a confession of enormous guilt as ever man made. It further betokens a mind callous to all right feelings; an understanding perverted by the sophistries of selfish ingenuity; a heart in which the honest, with the amiable sentiments of our nature, have been extinguished by the habitual contemplations familiar to sordid ambition.

From a man who could thus act in joining the Pretender's fortunes, and could thus defend his conduct, little honesty could

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be expected to the party with which he had now ranged himself. The charge of having neglected the interests of the Pretender, and done less than he ought to further the attempt in 1715, made against him by the thoughtless zeal, the gross ignorance, the foolish presumption of the Jacobites; and against which is almost entirely confined his defence of himself, in his celebrated, and for composition justly celebrated, 'Letter to Sir William Windham,' was plainly groundless. It was likely, indeed, to be groundless; for the interests of Bolingbroke, all the speculations of his ambition, all the revengeful passions of his nature, were enlisted to make him zealous in good earnest for the success of the rebellion; and to aid that enterprise, however much he might despair of it, he exerted his utmost resources of intrigue, of solicitation, of argument. But as soon as it had failed, the Pretender probably yielded to the misrepresentations of Bolingbroke's enemies, possibly lent an ear to the vulgar herd of detractors, who could not believe a man was in earnest to serve the Prince, because he refused, like them, to shut his eyes against the truth, and believe their affairs flourishing when they were almost desperate. The intrigues of Lord Mar worked upon a mind so prepared, and advantage being taken of a coarse, though strong expression of disrespect towards the Prince, he was induced to dismiss by far his ablest supporter, and take that wily old Scotchman as his minister. There was the usual amount of royal perfidy in the manner of his dismissal, and not much more. At night he squeezed his hand, and expressed his regard for the man whom in the morning he dismissed by a civil message requiring the seals of his office, and renewing his protestations of gratitude for his services, and confidence in his attachment. Bolingbroke appears to have felt this deeply. He instantly left the party, and for ever; but he affects to say that he had previously taken the determination of retiring from all connexion with the service as soon as the attempt of 1715 should be made and should fail. Assuming this to be true, which it probably was not, he admits that his course was to depend, not on any merits of the Stuart cause, not on any view of British interests, not on any vain, childish, romantic notions of public duty and its dictates, but simply upon his own personal convenience, which was alone to be consulted, and which was to exact his retirement unless the dynasty were restored—which was, of course, to sanction his continuance in the service in the event of success crowning the Prince, and enabling Bolingbroke to be minister of England. But whatever might have been his intentions in the event of the Pretender retaining him as his Secretary of State, his dismissal produced an instantaneous effect. All regard for the cause which he had made his own, was lost in the revenge for his deprivation of place under its

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chief; and he lost not a moment in reconciling himself with the party whom he had betrayed, and deserted, and opposed. To obtain an amnesty for the present, and the possibility of promotion hereafter, no professions of contrition were too humble, no promises of amendment too solemn, no display of zeal for the Government which he had done his utmost to destroy, overdone. To a certain extent he was believed, because the Pretender's cause was now considered desperate, and Bolingbroke's interest coincided with the duty of performing his promise. To a certain extent, therefore, his suit was successful, and he was suffered to return to his country, to resume his property and his rank; but the doors of parliament and office were kept closed against him, and the rest of his life was spent in unavailing regrets that he had ever left his country, and as unavailing rancour against the great and honest minister, who had shown him mercy without being his dupe—who had allowed him to make his country a dwelling-place once more, without letting him make it once more the sport of his unprincipled ambition.

Here, again, regarding his final abandonment of the Pretender, we have his own account, and on that alone we are condemning him. Because the Parliament of the Brunswicks attainted him when he confessed his guilt by his flight, he joined the standard of the Stuarts. It was covered with irremediable defeat, and he resolved to quit it. But meanwhile the master into whose service he came as a volunteer, chose to take another minister; therefore Bolingbroke deserted him, and deserted him when his misfortunes were much more unquestionable than his ingratitude. The pivot of all his actions, by all that he urges in his own behalf, was his individual, private, personal interest. To this consideration all sense of principle was sacrificed, all obligation of duty subjected; whatever his revenge prompted, whatever his ambition recommended, that he deemed himself justified in doing, if not called upon to do.

Bolingbroke's 'Idea of a Patriot King,' certainly differed exceedingly from his idea of a patriot subject. The duty of the former, according to him, required a constant sacrifice of his own interests to the good of his country; the duty of the latter he considered to be a constant sacrifice of his country to himself. The one was bound on no account ever to regard either his feelings or his tastes, the interests of his family or the powers of his station; the other was justified in regarding his own gratification, whether of caprice, or revenge, or ambition, as the only object of his life. Between the ruler and his subjects there was in this view no kind of reciprocity; for all the life of real sacrifice spent by the one, was to be repaid by a life of undisturbed and undisguised self-seeking in the other. But if the guarantee which

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his system proposed to afford for the performance of the patriot king's duties, or for making patriots of kings, was somewhat scanty and precarious, not to say fantastical, ample security was held out for the patriot citizen's part being well filled. The monarch was enticed to a right and moderate use of power by clothing him with prerogative, and trusting rather to that not being abused than to influence not being very extravagantly employed; the secret for moderating the love of dominion, was to bestow it without any restraint; the protection given to the people against the prerogative of the prince, was to deliver them over into his hands; the method proposed for putting the wolf out of conceit with blood, was to throw the lamb to him bound. If this did not seem a very hopeful mode of attaining the object, a very likely way to realize the 'idea of a patriot king,' the plan for producing patriot citizens in unlimited supply was abundantly certain. Whatever defects might be shown in the one scheme of knowledge of human nature, whatever ignorance of human frailty, none whatever could be charged upon the other; for it appealed to the whole selfish feelings of the soul, made each man the judge of what was most virtuous for him to do, and to guide his judgment, furnished him with a pleasing canon enough—he had only to follow his own inclinations whithersoever they might lead. Such was the system of Bolingbroke upon the relative duties of sovereigns and subjects—a system somewhat more symmetrically unfolded as regards the former; but, touching the latter, fully exemplified by his practice, and also plainly sketched by his writings composed in his own defence. For it must never be forgotten, that he is not like most men who have gone astray, by refusing to practise what they preach, or proving unequal to square their own conduct by the rules which in general they confess to be just. His conduct has been openly and deliberately vindicated by himself upon the ground, that all he did, at least all he admitted himself to have done, he was justified in doing; and he has admitted himself to have acted in every particular with an undeviating regard to the pursuit of his own interests, and the gratification of his own passions.

Of Bolingbroke's private life and personal qualities, as apart from his public and political, little needs be added. He who bore the part in affairs which we have been contemplating, could not easily have been a man of strict integrity or of high principle in any relation of life. There may have been nothing mean or sordid in his nature—an honesty seldom tried in persons of his station, may have been proof against the common temptations to which it was exposed—the honour which worldly men make their god, may have found in him a submissive worshipper; but the more

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exalted and the nobler qualities of the soul were not likely to be displayed by one whose selfish propensities were gratified in public life, at the cost of all that statesmen most regard in public character; and little reliance can be placed either on the humanity, or the self-control, or the self-respect of one whose passions are his masters, and hurry him on to gratification at all the hazards that virtue can encounter. Accordingly, his youth was a course of unrestrained and habitual indulgence. In a libertine age he was marked as among the most licentious. Even his professed panegyrist, Dean Swift, makes no defence for this part of his life, and only ventures to suggest that he had lived long enough to regret and repent of it. Sir William Windham, too, fell into such courses, carried away by his example, and seduced by the charms of his society; and they who have written of him, ascribe his early dissipation to the ascendant of such a Mentor. That he survived this tempest of the passions many years, and became more quiet in his demeanour during the calmness of his blood, is perhaps more the result of physical causes than any great eulogy of his returning virtue, or any manifestation of his penitence.

That his feelings, however, when left to their natural course, unperverted by evil associates, nor hurried by evil propensities, were kind and generous, there is sufficient proof. The marriage which in early youth he first contracted, was one of accident and of family arrangement: like all such unions, it was attended with little happiness. The second wife was one of his choice; to her his demeanour was blameless, and he enjoyed much comfort in her society. His attachment to his friends was warm and zealous; and they cultivated and looked up to him with a fervour which can ill be expressed by such ordinary words as esteem, or respect, or even admiration. Yet even in this relation, the most attractive in which he appears to us, his proud temper got the better of his kinder nature; and he persecuted the memory of Pope, whom living he had loved so well, with a rancour hardly to be palliated, certainly not to be vindicated by the paltry trick to which that great poet and little man had lent himself, in an underhand publication of the manuscripts confided to his care.

His spirit was high and manly; his courage, personal and political, was without a stain. He had no sordid propensities; his faults were not mean or paltry; they were, both in his private life and his public, on a large scale, creating, for the most part, wonder or terror more than scorn or contempt—though his conduct towards the Pretender approached near an exception to this remark; and the restless impatience with which he bore his long exclusion from the great stage of public affairs, and the relentless vengeance with which he, in consequence of this exclusion, pur-

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sued Walpole as its cause, betokened any thing rather than greatness of soul.

That the genius which he displayed in the senate, his wisdom, his address, and his resources in council, should, when joined to fascinating manners and literary accomplishments, have made him shine in society without a rival, can easily be comprehended. So great an orator, so noble a person in figure and in demeanour—one so little under the dominion of the principle which makes men harsh, and the restraints which tend to render their manners formal—was sure to captivate all superficial observers, and even to win the more valuable applause of superior minds. To do that which he did so well, naturally pleased him; to give delight was itself delightful; and he indulged in the more harmless relaxations of society, long after he had ceased to be a partaker in the less reputable pleasures of polished life. He probably left as high a reputation behind him among the contemporaries of his maturer years for his social qualities, which remained by him to the last, as he had gained with those who remembered the eloquence that in his earlier days had shook the senate, or the policy and intrigues that had also shaken the monarchy itself. The dreadful malady under which he long lingered and at length sunk—a cancer in the face—he bore with exemplary fortitude, a fortitude drawn from the natural resources of his vigorous mind, and unhappily not aided by the consolations of any religion; for having early cast off the belief in revelation, he had substituted in its stead a dark and gloomy naturalism, which did not even admit of those glimmerings of hope as to futurity, not untasted by the wiser of the heathens.

Such was Bolingbroke; and as such he must be regarded by impartial posterity, after the virulence of party has long subsided, and the view is no more intercepted either by the rancour of political enmity, or by the partiality of adherents, or by the fondness of friendship. Such, too, is Bolingbroke, when the gloss of trivial accomplishments is worn off by time, and the lustre of genius itself has faded beside the simple and transcendant light of virtue. The contemplation is not without its uses. The glare of talents and success is apt to obscure defects which are incomparably more mischievous than any intellectual powers can be either useful or admirable. Nor can a lasting renown—a renown that alone deserves the aspirations of a rational being—ever be built upon any foundations save those which are laid in an honest heart and a firm purpose, both conspiring to work out the good of mankind. That renown will be as imperishable as it is pure.

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ART. VI.—*Physical Theory of Another Life.* By the Author of 'Natural History of Enthusiasm.' 8vo. London: 1839.

IN a series of volumes of later birth than that from which the author of the 'Natural History of Enthusiasm' takes the title of his literary peerage, he has bent his strength to the task of revealing to itself the generation to which he belongs. A thankless office that of the censorship! A formidable enterprise this, to rebuke the errors of a contentious age, while repelling the support of each of the contending parties! To appease the outraged self-complacency of mankind, such a monitor will be cited before a tribunal far more relentless than his own. Heedless both of contumely and of neglect, he must pursue his labours in reliance on himself and on his cause; or, if fame be the reward to which he aspires, he must content himself with the anticipation of posthumous renown. It is not, however, easy for the aspirant himself to find the necessary aliment for such hopes. The writer of these works will therefore indulge us in a theory invented for the aid of his and our own imagination. Let it be supposed, that, instead of yet living to instruct the world, he was now engaged in bringing to the test of experiment his own speculations as to the condition of mankind in the future state. He re-appears amongst sublunary men under the auspices of some not unfriendly editor; who, however, being without any other sources of intelligence respecting his course of life and studies, has diligently searched his books for such intimations as may furnish the materials for a short 'Introductory Notice' of him and of them. The compiler is one of those who prefer the positive to the conjectural style of recounting matters of fact; and has assumed the freedom of throwing into the form of unqualified assertion the inferences he has gleaned from detached passages of the volumes he is about to republish. With the help of this slight and not very improbable hypothesis, the author of these works, while still remaining amongst us, may suppose himself to be reading, in some such lines as the following, the sentence which the critic of a future day will pass on his literary character.

One of those seemingly motionless rivers, which wind their way through the undulating surface of England, creeps round the outskirts of a long succession of buildings, half-town, half-village, where the monotony of the wattled cottages is relieved by the usual neighbourhood of structures of greater dignity;—the moated grange,—the mansion-house, pierced by lines of high narrow windows,—the square tower of the church, struggling through a copse of lime-trees,—the grey parsonage, where the conservative

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Rector meditates his daily newspaper and his weekly discourse,—the barn-fashioned meeting-house, coeval with the accession of the House of Hanover,—and near it the decent residence, in which, since that auspicious era, have dwelt the successive pastors of that wandering flock,—fanning a generous spirit of resistance to tyrants, now happily to be encountered only in imagination, or in the records of times long since passed away. Towards the close of the last century, a mild and venerable man ruled his household in that modest but not unornamented abode; for there might be seen the solemn portraits of the original confessors of Nonconformity, with many a relic commemorative of their sufferings and their worth. Contrasted with these were the lighter and varied embellishments, which bespeak the presence of refined habits, female taste, and domestic concord. There also were drawn up, in deep files, the works and the biographies of the Puritan divines, from Thomas Cartwright, the great antagonist of Whitgift, to Matthew Pool, who, in his *Synopsis Criticorum*, vindicated the claims of the rejected ministers to profound Biblical learning. This veteran battalion was flanked by a company of recruits drafted from the polite literature of a more frivolous age. Rich in these treasures, and in the happy family with whom he shared them, the good man would chide or smile away such clouds as checkered his habitual serenity, when those little nameless courtesies, so pleasantly interchanged between equals, were declined by the orthodox incumbent, or accepted with elaborate condescension by the wealthy squire. The democratic sway of the ruling elders, supreme over the finances and the doctrines of the chapel, failed to draw an audible sigh from his resolute spirit, even when his more delicate sense was writhing under wounds imperceptible to their coarser vision. He had deliberately made his choice, and was content to pay the accustomed penalties. A sectarian in name, he was at heart a catholic, generous enough to feel that the insolence of some of his neighbours, and the vulgarity of others, were rather the accidents of their position than the vices of their character. Vexations such as these were beneath the regard of him who maintained in the village the sacred cause for which martyrs had sacrificed life with all its enjoyments; and who aspired to train up his son to the same honourable service, ill requited as it was by the glory or the riches of this transitory world.

That hope, however, was not to be fulfilled. The youth had inherited his father's magnanimity, his profound devotion, his freedom of thought, and his thirst for knowledge. But he disclaimed the patrimony of his father's ecclesiastical opinions. His was not one of those minds which adjust themselves to whatever mould early habits may have prepared for them. It was

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compounded of elements, between which there are no apparent affinities, but the reverse; and which, for that reason, produce in their occasional and infrequent combination, a character substantive, individual, and strongly discriminated from that of other men. Shrinking from the coarse familiarities of the world, he thirsted for the world's applause—at once a very libertine in the unfettered exercise of his own judgment, and a very worshipper of all legitimate authority—alternately bracing his nerves for theological strife, and dissolving them in romantic dreams—now buried in the depths of retirement, that he might plunge deeper still into the solitudes of his own nature; and then revealing his discoveries in a style copied from the fashionable models of philosophical oratory:—the young man of whom we tell might be described as a sensitive plant grafted on a Norwegian pine, as a Spartan soldier enamoured of the Idylls of Theocritus, or as an anchorite studious of the precepts of the cosmetic Earl of Chesterfield. Nature and accident combined to produce this contrast; integrity and truth gradually blended it into one harmonious, though singular whole. The robust structure of his understanding might have rendered him a rude dogmatist, if the delicate texture of his sensitive or spiritual frame had not forbidden every approach of arrogance. Exploring with intrepid diligence the great questions debated amongst men regarding their eternal interests, he recoiled with disgust from the unmannerly habits, the sordid passions, and the petty jealousies which proclaim, but too loudly, that while we dispute about the path to heaven, we are still treading the miry ways of this uncelestial world. Angelic abodes, and holy abstractions, and universal love, were the alluring themes; but, handled as they were by polemics in the language of Dennis, and in the spirit of the Dunciad, our theological student was sometimes tempted to wish that the day on which he was initiated into the mysteries of the Hornbook might be blotted from the Calendar. Thrown into early association with the depressed and less prosperous party in the ecclesiastical quarrels of his native land, the asperities of the contest presented themselves to his inquisitive and too susceptible eye, unmitigated by the graceful and well-woven veil, beneath which sophistry and rancour can find a specious disguise when allied to rank and fortune and other social distinctions. Episcopal charges and congregational pamphlets might vie with each other in bitterness and wrong; but there rested with the mitred disputant an unquestionable advantage in the grace and dignity and seeming composure with which he inflicted pain and quickened the appetite for revenge. By the unsullied moral sense of the young divine, either form of malevolence might be equally condemned; but to his fastidious taste the

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ruder aspect which it bore amongst the advocates of dissent was by far the more offensive.

Feelings painfully alive to the ungraceful and the homely in human character, invariably indicate an absence of the higher powers of imagination. To a great painter the countenance of no man is entirely devoid of beauty. To one worthy of the much prostituted name of poet, no forms of society are without their interest and their charm. But he whom the gods have not made poetical may be kind-hearted and wise, and even possessed by many a brilliant fancy, and by many a noble aspiration; and so it fared with this scion of a Nonconformist race. From the coarseness of a spiritual democracy, from the parsimonious simplicity of their sacred edifices, from the obtrusive prominence of the leaders of their worship, and from their seeming isolation in the midst of the great Christian commonwealth, his thoughts turned to those more august communions, where the splendours of earth symbolize the hierarchies of heaven—where the successors in an unbroken lineage of apostles and martyrs are yet ministering at the altar—where that consecrated shrine echoes to the creeds and the supplications of the first converts to the faith—and where alone can flourish those arduous but unobtrusive virtues, of which an exact subordination of ranks forms the indispensable basis. Already half-diverted by such yearnings as these from his hereditary standard, his return to the embrace of the Episcopal Church was further aided by a morbid dislike, unworthy of his powerful intellect, of falling into commonplace trains of thought or language. Educated in a body through which religious opinions and pious phrases but too lightly circulate, his instinctive dread of vulgarity led him into speculations where such associates would be shaken off, and to the use of a style such as was never employed by the dwellers in tabernacles. Of a nature the most unaffected, and irreproachably upright in the search of truth, he conducted his enquiries with such elaborate fineness of speech, and with such a fear of acquiescing in the bare creed of the school in which he had been bred, that his fellow scholars must have formed an unjust estimate of their companion, had he not been withdrawn in early life to other associations, and to far different studies from those which they had pursued in common. From his parental village, the future author was transferred to the remote and busy world in which our English youth are instructed in the unjoyous science of special pleading, and trained for the dignities of the Coif.

By the unlearned in such matters, more distinct evidence of this passage in his life may perhaps be demanded than the indications which his writings afford of a technical acquaintance with

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the law. But every 'free and accepted brother' of the craft will recognise, in his frequent and curiously exact use of forensic language, a confidence and a skill which belong only to the acolite in those studies. That the Term Reports would be searched in vain for specimens of his dialectic powers may, however, be readily believed. Thurlow had as little to fear from the rivalry of the author of the 'Task,' as Lord Cottenham from that of the author of the 'Natural History of Enthusiasm.' Westminster Hall is no theatre to be trodden by men of pensive spirits, delicate nerves, and high-wrought sensibilities. It is to England what the plain of Elis was to Greece; and when a Pindar shall arise to celebrate the triumphs achieved there, he must sing of heroes who have rejoiced in the dust and sweat and turmoil of the strife, of men of thick skins and robust consciences, buoyant and fearless, prompt in resources, and unscrupulous in the use of them. Far otherwise the original of the portrait, so vividly yet so unconsciously self-drawn in these volumes. Every lineament tells of one incapable of lending himself to any wilful sophistry—of a man rich both in knowledge and in power, though destitute of that quiet energy which, in judicial tribunals, finds appropriate utterance in the simplest combinations of the plainest words—of a mind banqueting on contemplations most abhorrent from those of the peremptory paper. Not, however, 'the worst of all his ills, 'the noisy bar.' Political strife shed a repulsive gloom over the other halls of the ancient Palace of Westminster. The whole tribe of party writers, diurnal and hebdomadal, overshadowed his path, like a flight of obscene birds, polluting by their touch and distracting by their dissonance those researches into the interests of the commonwealth and the duties of her chiefs, to which he desired to address a serene and unbiased judgment. His heart assured, and his observation convinced him, that not merely the leaders, but even the subalterns of contending factions, were far wiser and better men than they appeared in those clever, reckless, and malignant sketches thrown off from day to day by writers condemned to lives of ceaseless excitement, and excluded from the blessings of leisure and of self-communion.

It is an old tale. Our author bade the town farewell, yet in a spirit far different from that of the injured Thales. He had no wrongs, real or imaginary, to resent, nor one sarcasm for the great city in which he had faintly wooed the smiles of fortune. With a mind as tranquil as the rural scenes to which he retired, he sought there leisure for many an unworldly and for some whimsical speculations, with a resting-place for the household and the library which divided his heart between them.

A topographical catalogue of the books which a man has col-

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lected and arranged for his own delight, will lay open some of the recesses of his bosom as clearly as ever the character of courtier or cavalier was sketched by the pen of Clarendon. In the chamber where our recluse held his reign, the monarch of many a well-peopled province, giving audience in turn to each of his many-tongued subjects, and exacting from them all tribute at his pleasure, might be seen, supreme in place and favour, a venerable copy of the Jewish and Christian scriptures. A troop of tall, sad-coloured folios, the depositaries of the devout studies and anxious self-searchings of the puritan divines, was drawn up on shelves within reach of his outstretched arm. With but little additional effort it encountered a tribe of more lofty discourse, bred in the sacred solitudes of Port-Royal, yet redolent of the passion of their native land for an imposing and graceful demeanour. Honest George Latimer, with a long line of Episcopal and Episcopalian successors, held a position a little ostentatiously prominent, accorded to them not merely from their own unrivalled worth and beauty, but also perhaps from the wish of the autocrat to avow their influence over him. But the main power of his state consisted in a race of ancient lineage and obsolete tongues, beginning with Clement, Justin, and Irenæus, and so onward through the long series of Greek and Latin Fathers, ecclesiastical historians, acts of councils and of saints, decretals, missals, and liturgies, all in turn casting their transient lights and their deep shadows over the checkered fortunes of the Christian Church. Brought within the precincts of this wide dominion, Homer, Æschylus, Dante, Shakspeare, and the humbler partakers of their inspiration, awaited at some distance the occasional summons of this mighty potentate. But in their reverend aspect might be perceived something, which confessed that they were not amongst his chosen and habitual companions. Court favour here, as elsewhere, seemed to be capricious in proportion as it was diffusive; and writers on physiology, astronomy, plants, insects, birds, and fishes, shared with metaphysicians, moralists, and the writers of civil history, the hours occasionally withdrawn by their master from more serious intercourse with his apostolic, patristic, papal, and reformed counsellors. In short, it was one of those rooms which he who can securely possess, quietly enjoy, and wisely use, may, in sober truth, pity the owners of Versailles and the Escurial.

Wise men read books that they may learn to read themselves, and for this purpose quit their libraries for the open air. The heath, the forest, or the river side, is the true academy. There the student, with no kind neighbour to dissipate his thoughts, and

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with no importunate author to chain them down, casts them into such forms of soliloquy or dialogue, of verse or prose, as best suits the humour or the duties of the passing day. This peripatetic discipline is best observed under cover of an angling-rod, a bill-hook, or a gun; for then may not the vicar or the major, without an evident breach of privilege, detain you on the county-rate question, nor may the gentler voice of wife or daughter upbraid you with the sad list of your unrequited visits. Besides, your country philosopher flatters himself that in hooking a trout, or flushing a pheasant, his eye is as true and his hand as steady as those of the squire; and from this amiable weakness the historian of enthusiasm would seem not to have been quite exempt. Emerging from his library as one resolved to bring home some score head of game, his stout purposes would gradually die away as he reached the brook, whose windings were oddly associated in his mind with various theories by which the world was one day to be enlightened, and with many half-conceived chapters of essays yet to be written. To meditate on the advantages of meditation, was on these occasions one of his chosen exercises; and, in the ornate style to which he was wedded, he would muse on those in whom 'the intellectual life is quick in 'all its parts.' 'It is,' he would say, 'as when the waters of a lake 'are left to deposit their feculence and to become pure as the 'æther itself, so that they not only reflect from their surface the 'splendours of heaven, but allow the curious eye to gaze delighted 'upon the decorated grottoes and sparkling caverns of the depth 'beneath. Or might we say, that the ground of the human 'heart is thickly fraught with seeds which never germinate under 'either a wintry or a too fervent sky; but let the dew come 'gently on the ground, and let mild suns warm it, and let it be 'guarded against external rudeness, and we shall see spring up 'the gaiety and fragrance of a garden. The Eden of human 'nature has indeed long been trampled down and desolated, and 'storms waste it continually; nevertheless the soil is still rich with 'the germs of its pristine beauty, the colours of paradise are 'sleeping in the clods, and a little favour, a little protection, a 'little culture, shall show what once was there. Or, if we look 'at the human spirit in its relation to futurity, it must be ac-'knowledged that as an immortality of joy is its proper destiny, 'so it is moved by instincts which are the true prognostics of 'eternal life. Earthly passions quench these forescents of hap-'piness, but meditation fosters them; and the life of the religious 'recluse is a delicious anticipation of pleasures that shall have 'no end.'

Strange that one who justly claimed a high station amongst

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the bold and original thinkers of his times, should have woven this tissue of brave words, and should have decked his most elaborate enquiries with countless posies as garish as these! But the key to the riddle has already been given. Could notes have been struck less in unison with the Cantilena of the meeting-house? Could any have been touched better fitted to charm those dear but dangerous judges, who in winter evenings listen to a revered and familiar voice reciting passages, which still glow in their and his own too partial eyes with all the freshness of creation? Has not the immutable decree gone forth, that though he whose home is secure from the invasions of the world may write excellently upon home education, he must watch jealously against home criticism? And yet an English gentleman of our railway age, who had devoted himself to an anchorite life, might with some reason insist that the fruits he had gathered for the use of other secluded households could be brought to no better test than the good or ill-liking of the companions of his own retreat. To betake himself, as our author was wont to do, 'to some valley of 'silence,' and there, as he expressed it, to 'accumulate a rich 'treasure of undefined sentiments and indistinct conceptions,' was to indulge in a diet at once intoxicating and unnutritious. The juices of his mental frame would have been altogether attenuated by thus feeding on bright unutterable daydreams about the microcosm within him; or the unembodied spirits who surrounded him; or the physical structure of the paradise he hoped to regain; or any thing else, so long as it was but foreign to the pursuits, the cares, and the interests of the world in which he lived. But then would succeed the cheerful fireside talk, which compelled him to become intelligible to others and to himself. What Plato meant in many of his discourses, no one, with reverence be it spoken, has ever very clearly discovered; but who would have found courage to make the attempt, but for those bright fictions which bring the reader into a colloquial party, where much of the gaseous matter which must otherwise have exhaled into an impalpable mist, is fixed and brought within the range of human perception by the necessities of the dialogue. Even so, our modern speculator, after soaring 'into that wide and uncircumscribed sphere wherein 'spirits excursive and philosophically modest take their range,' and gathering there, 'if not certain and irrefragable conclusions, 'at least scattered particles of wisdom, which he more highly es-'teemed than all the stamped coinage whereof dogmatism makes its 'boast,' would make his way home again, and explain himself to an audience which Socrates might have envied. There, condescending to enter 'within that bounded circle of things which 'may be measured on all sides and categorically spoken of,' he

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would exhibit the inbred vigour of his understanding, quickened and guided by the native kindness of his heart. Had he not been a husband and a father, he would have been a mystic. His interior life would have degenerated into one protracted and unsubstantial vision, if his house had not echoed to a concert of young voices, executing all manner of sprightly variations on the key-notes sounded by his own. His 'free converse with truth 'and reason in the sanctuary of his own bosom,' would have been held in that incommunicable language which reason was never yet able to understand, if his free converse with his boys and girls had not habitually admonished him that the sublime in words may be easily combined with the beautiful in sentences, without the slightest advantage to the author of the spell or to any one else. After musing on the compromise of antagonist principles throughout universal nature, he was thus taught the necessity for reconciling the hostile propensities of his own bosom —the one beckoning him to tread the dizzy confines which separate the transcendental from the nonsensical, the other inviting him to drag the river with his sons, or to read L'Allegro to his daughters. Peace was concluded on better terms for the father than the visionary. Each passing year found him a plainer-spoken man, more alive to sublunary thoughts, and more engaged in active duties. Yet to the last, like some of the great painters of his day, he eschewed transparent lights and clear outlines, and loved to delineate objects through a haze.

There is a great want of a philosophical essay on the choice, the benefits, and the treatment of Hobby Horses. It would form a connecting link between the Libraries of Useful and of Entertaining Knowledge. Scarcely a man (the made-up and artificial man alone excepted) who could not be laid under contribution for such a work. Our learned and amiable recluse might have a whole chapter to himself. When it was not a field-day with him, and he had no exercises in divinity to perform, he would descend from the great horse, and amble about to his heart's content on a favourite pad, which, however, it was his whim to dress in the housings of his tall charger, and to train to the same paces. To extract the marrow of Church history was his appointed duty—to construct schemes of physiology his habitual pastime. Uncle Toby never threw up his intrenchments, nor 'my father' his theories with greater spirit. He worked out, at least on paper, a complete plan of education, founded on a diligent survey of the functions of the brain; and composed an elaborate system, exhibiting the future condition of man when disencumbered of those viscous and muscular integuments, which in the present life serve as a kind of sheath to protect the sentient

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mind within, from the intensities of delight or of pain to which, without such a shelter, it would be exposed. Too wise ever to become frivolous or vapid, his wisdom was not of that exquisite mould, which exhibits itself in unimpaired lustre, in a state of gaiety and relaxation. Whatever might be his theme, his march was still the same, stately, studied, and wearisome. His theological and his cerebral enquiries were all conducted in the same sonorous language. Period rolled after period in measured cadence, page answered page in scientific harmony. This paragraph challenged applause for its melodious swell, that for its skilful complexity, the next for the protracted simile with which it brought some abstruse discussion to a picturesque and graceful close. Any of them would have furnished Dr Blair with illustrations of his now-forgotten rules for writing well; and exceedingly fine writing it was. But, after all, one's hobby might as well be put into a waltz as into the grand menage. It is only in his own easy natural shuffling gait that the animal shows to advantage. So kind-hearted, however, and so full of matter was our rider, that the most fastidious critic could hardly think twice of such a trifle.

The lines had fallen to him in pleasant places, and his gratitude to Providence expressed itself in depicting his goodly heritage for the delight and the emulation of others. Not, indeed, that he laid bare the sacred recesses of his home to the vulgar gaze, by publishing journals, confessions, or an autobiography. He would just as soon have surrendered his body to the surgeons for dissection as an *anatomie vivante*. But reversing the familiar method of conveying moral precepts under the veil of narrative, he told unconsciously, in a didactic form, a story as beautiful as it was true. An English country house was the scene: the *dramatis personæ* parents, enjoying competency, health, and leisure, very learned and amiable withal, and wise above measure, with a troop of boys and girls as intelligent and docile as they were gay: the plot or fable being made up of the late, though complete development of their various mental powers.

That such a house did exist, and that beneath its tranquil shelter many a youth and many a maid were trained to improve and to adorn the land which gave them birth, no reader of the book called 'Home Education' will for a moment doubt; or at least none who has ever invented a theory or revolved an apothegm while watching the play or listening to the prattle of his own children. But that, north or south of Trent, such another is to be found must be disbelieved, until a commission of married men, of six years' standing at the least, shall have ascertained and reported the fact. What with managing constituents and turnpike

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trusts, writing sermons and prescriptions, meeting the hounds to-day and the quarter-sessions to-morrow, an English country gentleman, whether clerical or laic, who should undertake the late development of the 'Ideality,' and the 'Conceptive Faculty,' and the 'Sense of Analogy' of his children, though he should address himself to 'the intuitive faculties' alone, and those 'gently 'stimulated by pleasurable emotions,' would, in a myriad of cases to one, end in something very different from the promised result of 'putting their minds into a condition of intellectual opulence.' Adam was earning the bread of his sons by the sweat of his brow, while they were learning to keep sheep and to till the ground, and such has ever since been the condition of his descendants. Here and there may perhaps be found an Eden such as our author inhabited and described, where, exempt from the cares of earth, and cultivating a correspondence between the human and the Divine mind, fathers such as he was are training their offspring to apprehend truth, to impart truth, and to discover truth. A lovely scene it was, and drawn with all the earnest pathos of paternal love. But as the Belvedere Apollo differs from an honest sportsman of our days, or the Godfrey of Tasso from an officer of Her Majesty's Life-Guards, even such was the difference between our rural philosopher and the ten thousand respectable gentlemen over the walls of whose country mansions fertile vines have crept, and whose tables are thickly set with olive branches; though amongst them may be found many double first-class men, and here and there a senior wrangler.

Thus flowed on a life which kings might have envied, sages approved, and poets sung, if in these later days those illustrious personages had not become very chary of such favours. Things looked as if the village sculptor and versifier would be the sole guardians of his posthumous fame, and he known to posterity only as one of those best of fathers and of men, over whose remains the yew-tree in the neighbouring churchyard stood sentinel. Such a catastrophe would have suited well with his quiet scorn of terrestrial glory, but ill with those high-wrought graces of style in which he was accustomed to express it. Religion and philosophy may diminish the danger, but hardly the strength, of the universal craving for the esteem of our fellow-mortals. He knew and had reflected much; and it was his duty to impart it. He had discovered many current errors, and it behoved him to expose them. His flow of language was choice and copious, and philanthropy itself suggested that he should awaken all its melodies. If renown would follow, if a frivolous world would admire her monitor, if his labours of love should win for him the regard of

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the discerning few, or even the applause of the unthinking many, why, he was too benevolent, too honest, and too wise, either to despise the recompense or to affect to depreciate it; and thus he became an author.

To 'exhibit at one view the several principal forms of spurious 'or corrupted religion,' had for many years been his chosen task. But art is long, and life short; and the stately edifice pictured in his imagination, was abandoned for a range of structures of humbler form, though better suited to the taste and habits of his age. An Essay on Enthusiasm prepared the way for another on Fanaticism, to which were destined to succeed Treatises on Superstition, on Credulity, on the Corruption of Morals, and on Scepticism. Of this series, the four last never saw the light; the place assigned in the programme to Superstition having been usurped by Spiritual Despotism, and by a succession of tracts drawn up in battle array against those of the Oxford Catholics, under the title of 'Primitive Christianity.' Thus was produced an incomplete course of lectures on Ecclesiastical Nosology—a science which, however inviting, could not exercise an undisputed influence over one who lived in such scenes, and who was blessed with such associates as we have mentioned.

Nothing more easy than the transition from the spiritual diseases of the world, to the mental health of his own nursery—from the contemplation of souls infected by the taint of their mortal prison-house, to a meditation on immortal spirits, whose corporeal shrines shall eternally enhance their purest joys and participate in the discharge of their most exalted duties. As when a Teutonic commentator, a man egregious and most celebrated, long harassed with the arrangement of some intractable chorus, escaping at length from his anapæstic or ditrochæan bondage into an excursus on the dress and ornaments of the Grecian stage, revels and lingers there, rejoicing in his freedom, and recruits his strength for new metrical labours; so our author, (whose Homeric style, it may be perceived, is contagious,) averting his thoughts from the sad legends of human weakness, which fill so large a space in the history of the Christian Church, would take refuge in the paradise of home, or in musings on that eternal rest of which earth has no other type so vivid or so endearing. On his 'Natural 'History of Enthusiasm,' faithful critics (ourselves among the number) pronounced a sentence, which, if not altogether flattering to the self-esteem of the historian, may yet have contributed to that improvement in the art of authorship which is to be distinctly traced in his later books.

Time and space would fail us, should we now endeavour to estimate all his labours in that branch of moral or religious science

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which he undertook to cultivate. But the book called 'Religious Despotism,' demands at least a passing notice. Incomparably the most vigorous offspring of his brain, it has had, like some portionless younger brother, to struggle on against unmerited neglect; the whole patrimony of praise having been seized upon by the book on Enthusiasm, in virtue of the law of literary primogeniture. An ill-chosen title, the want of lucid order, and a grandiloquence here more than ever out of place, may partly account for this. Be the world however assured, that among the works on ecclesiastical polity which it has of late received with acclamation, there is not one so worthy of being reverently praised and inwardly digested.

The divisions 'now so much exasperated that exist amongst 'us, on questions belonging to the exterior forms and the pro-'fession of religion, are of a kind that affect the Christian with 'inexpressible grief, the patriot with shame and dismay, and the 'statesman with hopeless perplexity.' So says our author, and so in turn say all the disputants. But he alone, as far as our reading extends, has breathed this complaint in the true spirit of Christian kindness, united to a catholic breadth of capacity and of knowledge.

What are the legitimate foundations, and what the proper limits of sacerdotal authority?—questions proposed and answered by many a polemic, religious and political; and sometimes, though very rarely, discussed in the spirit of a philosophy more pure and elevated than is usually imbibed by such controversialists. How this debate was managed by a man of robust sense, profound learning, and still deeper piety, who, though too upright and too fastidious to surrender himself to the extravagances of any party, had a wide personal acquaintance with the modes of thinking and with the habits of all, would be well worth the knowing, even if that knowledge did not contribute to our more immediate object of delineating his literary character. Ample, however, must be the space in which to make a complete exhibition, or even an exact epitome, of his doctrines. It will be enough to indicate such of them as he seems to have regarded with peculiar attachment.

Religion, an indestructible element of our nature, may exist as a system of superstitious terrors; in which case the abject humiliation of the proselyte will give the measure of the authority of the priest. Or it may exist as a genuine revelation from Heaven; but even so, the fluctuating fashions of the world will exalt or depress the powers of the ministers of the purest faith. The Greek patriarch, after the manner of his nation, scaled such heights of authority as subtlety and eloquence could command for him.

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The successors of Peter triumphed by force of the same audacious energy which had before given empire to the Cæsars. Boasting of her liberties, the Gallican Church was content to lose every thing *hormis l'honneur*. In England, ecclesiastical despotism had to encounter the inflexible spirit of our Barons and Burgesses; while *Demos*, the arch-tyrant of the United States, supreme over all rulers, temporal and spiritual, lays alike on president and priest his inexorable command to progress—urging them both onward in the same impatient career. But, be the influence of national character on sacerdotal dominion what it may, the state must either set limits to the power of the church or must bow to her supremacy. Hands which grasp the keys, will, if unfettered, soon usurp the sceptre and the sword. Religion unites men in societies, resting on a basis more profound, and yet agitated by excitements more intense and frequent, than any other. Between a theocracy administered by the sacred order, and a church at once restrained and protected by law, there is no middle resting-place. 'Alliance' is but a lofty euphemism for allegiance.

Competency and independence will still be the desire and the aim of the human heart, whether it beats under the corselet, the ermine, or the surplice. To refuse to ecclesiastics the gratification of this wish, is as imprudent as it is vain. While pointing the way to heaven, they are still our fellow-travellers in the ways of earth. Abandon them to the spontaneous support of their disciples, and there is an end of the mental composure necessary for their arduous duties, and there is an inlet to flatteries and to frauds, the most repugnant to their hallowed character. On such a system imposts are laid on the poor and the feeble-minded, and evaded by the wealthy and the supercilious. For the indigent no provision is made. All the more permanent and catholic schemes of Christian philanthropy are unheeded; and the greatest of all social interests is intrusted to mere impulses to which no rational lawgiver would confide the least. History records the result of this experiment, as tried not in the narrow form of the modern congregational system, but on the broader principle of thus creating funds to support the pastors of a province or a state. Constantine may have been the nursing father, but he was also the resolute reformer of the Church. Her primitive sanctity was impaired, not by the privileges he conferred, but by the rapacious habits on which the exercise of that imperial bounty entitled and enabled him to impose some restraint. Of the alliance which he negotiated, the essential condition was, that the Christian hierarchy should be defended by law in the possession of the wealth assigned to them, and should be prohibited by law from augmenting it by unworthy means.

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Men uniting in religious fellowship must also be united by some scheme of internal organization. These societies must be made up of the teachers and the taught, of the governors and the governed. They should be rather families, in which there is much to be learned, to be borne, and to be done, than clubs held together by a revocable will for the enjoyment in common of equal privileges.

Absolute monarchy would be the most perfect scheme of civil, and absolute prelacy of ecclesiastical government, if kings and prelates were absolutely wise and just. Synods, parliaments, franchises, constitutional rights, inestimable as securities against social evils, are yet but proofs of that degeneracy which, in certain respects, they contribute to enhance. They impede the growth and the expansion of some of the noblest of our moral sentiments; such as loyalty, veneration, humility, and mutual confidence. Now, in these and similar feelings, the very essence of religion consists. Whatever ecclesiastical regimen most conduces to their development, is that which a Christian society would spontaneously assume. Episcopal rule is the 'primitive 'form' in which pure Christianity appears among men: independency that which it acquires when men have learned to distrust each other. Patriarchal command and filial duty wait on that perfect love which casteth out fear; self assertion and the impatience of control, on that restless fear which casts out love. Government and the graduated subordination of ranks would have been a divine ordinance, even if it had not been expressly and in terms promulgated as such. It may be read in the inspired volume; but it may be discerned almost as clearly in the natural distinctions of mankind. God himself has consecrated some to the royal, some to the episcopal, and some to the priestly office; and whether the world will hear or will forbear, that high commission is still extant in unimpaired force, and may never be disobeyed with impunity.

As in the domestic, so in the ecclesiastical household, the higher functions ought to be undertaken by those to whom that eminence is due, on the ground of superior endowments, whether natural or acquired. How to adjust the claims of rival candidates, is the great practical difficulty. Who shall decide which members of the Church shall be raised to the clerical office, and which shall constitute the laity. Apostolical example, in this case, affords no rule for the guidance of later ages. When as yet congregations were to be formed, the choice of teachers inevitably belonged to the first promulgators of the faith. Neither will the sacred text yield an explicit answer to this enquiry. Nothing more studiously indefinite than the language of Paul, of Peter, and of John, regarding the external institutes of Christianity.

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Such outward forms they designedly left in an inchoate and plastic state, to be moulded to the varying exigencies of mankind in different political societies. From their writings, and from the practice of their immediate successors, may, however, be deduced one general principle. It is, that in the government of the Church the monarchical and the popular elements should be combined and harmonized. Yet to divorce them from each other is the common aim, though by opposite methods, both of those whose boast is their apostolical succession and of those who exult in the freedom of religious democracy. Here both parties are untrue to their own cardinal maxims. The antiquarian divines explore their records in vain for a pretext for excluding the laity from a voice in deliberation, in discipline, and in the election of their bishops, priests, and deacons. On this subject they therefore decline, and shrink from their favourite and customary appeal to tradition. The pure biblicists search the inspired canon with equally ill success, for one word to show that the pastor should be the mere stipendiary and dependant of his flock, subsisting on their bounty, subject to their will, and removable at their pleasure. They therefore refuse in this discussion to admit 'the Bible and 'the Bible alone' as their complete and all-sufficient guide of conduct. Sacerdotal power and popular control, which, by a well-adjusted equipoise, should mutually sustain the spiritual edifice, are thus, by their ill-judging partisans, arrayed as antagonist, or rather as hostile forces. In one direction the march of despotism, in another the progress of anarchy, is advanced by those to whom both should be equally abhorrent, as being equally opposed to their common faith.

How copious the eloquence with which the author of 'Spiri-'tual Despotism' would have disclaimed all responsibility for the opinions thus ascribed to him, and for the language in which they have been expressed! With what exuberant artifices of style would he have insisted that the mature results of the patient studies of his life, are not to be understood by any less laborious method than that of reading and meditating the volume in which he has himself recorded them! No protest could be more reasonable. Of such a book a fair estimate cannot be formed from the hasty sketch of an inconsiderable fragment, selected not as being more impressive than the rest, but it may be as indicating doctrines for which, as very nearly coinciding with his own, the abbreviator might desire to win at least a transient notice. Gratitude to him who has brought to the birth thoughts with which the mind has been long, though silently teeming, may overflow in unmeasured praise. Little, however, is hazarded

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in announcing this work as the most original, comprehensive, and profound contribution which any living writer in our own country has made to the science of ecclesiastical polity. They whose delight is in the transcendental and the obscure, who pine for theories which elude their grasp, and believe that to strain is to expand the mind, will judge otherwise. For once our author must submit to the reproach, perhaps the unwelcome reproach, of being perfectly intelligible. Drawing outlines of history with a hand as bold and free as that of Guizot, conversant with principles as recondite as those of Coleridge, and animated by the same chaste and fervent piety which hallows the speculations of Mr Gladstone, his was the further praise of bringing to the encounter, with the loftiest abstractions, that athletic good sense which disdains to enlarge itself by looming through a fog. Master as he was of the *chiaroscuro*, the love of truth was too strong in him for the love of art. Addressing mankind on a subject of urgent and solemn interest, he rose so far above the fashions of his age, as to shun the region over which sublimity and nonsense hold divided rule; remembering, perhaps, that it has never been frequented by any of the master-spirits of the world; and that, even amongst men divinely inspired, he who was at once the greatest and the most deeply learned, had preferred to speak five words to edification than to speak ten thousand words in an unknown tongue. To grapple with principles of the widest span, without requiring so much as a momentary repose in the lap of mysticism, is an admirable power. To refuse on such an occasion the but too familiar and ready aid of that narcotic, is a real, though an unobtrusive virtue.

As the unwonted self-denial of thin potations will sometimes appear to him who has made it to deserve the reward of a generous cup of sack, so he who had thus submitted himself to the penance of tracing, in distinct and legible characters, the progress of spiritual despotism, his task accomplished, soared away into other contemplations more agreeable to himself at least, because more abstruse, which he revealed to the lower world under the enigmatical title of 'Saturday Evening.' He sought relief and found it, when ordinary mortals find little else than lassitude; for, in the full sense of that profound expression, he was a man spiritually minded. His assent to Christianity was no faint admission that the balance of conflicting arguments inclined in favour of that belief. It was a conviction rooted in the inmost recesses of his mind; the germinating principle of the devout thoughts which grew spontaneously in that well-cultured and fertile soil. To measure the heights and the depths of the truths revealed or intimated in the inspired volume, was at once the

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solace and the habitual labour of his life. From the strife of politicians, the wonders of art, and the controversies of the learned, he turned away to ponder on the hopes and prospects of the Christian Church, on her lapse from original purity, on the fellowship and isolation of her members, the limits of revealed knowledge, the dissolution and the perpetuity of our nature, and the modes of our future existence. Incapable of acquiescing tamely in any of the dogmatic systems of divinity, (all alike definite, cold, sterile, and earth-born,) he aspired to reach that upper region which the pure light visits, and whence alone it is reflected in all its purity. There he proposed to himself and handled problems of which Butler might have surmised the solution, and Milton evolved the latent glories. But he was attempting to scale eminences where the mightiest become conscious of their weakness, and the boldest imagination is taught the penury of her resources. To throw some unsteady and precarious lights on such themes, should limit the ambition, as it will unavoidably terminate the success, of all intellects but those of the most exalted order. Yet how abstain altogether from such endeavours to explore things undreamt of in our popular theology, when the ear has been trained to hear, however indistinctly, the under-tones of the Divine voice, and the heart to understand, however imperfectly, the inarticulate language of the Divine government? Blessed in no vulgar degree with such perceptions, our author applied himself with reverence, and with freedom of thought, to topics which, when so examined, can never be unfruitful, though the fruits may often be unripe, and to the great majority unpalatable. Take, as an example, the following abridgement of a chapter, entitled, 'The State of Seclusion:'—

From our narrow survey of the affairs of mankind, no principle of universal morals can be deduced, except as a matter of doubtful speculation and still recurring controversy, triumphant to-day, to be discarded to-morrow. Were it otherwise, the slumber of the soul, with all its attendant dreams and fantasies, must be broken. Our probationary state requires that we should exist only as the inhabitants of a narrow area, shut out from the general assembly of intelligent beings, and denied all access to those vehement and irresistible persuasions by which, with their comprehensive knowledge of the universal laws of the Divine economy they would constrain us to obedience. Within the walls of our prison-house we are condemned to grope in vain, if so we may discover the permanent tendencies and the ultimate issues of things. The great axioms of eternal virtue are rather obscured than illustrated by the complexity, the insignificance, and

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the obtrusive glare of those occurrences which make up national and individual history. Each man is straitened in his sphere of observation and of thought. His experience is incalculably small when compared to that of the whole human family, of which he is for the time a member. Of the events of preceding ages, he may catch some faint notices; of those of the ages to come, he lives and dies in profound ignorance. Between those who are entering and those who are about to quit this stage of existence, there are such distinctions of physical temperament as greatly intercepts the tradition of knowledge from parents to their children. Geographical position, the antipathy of races, discordance of tastes, and differences of speech, contribute still further to segregate communities and their component parts. The intervention of a river, or a chain of mountains, will reduce to mute signs and gestures the language by which man holds intercourse with his fellows. Narrowing his pursuits and thoughts within a single path, the petty cares of life render him ignorant of what is passing beyond his daily walk, and unobservant of the far larger proportion of what occurs within it. So apparently inextricable is the confusion, and so many the seeming anomalies of all that falls under his personal notice, that man's existence assumes the semblance rather of a game of chance than of a system throughout which is to be traced the average result of established rules. So feeble is the faculty of generalization in most—so minute, urgent, and uniform, and yet so numerous the affairs in which they are engaged; such are the contaminations, and such the ridicule of life; so extravagant the folly in one direction, and so abject the misery in another, that the prospect open to any one of us, during his confinement in this sublunary state, is every where hedged round within narrow precincts, and bounded by an horizon as indistinct as it is near.

Yet from our prison-house we look out on populous regions of illimitable space, though forbidden to converse with their inhabitants. We perceive that, beyond the limits of our own planet, the same law of seclusion prevails. Creation does not form one continuous surface over which beings of the same order might pursue an unbroken path, but is made up of globes suspended in thin space at incalculable distances. While neighbouring worlds are thus estranged from each other, the vastness of the universe is exhibited to every percipient being within its range. Thus the isolation of man is but the development on earth of one great law by which all nature is pervaded. Created intelligences are every where kept apart from that communion with other ranks of being, whose greater comprehensiveness of knowledge would destroy the balance of conflicting motives, and reduce the rational

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will to a state of unresisting subjection. Man is isolated from preceding generations, and from all but a very inconsiderable number of his own, because the comprehensive experience which he might otherwise gain of the course of human affairs, would in the same manner be destructive of his liberty of choice. Each is left to gather from his separate experience moral rules at once unobtrusive, and yet capable of sufficient proof. Wisdom does not raise her voice in the streets; she calmly offers instruction to the prudent, but does not force it on the thoughtless. The division of created minds into distinct communities, and the various methods by which the members of the same community are separated from each other, are parts of that general ordinance or system by which a certain reserve is imposed on wisdom and on virtue. Things eternal and universal are unseen; things partial and temporal are alone submitted to our observation.

Such, divested of the embellishments with which they fell from his own hand, are the meditations to which the historian of Enthusiasm has devoted one of his 'Saturday Evenings.' It is a loss they can ill afford. Winnowed a little further, this splendid essay (for such in the original it really is) might, without the escape of any of its essences, be exhibited in the form of one or two simple and familiar truths: as thus:—

Moral probation is incompatible with a distinct and certain foresight of all the remote tendencies, and of all the ultimate results of our conduct. If the transient delights which allure us, and the overwhelming evils which follow in their train, were both at once revealed to the mental vision in the vivid colours and hard outlines of the naked reality, neither vice nor virtue could any longer exist among men. As probationers, we must live in the state of seclusion, that is, we must be cut off from those sources of information, which, if we had access to them, would prevent even a momentary equipoise between the present and the future—between those desires which crave immediate indulgence, and those which point to a distant but greater good. One of the causes by which the influx of such knowledge is impeded, is the insular position of our globe in the shoreless ocean of space; and as this physical isolation of worlds seems to pervade the celestial system, we may conjecture that 'seclusion is 'a law of the universe,' and that throughout the stellar regions imperfect knowledge is made conducive to the exercise and the improvement of virtue. There is but one Being to whom we are taught to ascribe complete and inflexible rectitude, because there is but one to whom we can attribute absolute omniscience.

Inconsiderable as is the amount of genuine ore employed in this essay, and in many other parts of the collection of which it

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forms no unfavourable specimen, it would be difficult to refer to a more apt illustration of the ductility and the brilliance of which moral truth is susceptible. What if Selden or Pascal would have extracted into a page or two of apothegms the essential oils of all these discourses; and what though the capacity to concentrate thought be a nobler gift than the art to diffuse it; yet may this inferior power exist in a state of rare and admirable excellence. Genuine wisdom has many tongues and many aspects, and employs each in turn to express and to promote that love of mankind which, under all her external forms, is still her animating spirit. Yet it must be confessed, that she so habitually delights in the simplest garb, that when, as in these sabbatical essays, she decks herself out in the literary fashions of the day, one may hope to be forgiven for being unaware of her presence. They are infinitely more rich in knowledge and in power than the generation of the author would confess; and yet was not that generation to blame? Under draperies adjusted with such obtrusive skill, and of so elaborate a texture, men are seldom accustomed to find real beauty, and are therefore but little disposed to search for it.

When a biographer has conducted his hero to the tomb, he usually leaves him there. To the list of excepted cases must be added that of the author of 'A Physical Theory of a Future 'Life.' In form a speculative treatise, it may be considered as substantially a narrative of his existence beyond the confines of earth, in those scenes which most men occasionally anticipate, and which many have attempted to describe; some from the ambition for immortal fame, and some impelled by the cravings for immortal felicity. From the shelves of his well-filled library, sages and poets were summoned to contribute to the formation of this work. First, and before all, were consulted the writers of the sacred volume; of whom it may with the strictest truth be said, that they have established the triumph of good sense over the mere dreams of excited fancy. Of such dreams, none possessed a firmer hold on the Italian and Greek philosophers and their disciples, than that after death man was to pass into a state of pure incorporeity, and to be absorbed by the great Mundane Soul. Very different the teaching of the writers of the New Testament. They transferred from this world to the next the great truth—that human happiness requires, not only that the mind be sound, but that it be lodged in a sound body. Irenæus and Tertullian informed our theorist that such was also the creed of the immediate successors of the Apostles. Origen taught him, that to exist as a spirit wholly detached and separate from matter, is the incommunicable attribute of the omnipresent Deity; and instruct-

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ed him to understand the luciform body of the Platonic system as identical with the spiritual body of the Christian revelation. From the same great master he learned that, without such an instrumentality, minds created and subordinate must be cut off from all commerce with external things, and become nothing more than so many inert, insulated, and contemplative entities. With these great fathers of the Church he found the rest of that venerable college in harmony—copious in their enquiries respecting the nature of good and bad demons—assigning to the angelic host the nearest possible resemblance, and to the evil spirits the utmost possible dissimilarity, to the defecated intelligences of the Aristotelic learning; the one impassive to all sensual delights, the other inhaling with an unholy relish the savoury fumes of heathen sacrifices, but both clad with material integuments, subtilized to an imponderable and indefinite tenuity. Their volumes, especially, if we remember rightly, those of Augustine, revealed to him the further secret of the manner in which spirits inhabiting these ethereal vehicles hold intercourse with each other; and even explained the shapes in which they manifest their presence to those exquisite organs of sensation by which alone they are perceptible. Cook, or La Perouse, never drew a plainer chart of their discoveries, than that which was thus laid open to our author of the regions of the blessed. Cuvier never examined the osseous structure of an antediluvian quadruped more closely, than the mental and physical constitution of the immortals was thus analyzed by some of those who in ancient times aspired one day to join that exalted company.

Other provinces of our author's literary dominions were yet to be explored. One contemptuous glance was given to the Koran, and to the paradise copied, as it might seem, by the Prophet from the Aphroditan temples of Paphos or Idalia. Homer exhibited to him the illustrious dead as so many victims of the inexorable Fates against which they had contended so bravely on earth, and as agitated by passions which it was no longer permitted them to gratify. His great imitator discovered to the student, Elysian fields over which satiety reigned in eternal and undisputed sway, and which the poet himself advantageously exchanged, twelve centuries afterwards, for the outskirts of the 'Inferno,' with an occasional voyage of discovery through those gloomy mansions. The awful magician who placed him there lost much of his own inspiration, when, quitting the guidance of Virgil for that of Beatrice, he traversed in her company the seven heavens, and listened in the sun to the lectures of Thomas Aquinas, or received from the saints congregated in the form of an eagle in the planet Jupiter, a metaphysical comment on the mysteries of the divine decrees.

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From the poets, our author next turned to the theological philosophers of his own and other countries. In Cudworth and Brucker he found the doctrines of the schools of ancient and of modern Europe in more perfect symmetry, and in greater clearness than in the works of the sages and schoolmen themselves; but cold as the latitudinarianism of the first, and dry as the antiquarian lore of the second. At length his hand rested on two volumes in which the post-sepulchral condition of man is delineated with a beauty and eloquence to which he rendered a willing, although a silent homage. One of those was the treatise of Thomas Burnett—*De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium*—the other, that book on the 'Light of Nature,' in which Abraham Tucker traverses the world to come in his atomic or vehicular state. Burnett, it may be supposed, best knew his own strength and weakness, and judged rightly in choosing scientific or critical subjects, and in discussing them in a dead language. But to those who read his works it must ever remain a mystery that he could subject himself to such fetters, instead of yielding to the inspiration which was ever at hand to sublimate into impassioned poetry whatever exact knowledge or whatever learned enquiries might happen to engage his thoughts. Tucker, on the other hand, was a matter-of-fact person; happy beyond all men in the power of illustrating the obscure by the familiar; but happier still in the most benevolent and cheerful temper, and in a style which beautifully reflects the constitutional gaiety and kindness of his heart. There is a charm even in his want of method, and in the very clumsiness of his paragraphs; for each sentence bears him testimony that he is too intent on his object to think of any thing else, and that to teach controversialists to understand and to love each other was the single end for which he lived and wrote. Of his metaphysical speculations, the most original and curious is the Enquiry into the Nature and the Operation of Motives. But his excellence consists in the brightness and in the variety of the lights he has thrown round the whole circle of those topics over which natural and revealed religion exercise a common and indivisible dominion. To rid them of mere logomachies, to show how much the fiercest disputants may be unconsciously agreed, to prove how greatly Christianity is misrepresented by many of her opponents, and misunderstood by many of her friends—and, without ever assuming the preacher's office, to explain the depths of the great Christian canon of mutual love as the universal substratum of all moral truth,—this is the duty which he has undertaken, and which he executes, often successfully, and always with such courage, diligence, and vivacity, and with so unbroken a sunshine of a placid and playful temper, as to render the 'Light of Nature' one of the most attractive books in

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our language, both to those who read to be themselves instructed on these questions, and to those who read with the view of imparting such instruction to others.

So judged Paley in the last generation; and such is manifestly the opinion of Archbishop Whateley, and of Bishop Coppleston, with many other writers of our own. Amongst the many who have drawn at this fountain, the latest would appear to be the author of 'The Physical Theory of a Future 'Life.' Whether he in fact availed himself of the sources of information which we have indicated, or any other of the countless books which treat on the mysteries of the world to which we are all passing, is, however, a fact on which it is impossible to advance beyond conjecture. The old and obsolete fashion of commencing a voyage of discovery to any *terra incognita*, by a retrospect of the success or failure of former adventurers, and the still more ancient practice of fencing round the page with references and quotations, were not without their use. It would, however, be captious to complain of the discontinuance, in a single case, of customs so generally laid aside; or to arraign an author as making an unjust pretension to the praise of originality, merely because he does not in terms disavow it. If in this new theory there is little to be found in substance with which those who are inquisitive about such matters were not already familiar, there is at least a systematic completeness and symmetry in this scheme of a future life, unrivalled even in Abraham Tucker's vision. In order to disclose to mankind the prospect which thus awaits them, it will be necessary to convert our author's didactics into the form of a fragment of his posthumous autobiography—a freedom, for the pardon of which the necessity of the case may be urged; since it seems impossible by any other method to convey any adequate conception of a career which, dazzling as it is in itself, is still further obscured by the brilliant polish of the abstract phraseology in which it is described by him by whom, in imagination at least, it was run. He may, then, be supposed to have revealed the incidents of his immortal existence to the associates of his mortal being, in some such terms as the following:—

One universal bewilderment of thought, one passing agony, and all was still. I had emerged from the confines of life, and yet I lived. Time, place, and sensation were extinct. Memory had lost her office, and the activity of my reasoning powers was suspended. Apart from every other being, and entombed in the solitude of my own nature, all my sentient and mental faculties were absorbed and concentrated in one intense perception of self-consciousness. Before me lay expanded, as in a vast panorama, the entire course of my mortal life. I was at once the actor and the spectator of the whole eventful scene; every thought as distin-

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every word as articulate, and every incident as fresh as at the moment of their birth. The enigmas of my existence were solved. That material and intellectual mechanism of which, for threescore years and ten, I had been the subject, was laid bare, with all the mutual dependencies of the countless events, great and trivial, of my sublunary days. Grasping at length the threads of that vast labyrinth, I perceived that they had all been woven by the same Divine Artificer. At each step of the way by which I had come, I now traced the intervention of an ever watchful Providence. Complicated and perplexing as the condition of human life had formerly appeared to me, I at length discovered the great ultimate object to which each movement of that intricate apparatus had been designed to minister. I saw that the whole had been one harmonious and comprehensive scheme for purifying the affections of my nature, and invigorating them for nobler and more arduous exercises. I had gone down to Hades, and Deity was there. On earth his existence had been demonstrated. Here it was felt by a consciousness intuitive and irresistible. A prisoner in the flesh, I had been wont to adore the majesty of the Creator. A disembodied spirit, I was awake to the conviction that he exists as the perennial source of happiness, which, concentrated in his own nature, is thence diffused throughout the universe, although in degrees immeasurably distant from each other, and according to laws unsearchable by any finite understanding. Thus imbibing knowledge of myself and of Deity, and alive only to the emotions inspired by this ever-present spectacle, I became the passive recipient of influences instinct with a delight so tranquil, and with a peace so unbroken, that weariness, satiety, and the desire for change appeared to have departed from me for ever.

Change, however, awaited me. So slight and imperfect had been the alliance between my disembodied spirit and the world of matter, that, destitute of all sensation, I had lost all measure of time, and knew not whether ages had revolved, or but a moment had passed away during my isolated state of being. Heir to ten thousand infirmities, the body I had tenanted on earth had returned to the dust, there to be dissolved and recompounded into other forms and new substances. Yet the seminal principle of that mortal frame had adhered to me; and at the appointed season there brooded over it from on high a reproductive and plastic influence. Fearfully and wonderfully as I had been made when a denizen of the world, the chemical affinities, and the complex organization of my animal structure, had borne the impress of decay, of a transitory state, and of powers restricted in their free exercise. Passing all comprehension as had been the

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wisdom with which it was adapted to the purposes of my sublunary being, those purposes had been ephemeral, and circumscribed within precincts which now seemed to me scarcely wider than those within which the emmet plies her daily task. In the career which was now opening to me, I required a far different instrumentality to give scope to my new faculties, and to accomplish the ends to which I had learned to aspire. Emancipated from the petty cares and the mean pursuits in which, during the period of my humanity, I had been immersed, I now inhabited and informed a spiritual body, not dissimilar in outward semblance to that which I had bequeathed to the worms, but uniform in texture, homogeneous in every part, and drawn from elements blended harmoniously together, into one simple, pure, and uncompounded whole. Into such perfect unison had my mental and my corporeal nature been drawn, that it was not without difficulty I admitted the belief that I was once again clothed with a material integument. Experience was soon to convince me that such an association was indispensable to the use and to the enlargement of my intellectual and moral powers.

Emerging from the region of separate spirits into my next scene of activity and social intercourse, I found myself an inhabitant of the great luminary, around which Mercury and his more distant satellites eternally revolve. In all their unmitigated radiance were floating around me, those effulgent beams of light and heat which so faintly visit the obscure and distant planets. Everlasting day, the intense glories of an endless summer-noon, rested on the numbers without number of intelligent and sentient creatures who shared with me my new abode. Incorruptible, exempt from lassitude, and undesirous of repose, they imbibed energy from rays which in the twinkling of an eye would have dissipated into thin vapour the world and all that it inherits. On that opaque globe, the principles which sustain, and those which destroy life had been engaged within me in a constant but unequal conflict. The quickening spirit on earth, though continually recruited by rest and sleep, had at length yielded to the still-recurring assaults of her more potent adversaries. Here the vital powers had no foes to encounter, and demanded no respite from their ceaseless occupation. In the world below, from man the universal sovereign, to the animalcula who people a drop of turbid water, I had seen all animated things sustaining themselves by the mutual extermination of each other. In the solar sphere I found all pursuing their appointed course of duty or enjoyment, in immortal youth and undecaying vigour. Death had found no entrance life demanded no renewal.

I anticipate the results of the observations which I gradually

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learned to make of the difference between solar and planetary existence; for on my entrance into this untried state of being, my thoughts were long riveted to the change which I had myself undergone. While incarcerated in my tenement of clay, I had given law to my nerves, muscles, and tendons; but they had in turn imposed restraints on me against which it had been vain to struggle. My corporeal mechanism had moved in prompt obedience to each successive mandate of my mind; but so fragile were the materials of which it was wrought, that, yielding to inexorable necessity, my will had repressed innumerable desires which, if matured into absolute volitions, would have rent asunder that frail apparatus. I had relaxed the grasp, and abandoned the chase, and thrown aside the uplifted weapon, as often as my overstrained limbs admonished me that their chords would give way beneath any increased impetus. And when the living power within me had subjected my fibres to the highest pressure which they could safely endure, the arrangement, and the relative position of my joints and muscles, had impeded all my movements, except in some circumscribed and unalterable directions. But my spiritual body, incapable of waste or of fracture, and responsive at every point to the impact of the indwelling mind, advanced, receded, rose or fell, in prompt obedience to each new volition, with a rapidity unimpeded, though not unlimited, by the gravitating influence of the mighty orb over the surface of which I passed. At one time I soared as with the wings of eagles, and at another penetrated the abysses of the deep. The docile and indestructible instrument of my will could outstrip the flight of the swiftest arrow, or rend the knotted oak, or shiver the primeval rocks; and then, contracting its efforts, could weave the threads of the gossamer in looms too subtle and evanescent for the touch of the delicate Ariel.

While on earth I had, like Milton, bewailed that constitution of my frame which, admitting the knowledge of visible objects only at one entrance, forbade me to converse with them except through the medium of a single nerve, and within the narrow limits of the retina. Had the poet's wish been granted, and if, departing from her benignant parsimony, nature had exposed his sensorium to the full influx of the excitements of which it was inherently susceptible, that insufferable glare would either have annihilated the percipient faculty, or would have quickened it to agonies unimagined even by his daring fancy. Under the shelter of that material structure which at once admitted and mitigated the light, I had in my mortal state been accustomed to point my telescope to the heavens; and, while measuring the curve described round their common centre by stars which to the

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unaided eye were not even disunited, I had felt how infinitely far the latent capacities of my soul for corresponding with the aspect of the exterior world transcended such powers as could be developed within me, while confined to the inadequate organs of vision afforded me by nature or by art. An immortal, I quaffed at my pleasure the streams of knowledge and of observation for which before I had thus panted in vain. I could now scan and explore at large the whole physical creation. At my will I could call my visual powers into action to the utmost range of their susceptibility; for in my new body I possessed the properties of every different lens in every possible variety of combination—expanding, dissecting, and refracting at any required angle the beams which radiated from the various substances around me, it brought me intelligence of the forms, the colours, and the movements of them all. Assisted by this optical incarnation, I could survey the luminary on which I dwelt, the globes whose orbits were concentric there, and, though less distinctly, the other solar spheres which glowed in the firmament above me. Not more clearly had I deciphered during my sojourn on earth the shapes and hues of the various beings by which it is replenished, than I now discerned the aspect and the movements of the countless species, animate and inanimate, with which the prodigal munificence of creative will has peopled the various planetary regions.

Nor was it through the intervention of light merely, that my altered corporeity brought me into communication with the works of the Divine Architect. It attracted and combined for my study or my delight, all the vibratory movements, and all the gustatory and pungent emanations, by which the sense is aroused and gratified. Celestial harmony floated around me, and I breathed odours such as exhaled from Eden in the fresh dawn of the world's nativity. In that world, chained down by the coarse elements of flesh and blood, I had caught some transient glimpses of exterior things, through the five portals which opened —shall I say into my fortress or my prison-house? From the glorious mansion which my soul now inhabited, pervious to myself at every point, though impregnable to every hostile or unwelcome aggression, I surveyed the things around me in aspects till now unimagined. I did not merely see and hear, taste, smell, and feel, but I exercised senses for which the languages of earth have no names, and received intimations of properties and conditions of matter unutterable in human discourse. Employing this instrument of universal sensation, the inner forms of nature presented themselves before me as vividly as her exterior types. Thus entering her secret laboratories, I was present at the con

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position and the blending together of those plastic energies of which mundane philosophy is content to register some few of the superficial results. Each new disclosure afforded me a wider and still lengthening measure of that unfathomable wisdom and power, with the more sublime emanations of which I was thus becoming conversant. Such was the flexibility of my spiritualized organs, that at my bidding they could absolutely exclude every influence from without, leaving me to enjoy the luxuries of meditation in profound and unassailable solitude.

While thus I passed along the solar regions, and made endless accessions of knowledge, I was at first alarmed lest my mind should have been crushed beneath the weight of her own conquests, and the whole should be merged in one chaotic assemblage of confused recollections. From this danger I was rescued by another change in my animal economy. During my planetary existence, the structure and the health of my brain had exercised a despotic authority over my intellectual powers. Then my mind laboured ineffectually over her most welcome tasks, if accident or indigestion relaxed, distended, or compressed my cerebral vessels. For the time, the tools with which she wrought were deprived of their brightness and their edge. At such seasons, (and they were frequent,) the records of past sensations, and of the thoughts associated with them, became illegible in my memory, or could be read there only in disjointed fragments. An acid on his stomach would have rendered vain the boast of Cæsar, that he could address each of his legionaries by name. Even when all my pulses were beating with regularity and vigour, the best I could accomplish was to grope backward through my store of accumulated knowledge, holding by a single thread, to which my attention was confined, and the loss of which defeated all my efforts.

How different the tablets on which my observations of the past were recorded in my spiritual body! Unconscious of fatigue, incapable of decay, and undisturbed by any of those innumerable processes essential to the conservation of mortal life, it enabled me to inscribe in indelible lines, as on some outstretched map, each successive perception, and every thought to which it had given birth. At my pleasure, I could unroll and contemplate the entire chart of my past being. I could render myself as absolutely conscious of the former, as of the present operations of my mind, and at one retrospective glance could trace back to their various fountains all the tributary streams which combined to swell the current of my immediate contemplations. Gliding over the various provinces of the solar world, and gathering in each new treasures of information, I deposited them all beyond the

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reach of the great spoiler Time, in this ample storehouse of a plenary memory. With the increase of my intellectual hoard my cravings for such wealth continuedly augmented. It was an avarice which no gains could satiate, and to the indulgence of which imagination itself could assign no limit.

I should, however, have become the victim of my own avidity for knowledge, if my ideas had still obeyed those laws of association to which, in my telluric state, they had been subject. Then it behoved my reason to exercise a severe and watchful government. When her control was relaxed, my thoughts would break loose from all legitimate restraint. They arranged themselves into strange groups and fantastic combinations, and established with each other such alliances as whim, caprice, or accident suggested. These once made were indissoluble. They asserted their power but too often, in resistance to the sternest mandates of my judgment and my will. But in times of debility, of disease, or of sleep, my ideas would combine into heterogeneous masses, seething and mingling together, like the ingredients of some witch's caldron, assembled by her incantations to work out some still more potent spell. Over the whole of this intoxicating confusion presided Carnality, in all her nervous, cerebral, vascular, and other forms, and working by means of all her digestive, secretory, and assimilating processes.

No longer the inmate of a tremulous and sordid tabernacle of flesh, but inhabiting a shrine pure and enduring as her own nature, my soul was now rescued from this ignoble thraldom. Accident, appetite, lassitude, the heat and fumes of my animal laboratory, had ceased to disturb the supremacy of reason. Instead of congregating as an undisciplined host, my ideas, as in some stately procession, followed each the other in meet order and predetermined sequence,—their march unobstructed by any suggestions or desires originating in my sensuous frame. I had become, not the passive recipient of thought, but the unquestioned sovereign of my own mental operations. The material organs, by the aid of which I now wrought them out, obeyed a law like that on which depends the involuntary movements of the heart and arteries, unattended by any conscious effort, and productive of no fatigue. Every increment of knowledge spontaneously assumed in my memory its proper place and relative position; and the whole of my intellectual resources fell into connected chains of argument or illustration, which I could traverse at pleasure from end to end, still finding the mutual dependence and adhesion of each successive link unbroken.

To contemplate any truth in all the relations in which it stands to every other truth, is to possess the attribute of omniscience;

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but, in proportion as any created intelligence can combine together her ideas in their various species, genera, classes, and orders, in the same degree is diminished the distance from the Supreme Mind, immeasurable and infinite as the intervening gulf must ever remain. On earth I had been compelled, by the feebleness of my cerebral and nervous economy, to render my studies almost exclusively analytical. There, I had toiled to disencumber every question of whatever might obscure the view of the isolated point proposed as the end of my enquiries. Morals apart from physics, art disunited from logic, the science of numbers and of space detached from the exercise of the imaginative power, even theology itself divorced from the devout aspirations to which she tends, had each in turn engaged my earnest pursuit. But to ascend those heights from which they could be contemplated as parts of one harmonious whole—to seize and to blend together the analogies pervading the works of poets and mathematicians, of naturalists and divines—this was an attempt which convinced me how indissoluble were the fetters which riveted my soul to her sluggish associate. Set free from this bondage, and supplied with an instrument of sensation which kept pace with her own inherent activity, she found and desired no repose. Solar time is measured by the revolutions of the planetary orbs, and from the commencement to the completion of his career through the firmament, Uranus still found me engaged in some unbroken contemplation. During that interval I had completed some vast synthesis, in which were at once combined and distinguished all the various aspects under which some province of knowledge had disclosed itself to my view. In the nether world, high discourse had been held on the connection of the sciences; but now I discovered the mutual influence, the interaction, and the simultaneous workings of their different laws. I no longer cultivated the exact sciences as a separate domain, but the most severe physical truth was revealed to me in union with the richest hues of ideal beauty, with the perfection of the imitative arts, with the pure abstractions of metaphysical thought, with narratives both historical and romantic, with the precepts of universal morals, and the mysteries of the Divine government. Ontology—vain-glorious word as used among men—the knowledge of universal being as distinct from species, and of species as harmonized in universal being, was the study which engaged the time and rewarded the labours of immortal minds animating spiritual bodies.

Let not those who boast themselves in logic, Aristotelian or Baconian, assume that their puny architecture of syllogistic or inductive reasoning affords the rules by which the soul, res-

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cued from the hinderances of a carnal corporeity, erects for herself edifices of knowledge, immovable in their base, beautiful in their proportions, and towering in splendid domes and pinnacles to the skies. To Newton and to Pascal the theories of the vulgar geometry were as instinctively obvious as the preliminary axioms on which they rest. While yet an infant, Mozart was possessed of all those complex harmonies which a life of patient study scarcely reveals to inferior masters of his art. In my planetary existence, I had rejoiced in my habitual aptitude for physiology and historical researches, nor had I regretted the years of ceaseless toil devoted to them. Now, I discovered that in myself, as in the great men I have mentioned, the apprehensiveness of truth depended far more on the animal than the mental framework. Quick and vigorous in high bodily health, and sluggish and inert under the pressure of corporeal debility, I learned that logic, experiment, and calculation had been but so many crutches to assist the movements of the halt and feeble; and that, with a physical instrumentality which study could not exhaust nor disease assail, intuition took the place of reasoning. I became rather the conscious witness than the agent of the process by which consequences were evolved from the premises brought under my notice.

In the society of which I had become a member, as in mundane communities, discourse was amongst the chief springs both of improvement and delight. So curiously fashioned was the integument within which my mind was enveloped, that, after the manner of an eyelid, it could either exclude the access of any external excitement, creating within me an absolute and impregnable solitude, or lay open to the immediate survey of an associate any thought or combination of thoughts which I desired to impart to him. I had acquired two distinct languages, one of visible signs, the other of audible symbols. The first was analogous to the mute dialogue which is carried on in pantomime, by gesture and the varying expressions of the countenance; though, unlike such discourse, it was exempt from all conjectural and ambiguous meanings. As in a camera-obscura, my corporeal organs reflected the workings of the informing spirit; so that, like the ancient Peruvians, I could converse as by a series of pictures, produced and shifted with instantaneous rapidity. This mode of communication served my turn when I had any occurrences to relate, or any question to discuss, of which sensuous objects formed the basis. But when phenomena purely psychological, destitute of all types in the material creation, were to be conveyed to a companion, I had audible symbols by which every intellectual conception, and each fluctuating state of moral se-

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timent, might be expressed as distinctly as geometrical diagrams express the corresponding ideas to which they are allied. By the intermixture of pictorial and symbolical speech, I could thus render myself intelligible throughout the whole range and compass of my mental operations, and could give utterance to all those subtle refinements of thought or of sensation, which, even amongst those who spoke the vernacular tongue of Plato, must, from the want of fit and determinate indications, have either died away in silence, or have been exhaled in some mystic and unintelligible jargon. Whatever distinctness of expression the pencil or vibratory chords enabled Raphael or Handel to give to their sublime but otherwise ineffectual conceptions, I had thus the power to impart to each modification of thought, and to every shade of feeling. Verbal controversies, sophistry, and all the other 'idols of the cavern,' had disappeared. Philosophy and her legitimate issue, wisdom, piety, and love, were cultivated and treasured up by each member of the great solar family, not as a private hoard to minister only to his own uses, but as a fund universally communicable, and still augmenting by constant interchange.

It is difficult or impossible to speak intelligibly, in the language of men, of the delights or of the duties of the state of being into which I had thus entered. Borne along in the vehicle of my spiritual body, I dreaded no fatigue, and was deterred by no danger in the discharge of the most arduous enterprises. Aspects of the creation, hidden from me while garmented in the gross elements of flesh and blood, now burst on my perception as light visits him who, in mature life, for the first time acquires the visual faculty. Through each new avenue of sense thus successively opened to me, my soul, with raptures such as seraphs feel, drew in from the still-expanding circumference wonder and delight, and an ever-increasing consciousness of the depths of her own being and resources. Contemplating the hidden forms and the occult mechanism of the material universe, I left behind me the problems with which physical science is conversant, and advanced to that higher philosophy which investigates the properties of spiritual agents; and to a theology, compared with which that which I had hitherto acquired was as insignificant as the inarticulate babblings of the cradle. My retrospective consciousness—for memory it can scarcely be called—spread out before me scenes, the bright, harmonious, and placid lights of which were mellowed though unobscured by distance. Misgivings as to the stability of my own opinions had fled away, as the truths with which I was engaged presented themselves to me simultaneously in their relative bearings and mutual dependence. Love, pure and catholic,

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warmed and expanded my heart, as thoughts wise, equitable, and benign flowed from other minds into my own in a continuous stream; the pellucid waters of which, in the inherent transparency of our regenerate nature, no deceit could darken and no guile pollute. My corporeal fabric, now become the passive instrument of my will, importuned me with no unwelcome intrusions; but buoyant, flexible, and instinct with life and vigour, obeyed every volition, and obstructed the accomplishment of none.

Yet had I not passed into that torpid elysium of which some have dreamed, and over the descriptions of which many more have slumbered. Virtue, and her stern associate Self-control, exact obedience not from the denizens of earth alone, but from the rational inhabitants of every province of the universal empire. With each accession of knowledge and of mental power, my view became continually wider and more extended of that gulf, which, stretching out in measureless infinitude, separates the Source of Being from the most exalted of his intelligent offspring. My affiance in the Divine wisdom and rectitude, reposing on foundations deep and firm in proportion to my larger acquaintance with the ways of Providence, was still necessary to sustain my trembling spirit as I meditated on the mysteries of the Divine government. For, within the reach of my observation, were discernible agonizing intensities of suffering, abysses of pollution and of guilt, attesting the awful powers both of endurance and of activity of minds ejected from the defences, and despoiled of the narcotics, once afforded them by their animal structure. Awakened to a sense of their inherent though long-slumbering energies, they were captives. Exposed to every painful excitement by which the sentient faculty can be stimulated, they were naked. Reading on the face of nature inscriptions till now illegible, they saw in them their own condemnation. Remembering each incident of their former existence, they found in each fresh aliment for despair. Disabused of the illusions of sophistry and self-love, truth shed on them the appalling glare of inevitable light. Interchanging thoughts without the possibility of disguise, every foul and malignant desire diffused amongst them a deadly contagion. Destitute of any separate wants or interests, their bodies could no longer minister to them the poor relief of an alternation of distress. The reluctant and occasional spectator of such woes, I found in faith, and hope, and meek adoration, the solace which my labouring spirit required — a task commensurate with my now-elevated powers, though the firmest and the holiest of mortals, while yet detained in his tenement of the flesh, would have

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been crushed and maddened beneath the burden of that fearful sight.

In the schools of the world, I had wandered in the endless mazes of fate and free-will, and the origin of evil. An inhabitant of the great celestial luminary, I became aware of relations till then unheard of and inconceivable; between the Emanative Essence and the hosts of subordinate spirits, and of questions thence resulting, of such strange and mighty import, that, prostrating myself before the wisdom and benevolence of the Most High, I was still compelled, in reverential awe, to acknowledge how inscrutable even to my expanded capacity was the thick darkness which shrouds his secret pavilion.

Nor were there wanting tasks, which summoned to the utmost height of daring the most courageous of the inhabitants of the sphere to which I had been translated. Glorious recompense was to be won by deeds such as immortal beings only could undertake or meditate. Ministers of the Supreme, we braved at his bidding the privation of all other joys in the delight of prompt obedience to his will. We waged with his enemies fierce conflicts, and exposed ourselves to ills, intense during their continuance, in proportion to the exquisite sensibilities of our purified corporeity. Impelled by irresistible compassion, by the cravings of insatiable benevolence, or by the vehement desire to obtain or to impart tidings affecting the happiness of our own or of other orders of thinking beings, our active powers, with all our resources of constancy, magnanimity, and prudence, were called into habitual exercise; nor were there wanting dignities to be attained, or sceptres to be won, as the meet reward of illustrious achievements.

When Astolpho descended on the hippogriff from his lunar voyage, his first employment was to disenchant the infuriate knight, on whose deliverance he had been bent when an ill-timed curiosity led him so far a-field. Even so, returning from the solar sphere to which the theory of a future life has unexpectedly conducted us, we must dissolve the fiction under which we have thus far proceeded, and restore the theorist himself to his sublunary life, which he is so well able to enjoy and to improve. No longer the imaginary biographers either of his terrestrial or his celestial career, but mere contemporary critics, we must exempt him from all responsibility for so much as a single word of this narrative of his immortal existence. It exhibits, with at least no intentional inaccuracy, the substance of anticipations, which, if regarded but as a chapter in some new Atlantis, might be borne

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with as indulgently as other Utopian discoveries, which the world has been none the worse for contrasting with the genuine but vapid pleasures of this transitory state. That a veil absolutely impenetrable conceals from us the realities of that condition into which all the successive generations of men have passed, and into which we are following them, no one will seriously dispute. But neither can it be denied that to penetrate that dark abyss is at once a desire which has been felt, and an attempt which has been made by every race, nay almost by every individual of our species. If Scipio had his dream of colloquies after death with the wise and good of all ages, the Esquimaux has his heaven where seal-skins may be procured in placid seas, and undying lamps are fed with inexhaustible supplies of the odorous grease of bears. Mahomet promised his Arabian converts 'rivers of in-'corruptible water and rivers of milk, the taste whereof changeth 'not; gardens planted with shady trees, in each of which shall be 'two flowing fountains; couches, the linings whereof shall be of 'thick silk interwoven with gold, and beauteous damsels, refrain-'ing their eyes from beholding any but their spouses, having 'complexions like rubies and pearls, and fine black eyes.' The stream can rise no higher than the fountain. Our ideas of immortal good are but amplifications of our mortal enjoyments. To sublimate our conceptions of felicity, by associating together all innocent and not incompatible delights, and by subtracting from them every alloy of pain, satiety, and languor, is to create for ourselves the only heaven with the contemplation of which hope can be sustained and activity invigorated. He who carefully surveys the elysium which reason or imagination has laid out and planted for him in the next world, will acquire far better acquaintance with the 'happy gardens' to which choice or fortune has directed him in this. Judged by this standard, and giving him credit for having made his public confessions with entire candour, the author of the 'Theory of a Future Life' may be esteemed a wise and happy man—wise, because he has no fear of acknowledging to himself or to others the dependence of his spiritual on his animal economy, and affects no superhuman disdain of mere bodily gratifications; and happy, because his felicity consists in bringing the body into that unresisting servitude to the mind, without which freedom and serenity are but empty words. Such as is his paradise in the highest conceivable degree, such in the highest attainable degree must be his earthly Eden. Dismiss it if you will as a midsummer night's dream; yet must it be confessed that it is such a dream as could visit no slumbers but those of one whose fancy was pure from sensual defilement, and whose intellect had been trained to active exer-

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cise and to close self-observation. Or, give the theorist credit for nothing more than having skilfully selected the most alluring possibilities of future good from the many celestial schemes with which the poetry and the poetical prose of all ages abounds, and still it will be true that the choice has been guided by opinions such as every one would wish to adopt, and by tastes which in our better moments we should all desire to gratify. The time subtracted, for such visions, from the scarcely more substantial delights among which we are living, will send us back to the cares of life, not less fitted resolutely to endure them, and to the pleasures of life, not less prepared wisely to enjoy them.

Style in literature is like manner in society—the superficial index, which all can read, of internal qualities which few can decipher. If the author of these books had cared, or had been able, to write with ease and simplicity, or had he disguised his meaning under spasmodic contortions, or had he talked over these grave matters in the tone of a blunt and sagacious humorist, or had he dissolved them in religious sentiment, or flattened them down to the level of a monotonous orthodoxy; in short, had he either risen to the graces of nature, or condescended to those of affectation, he would have had more numerous and enthusiastic admirers. Language in his hands is an instrument of wonderful volume, flexibility, and compass; but produces harmonies of such recondite elaboration, that the sense aches for the even flow of a few plain words quietly taking their proper places. Felicitous expression is an excellent thing in its season; but serve up a whole octavo full of exquisite sentences, and neither the guest nor the cook himself can clearly tell what the repast is made of. In the works of the historian of Enthusiasm, as in those of Dr Channing, penury and affluence of thought are made to look so like each other, that they must be undressed in order to be distinguished; and while he is making out which is which, the courteous reader is apt to lose his courtesy. In proportion as he is the more profound thinker of the two, the Englishman is the more to be upbraided for the perverse ingenuity which thus mars his own success. Objects so elevated as his, should not have been exposed to such hazard. What those objects are has already been partly explained, but they demand additional illustration.

Secluded from the worlds of business and of literature, but a keen observer of both, and viewing all sublunary things in their bearing on the eternal welfare of mankind, our author mourned over the low estate of theology amongst us, and of those higher intellectual pursuits with which theology maintains an indissoluble connexion. We are constrained to doubt whether his regrets are as wisely indulged as they are eloquently expressed.

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Christianity is for the daily use of homely people. Precepts affecting all the happiness of this life, and doctrines involving all the interests of the next, are not to be delivered in that honeyed discourse which steeps the soul in self-oblivion. When truth appears amongst mankind in her severe and native majesty, she rejects the services of her accustomed handmaids, erudition, poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, and criticism. Eloquence alone attends her, but it is an eloquence of which the mere words are unheeded —a weapon of such edge and temper as to be irresistible in the grasp of the feeblest hand.

And feeble indeed are many of those which attempt to draw this Durindana from the scabbard. Malignity itself cannot accuse our pulpits and theological presses of beguiling us by the witchcraft of genius. They stand clear of the guilt of ministering to the disordered heart the anodynes of wit or fancy. Abstruse and profound sophistries are not in the number of their offences. It is mere calumny, to accuse them of lulling the conscience to repose by any Syren songs of imagination. If the bolts of inspired truth are diverted from their aim, it is no longer by enticing words of man's wisdom. Divinity fills up her weekly hour by the grave and gentle excitement of an orthodox discourse, or by toiling through her narrow round of systematic dogmas, or by creeping along some low level of schoolboy morality, or by addressing the initiated in mythic phraseology; but she has ceased to employ lips such as those of Chrysostom or Bourdaloue. The sanctity of sacred things is lost in the familiar routine of sacred words. Religion has acquired a technology, and a set of conventional formulas, torpifying those who use and those who hear them. Her literature also bears the impress of an age in which the art of writing has wellnigh proved fatal to the power of thinking; when the desire to appropriate gracefully has superseded the ambition to originate profoundly; when the commercial spirit envelopes and strangles genius in its folds; when demigods and heroes have abandoned the field; and the holiest affections of the heart die away in silence; and the ripest fruits of the teeming mind drop ungathered into the reaper's bosom;—an age of literary democracy and intellectual socialism, in which no bequests are made to remote posterities, and no structures are rising to command and break the universal mediocrity.

From the retirement which he knows so well how to describe and to enjoy, our author cast a mournful gaze round this dreary horizon. Acquainted, perhaps, but too distinctly with the religious parties of his native land—their infirmities and their faults, he longed for the advent of a more catholic spirit, of a more intense

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and unostentatious piety, and of theological studies animated by some nobler impulse than the hire of booksellers or the praise of ephemeral critics. By expostulation and by example he has endeavoured thus to regenerate the national character. Nor are the qualifications which he has devoted to this enterprise of an ordinary kind. Measured by Etonian and Christchurch standards, he may not be entitled to a place amongst accomplished scholars; but he possesses stores of knowledge which might atone, could such guilt admit of expiation, even for the crime of a false quantity. Familiar with the elements, at least, of all physical science, and intimately conversant with ecclesiastical history, he has explored the enigmas of the human heart, even too deeply for his own repose. His bosom yearned, and his mind toiled for the happiness of mankind; but his labours would seem not to be well sustained by the cheering influence of hope. He loves children, for they are as yet exempt from the prevailing degeneracy; and the face of nature, for it reflects the creative intelligence; and books, for they are the depositaries of human wisdom; and the universal church, for it is the ark freighted with the best treasures, and charged with the destinies of our race. Man also he loves, but with feelings pensive if not melancholy, and fastidious even when most benignant. In his many books, there is not a tinge of spleen; but they exhibit that disgust for the follies and the vices of the world, which with some is the aliment of satire, with others a fascination alluring them to the very evils they despise, with a few, amongst whom our author must take his place, at once a summons to exertion and a motive to sadness.

Casting off these depressing influences, he has devoted all the resources of a comprehensive understanding, and all the affections of a benevolent heart, to correct the general debasement, and to exhibit a model of those higher pursuits to which he would reclaim his generation. Enthusiasts, fanatics, spiritual despots, sciolists in education—the pastors who slumber within the fold, and the robbers who spoil it, form a confederacy, the assailant of which should be encouraged by the gratitude of all good men. If the soul of William Cowper has transmigrated into any human frame, it is that of the historian of Enthusiasm. Not, indeed, that the poet has found a successor in the magic art of establishing a personal and affectionate intimacy between himself and his readers. There is no new fireside like that of Olney round which we can gather; nor any walks like those of Weston Underwood, of which we are the companions; nor a heart at once broken and playful, whose sorrows and amusements are our own; nor are we surrounded by a family group, with tame hares, spaniels, birdcages, and knitting-needles, as familiar to us as those of

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our own boyhood, and almost as dear,—each in turn reflecting the gentle, thoughtful, elevated mind of him to whom they belonged, in all its vicissitudes of despondency and hope, of grave wisdom, and of a mirth as light and pure as that of infancy. This is the high prerogative of genius, addressing mankind at large through the vernacular idiom of one land in the universal language of all. But Stanford Rivers, the dwelling-place of the anonymous writer of these volumes, has given birth to a succession of efforts to exalt the national character, which might vie with those of Olney and of Weston in piety and earnestness, in genuine freedom of thought, in the relish for domestic pleasures, and for all the innocent delights of life, in the filial love of God, and the brotherly love of man. Learning and logical acumen, and a certain catholicity of mind, which the poet neither possessed nor needed, impart to the works of the essayist a charm, without which it is vain, in these days, to interfere in the debates which agitate society. There is a charm, too, even in his distaste for the pursuits most in request amongst us; for it springs from the grandeur of the ideal excellence by which his imagination is possessed. Omniscience, though veiling its intimations in the coarse mantle of human language, will still emit some gleams of that radiance which illumines the regions of the blessed; and these he would reverently gather and concentrate. There is in Christianity an expansive power, sometimes repressed but never destroyed; and that latent energy he strives to draw forth into life and action. Those mysteries which shroud the condition and the prospects of our race, however inscrutable to the slaves of appetite, are not absolutely impervious to a soul purified by devout contemplation; and to these empyreal heights he aspires at once to point and to lead the way. To him whose foot is firmly planted on the eternal verities of Heaven, there belong motives of such force, and a courage so undaunted, as should burst through all resistance; and he calls on those who enjoy this high privilege to assert their native supremacy above the sordid ambition, the frivolities, and the virulence of the lower world. The voice thus raised in expostulation will die away, not unheeded by the interior circle he addresses, nor unblessed by a meet recompense; but unrewarded, we fear, by the accomplishment of these exalted purposes. Eloquent as is the indignation with which our anonymous monitor regards the low level to which divine and human literature has fallen amongst us, and mean as is his estimate of the pursuits with which the men of his own days are engaged, a hope may perhaps, without presumption, be indulged, that less fastidious and not less capable judges will pronounce a more lenient sentence on us and on our doings.

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In the great cycle of human affairs there are many stages, each essential to the consummation of the designs of Providence, and each separated by broad distinctions from the rest. They whose province it is to censure, and they whose desire it is to improve their age, will never find their sacred fires extinct from the mere want of fuel. History and theory are always at hand with humiliating contrasts to the times we live in. That men have been better or might be better than they are, has been true since the first fathers of our race returned to their native dust, and will still be true as long as our planet shall be inhabited by their descendants. But below the agitated surface of the ocean, under-currents are silently urging forward, on their destined path, the waters of the mighty deep, themselves impelled by that Power which none may question or resist. Human society obeys a similar influence. Laws as anomalous in appearance, as uniform in reality, as those which direct the planetary movements, determine the present state, and regulate the progress of commonwealths, whether political, literary, or religious. Christianity demands the belief, and experience justifies the hope, that their ultimate tendency is towards the universal dominion of piety and virtue. But it is neither pious nor rational to suppose, that this consummation can be attained by any sequence of identical causes constantly working out similar effects. The best generations, like the best men, are those which possess an individual and distinctive character. A chain of splendid biographies constitutes the history of past centuries. Whoever shall weave the chronicles of our own, must take for his staple statistics illuminated by a skilful generalization. Once every eye was directed to the leaders of the world; now all are turned to the masses of which it is composed. Instead of Newtons presiding over royal societies, we have Dr Birkbecks lecturing at mechanics' institutes. If no Wolseys arise to found colleges like that of Christchurch, Joseph Lancaster and William Bell have emulated each other in works not less momentous at the Borough Road and Baldwin's Gardens. We people continents, though we have ceased to discover them. We abridge folios for the many, though we no longer write them for the few. Our fathers compiled systems of divinity—we compose pocket theological libraries. They invented sciences, we apply them. Literature was once an oligarchy, it is now a republic. Our very monitors are affected with the degeneracy they deplore. For the majestic cadence of Milton, and the voluptuous flow of Jeremy Taylor's periods, they substitute the rhetorical philosophy, invented some fifty years since, to countervail the philosophical rhetoric of the French Revolution; and put forth, in a collection

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of essays for the drawingroom, reproofs which the hands of Prynne would have moulded into learned, fierce, and ponderous folios.

It is impossible to prevent—is it wise to bewail, this change in our social and intellectual habits? During the inundations of the Nile, the worship of the mysterious river ceased, and no hymns were heard to celebrate its glories. Idolatry lost its stay, and imagination her excitement; but the land was fertilized. Learning, once banked up in universities and cathedrals, is now diffused through shops and factories. The stream, then so profound and limpid, may now, perhaps, be both shallow and muddy. But is it better that the thirst of a whole nation should be thus slaked, or that the immortals should be quaffing their nectar apart in sublime abstraction from the multitude? There is no immediate and practicable reconcilement of these advantages. Genius, and wit, and science, and whatever else raises man above his fellows, must bend to the universal motives of human conduct. When honour, wealth, public gratitude, and the sense of good desert, reward those who teach elementary truth to the people at large, the wisest and the best will devote to that office powers, which, in a different age, would have been consecrated to more splendid, though not perhaps to more worthy undertakings.

In the state of letters, there is no maintaining a polity in which the three elements of power are blended together in harmonious counterpoise. There a monarch infallibly becomes a despot, and a democracy subjugates to itself whatever else is eminent or illustrious. Divines, poets, and philosophers, addressing millions of readers and myriads of critics, are immediately rewarded by an applause, or punished by a neglect, to which it is not given to mortal man to be superior or indifferent. Inform the national mind, and improve the general taste up to a certain point, and to that point you inevitably depress the efforts of those who are born to instruct the rest. Had Spenser flourished in the nineteenth century, would he have aspired to produce the Faery Queen? Had Walter Scott lived in the sixteenth, would he have condescended to write the Lady of the Lake? Our great men are less great because our ordinary men are less abject. These lamentations over the results of this compromise are rather pathetic than just. It forms one indispensable chapter in the natural history of a people's intellectual progress. It is one of the stages through which the national mind must pass towards the general elevation of literature, sacred and profane. We know not how to regret, that genius has for the moment abdicated her austere supremacy, and stooped to be popular and plain. Mackintosh surrendered his philosophy to the compilation of

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familiar history of England. Faithless to his Peris and Glendoveers, Mr Moore is teaching the commonalty of the realm the sad tale of the woes inflicted on the land of his birth. No longer emulous of Porson, the Bishop of London devotes his learned leisure to preparing cheap and easy lessons for the householders of his diocess. Lord Brougham arrests the current of his eloquence, to instruct mechanics in the principles of the sciences which they are reducing to daily practice. Tracts for the times are extorted from the depositories of ecclesiastical tradition, obedient to the general impulse which they condemn, and constrained to render the Church argumentative, that they may render her oracular. Nay, the author of the 'Natural History of Enthusiasm' himself, despite his own protests, yields at length to the current, and has become the periodical writer of monthly tracts, where, in good round controversial terms, the superficial multitude are called to sit in judgment on the claims of the early fathers to sound doctrine, good morals, and common sense. Let who will repine at what has passed, and at what is passing, if they will allow us to rejoice in what is to come. If we witness the growth of no immortal reputations, we see the expansion of universal intelligence. The disparities of human understanding are much the same in all times; but it is when the general level is the highest that the mighty of the earth rise to the most commanding eminences.

But whatever may be the justice of the hopes we thus indulge for future generations, our business is with ourselves. If, as we think, they are well judging who devote the best gifts of nature and of learning to the instruction of the illiterate, the praise of wisdom is not to be denied to such as write with the more ambitious aim of stimulating the nobler intellects amongst us to enterprises commensurate with their elevated powers. No strenuous effort for the good of mankind was ever yet made altogether in vain; nor will those of our author be fruitless, though the results may fall far short of his aspirations. The general currents of thought and action can never be diverted from their channels, except by minds as rarely produced as they are wonderfully endowed. Energy, decision, and a self-reliance, independent on human praise or censure, are amongst their invariable characteristics. To this sublime order of men the Recluse of Stanford Rivers does not belong. Nor can a place be assigned to him among those calmer spirits, whose inventive genius, or popular eloquence, has enabled them from their solitudes to cast on the agitated mass of society seeds of thought destined at some future period to change the aspect of human affairs. He is an independent more than an original thinker. He is rather exempt

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from fear than animated by ardent courage in announcing the fruits of his enquiries. A great master of language, he is himself but too often mastered by it. He is too much the creature, to become the reformer, of his age. His assiduity to please is fatal to his desire to command. His efforts to move the will are defeated by his success in dazzling the fancy. Yet his books exhibit a character, both moral and intellectual, from the study of which the reader can hardly fail to rise a wiser and a better man. Standing aloof from all vulgar excitements, heedless of the transient politics and the fugitive literature of his times, and intent only on the permanent interests of mankind, he has laboured to promote them with an honest love of truth, aided by brilliant talents, comprehensive knowledge, and undaunted intrepidity. And thus he has come under the guidance of principles, which no man can cultivate in his own bosom, or earnestly impart to other minds, without earning a reward which will render human applause insignificant, or reduce the neglect of the world to a matter of comparative indifference.

ART. VII.—*The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing.* By the Hon. W. G. OSBORNE, Military Secretary to the Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India. *With an Introductory Sketch of the Origin and Rise of the Sikh State.* 8vo. London: 1840.

THIS is not a work of diplomatic or military pretension, nor does the little historical sketch at the beginning add any thing of moment to what was before known respecting the progress of the Sikh power in the north-west of India. It contains only the slight notes of a soldier's observation of the court, military displays, and personal habits of Runjeet Sing, one of the most remarkable among modern Oriental adventurers—a personage to whom our attention has been much drawn of late years, accustomed as we are to watch with jealousy the rise of any compact power on the frontier of our Indian possessions; and the importance of whose alliance has been fully evinced by the service which he rendered us in our recent enterprise beyond the Indus. Although his death has deprived the narrative of some of the attraction which it would otherwise have possessed, it is not without interest as the latest account of a remarkable man, whose monarchy will probably soon be crumbled to pieces, while its name will only remain in history as identified with his own.

Mr Macnaghten, the Political Secretary to the Governme

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was at the head of the mission on which Captain Osborne travelled. It was sent when the menacing advance of the Persians on Herat rendered the alliance of Runjeet a matter of immediate and pressing interest. The party crossed the Sutlege, the north-western boundary of our empire, on the 20th May 1838; and proceeded across the plains of the Punjab towards Adeenanuggur, where the Sihk chieftain was then holding his court. The travellers do not seem to have found much to admire in the natural beauty of this region, which has sometimes been represented in very flattering colours. Captain Burnes travelled over it in the brief spring of that climate, when the plains are covered with a carpet of short close sward, and the atmosphere cool and refreshing; but a few weeks of summer turn the whole into a wide and dusty expanse, with here and there a grove of trees, and irrigated fields along the banks of the five classical rivers which traverse it. The heat is tremendous, and far beyond the ordinary temperature even of the hottest months of eastern and maritime India. At Adeenanuggur, in June, the thermometer ranged from 100° in the day to 90° in the night; on the 9th it was at 112° in the tents all day. At Lahore, on the 17th, matters were little better; but the Captain hit upon an expedient, in the quarters allotted to the mission in the Shalimar Gardens, which seems to have succeeded to admiration. This was—

'Pitching a tent about twelve feet square, made entirely of the fresh cuscus grass, and lined with yellow muslin, very thin, to prevent the water from the outside wetting the furniture, and yet sufficiently fine to allow of a free current of air. This I have pitched in the middle of the large marble hall in the centre of the gardens, the roof of which prevents the sun from striking down; and, all four sides being open, the hot wind is able to blow freely through it, which, by keeping the tent constantly wet on the outside, is converted from something resembling the blast from a furnace into a cool and refreshing, though damp, breeze, and the thermometer brought down to 84°.'

In the end of June, the temperature is abated by the arrival of the violent summer rains.

The mission was introduced to Runjeet at Adeenanuggur:—

'As this was merely an audience of introduction, the object of the mission was not touched upon, and our time was principally occupied in answering Runjeet's innumerable questions, but without the slightest chance of being able to satisfy his insatiable curiosity. It is hardly possible to give an idea of the ceaseless rapidity with which his questions flow, or the infinite variety of subjects they embrace. Do you drink wine? How much? Did you taste the wine which I sent you yesterday? How much of it did you drink? What artillery have you brought with you? Have they got any shells? How many? Do you like

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riding on horseback? What country horses do you prefer? Are you in the army? Which do you like best, cavalry or infantry? Does Lord Auckland drink wine? How many glasses? Does he drink it in the morning? What is the strength of the Company's army? Are they well disciplined? &c.'

Victor Jacquemont, who seems to have attained to a greater degree of intimacy with this singular despot than any other European traveller, says, that his conversation was like a nightmare. But this childish inquisitiveness was no doubt in part assumed from policy, or had become a part of his habitual lesson. It is the common artifice of barbarous chieftains in their intercourse with those more civilized, as a mode of avoiding dangerous topics.

At Adeenanuggur, Captain Osborne became acquainted with many of Runjeet's principal people; for although politically hating the English, they seem to be frank, familiar, and approachable beyond most Orientals. The chief among them were Kurruck Sing, his legitimate son, who has since succeeded him, but has inherited none of his ability; Sher Sing, his adopted son, the bravest of the Sihks, whose rivalry with Kurruck was then the object of much apprehension among all well-wishers to the stability of the dynasty; Dheean Sing, the minister, a fine specimen of the nation, but a determined anti-Anglican; Heera Sing, his son, the first favourite, whose relations with the sovereign are left to be conjectured by those who are familiar with Oriental courts:—

'Soocket Sing, Dheean's brother, is one of the handsomest of the Sihk chiefs, who are all eminently good-looking. He is high in Runjeet's favour, as well as much respected and admired by all the Sihks, and about twenty-eight years of age. His dress was magnificent. A helmet or scullcap, of bright polished steel inlaid with gold, and a deep fringe of chain mail, of the same material, reaching to his shoulders; three plumes of black heron's feathers waving on his crest, and three shawls of lilac, white, and scarlet, twisted very round and tight, interlaced with one another, and gathered round the edge of the helmet; a chelenk of rubies and diamonds on his forehead. Back, breastplates, and gauntlets of steel, richly embossed with gold and precious stones, worn over a rich, thick quilted jacket of bright yellow silk, with magnificent armlets of rubies and diamonds on each arm; a shield of the polished hide of the rhinoceros, embossed and ornamented with gold; a jeweled sabre and matchlock; with his long and glossy black beard and mustachoes—he looked the very *beau idéal* of a Sihk chief.'

The military power of Runjeet was of course ostentatiously displayed before his European visiters; but, on the whole, the impression of it which we derive from Captain Osborne's pages is not so favourable as that which it appears to have made on

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some former observers; especially on Sir Alexander Burnes, who visited that sovereign before the romance of his greatness had been a little dissipated by closer acquaintance. The Captain was most struck with the proficiency of the artillery; an arm in which Asiatic armies have seldom excelled, and which it is creditable to Runjeet to have kept on so superior a footing; inasmuch as the expenses attending it must have tried his parsimonious disposition more than those of any other branch of his service. The regular infantry form a fine-looking body; composed, as they are, of the tallest of the Asiatic races, who seem to maintain in this respect the physical superiority which distinguished those dwelling on the banks of the Five Rivers in the days of Alexander. The view of a body of these troops, which Runjeet Sing exhibited to his English visiters, must have been a noble one to a military eye:—

'It consisted of about twelve thousand men, and reached to the gates of Lahore, above two miles. I never saw so straight or beautiful a line with any troops. They were all dressed in white, with black cross-belts, and either a red or yellow silk turban, (the shako, it seems, is an European appendage, to which it had been found impossible as yet to reconcile them,) armed with muskets and bayonets of excellent manufacture, from Runjeet's foundery at Lahore.'

But with all this imposing appearance, there were evidently serious deficiencies in the method of the Maharajah. His best troops were ill-officered, and worse paid.

'He asked several questions about our mode of paying troops; and mentioned his having been obliged to disband some hundreds of men from the regiments at Peshowar for mutiny. I asked when they had been last paid. "Eighteen months ago, and yet they were discontented." "Very odd," I replied. "What should you do in such a case?" I explained that it could not have happened in our service, where the men were regularly paid. He replied, "So are mine: and more than that, the rascals have been living on plunder for the last six months!" I tried in vain to impress upon him, that I did not see exactly how else they could live.'

The following anecdote, if true, gives a tolerable notion of what their boasted discipline amounts to:—

'They tell rather an amusing story of some of Runjeet's crack regiments during one of his actions with Dost Mahommed, which will show how little dependence can be placed on their discipline in a case of emergency. During a very critical period of the action, Runjeet saw an advantageous opening for the advance of part of his reserve, which was composed of his best regiments, and he accordingly gave the order for one of the brigades to come to the support of his advance; to which the only reply he received was, an universal shout from the men, drill and manœuvres did very well in peace time and on parade,

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but that they could not stand it now when they were really in action, and that they must fight in their own way, or they would not fight at all! They accordingly all broke from their ranks, every man fighting for himself, and of course in a few minutes were completely routed and beaten.'—P. 157.

The truth is, that the notion of maintaining armies disciplined after the European fashion, has hitherto only been one of those delusions which have misled many of our Indian neighbours to their destruction. It seems to be easy enough to drill the pliable Orientals into making a respectable show on parade. A few European instructors can train, after this fashion, a corps of many thousand; but to give them that steadiness which is the basis of all good qualities in the regular soldier, requires a great number of European officers, strong control by those officers over their men, regular pay and good treatment; and, above all, a systematic perseverance which no Indian government has ever shown. At every great crisis in our Eastern affairs, rumour has alarmed us with accounts of the disciplined troops of our antagonists, and their European commanders; but in no single instance have these vaunted armies ever made serious opposition to our advance. On the contrary, reliance on them has frequently proved fatal to their masters, by urging them on to measures of defiance and acts of imprudence. Such was the destiny of Tippoo, the Nizam, Scindia, and others of our most renowned opponents; while the most obstinate enemies with whom we have had to deal, have been those who have had the wisdom to make use of their native methods of warfare, and the natural advantages of their respective countries. If Runjeet had ever allowed the rash impetuosity of his Sihk favourites to get the better of his policy, and confronted us with his forty or fifty thousand drilled infantry in the plains of the Punjab, the result must have been his destruction;—even supposing that the popular suspicion respecting the personal courage of the showy Sihks, to which Captain Osborne more than once alludes, had no foundation.

Of all this, indeed, their chieftain seems to have been himself aware; although, as the Captain acutely remarks, he was perhaps the only individual in his dominions who estimated these troops at their real value.

'He is well aware that the knowledge of the fact of his maintaining upwards of twenty thousand regular infantry, armed and disciplined like Europeans, has done more towards keeping his refractory sirdars in order, than the fear of ten times their number of irregular forces would have done; and he is also well aware of the moral influence he derives from the reputation of being able to bring into the field, at a moment's notice a body of infantry which, compared with those of other native power

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may be called highly disciplined and effective; and while he relies much on this influence, he places little confidence in their actual services.'—P. 158.

The cavalry appeared to Captain Osborne the worst appointed part of the service.

'I took the opportunity of looking at the two squadrons of General Allard's cavalry, who were on the ground. They were the first of them I had yet met with, and I was much disappointed in their appearance. They do not look to advantage by the side of the infantry. They are men of all ages, ill-looking, ill-dressed, and worse mounted, and neither in appearance or reality are they to be compared with the infantry soldier of the Punjab. One reason for this is, that Runjeet personally inspects every recruit for his infantry, whilst the cavalry is generally recruited from the followers of the different sirdars, and most of them owe their appointments to favour and interest, more than to their fitness and capability.'

A still better reason was probably to be found in his avarice, which neutralized all that the zeal and intelligence of Allard could perform in his service. He seems to have regarded both that officer and General Ventura, useful and faithful as they had been to him, with uniform distrust. They only shared, in this respect, the general lot of European adventurers in the service of native princes—one of the most uncomfortable and humiliating conditions to which a man of talent and character can reduce himself.

A singular portion of Runjeet's military force were the 'Akalees,' or Immortals;—a sort of Sihk fanatics, who must be very disagreeable subjects in peace whatever may be their character in war.

'They are, without any exception, the most insolent and worthless race of people in all India. They are religious fanatics, and acknowledge no ruler and no laws but their own: think nothing of robbery, or even murder, should they happen to be in the humour for it. They move about constantly, armed to the teeth; and it is not an uncommon thing to see them riding about with a drawn sword in each hand, two more in their belt, a matchlock at their back, and three or four pair of quoits fastened round their turbans. The quoit is an arm peculiar to this race of people; it is a steel ring, varying from six to nine inches in diameter, and about an inch in breadth, very thin, and the edges ground very sharp; they are said to throw it with such accuracy and force, as to be able to lop off a limb at sixty or eighty yards' distance; but I have several times invited them to show their dexterity, without witnessing any proof of it that could convince me of the truth of this supposed accuracy. In general, the bystanders have been in greater danger than the object aimed at.'

Runjeet continued to raise irregular regiments of these sava-

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ges, and turned them to some use;—personally, however, he was obliged to bear towards them the same deportment which Victor Jacquemont says was shown them by all prudent men—namely, to treat them as ill-tempered dogs, and take no notice of them so long as they contented themselves with barking.

'At any review where these regiments may be paraded, it is still a common occurrence for them, on marching past him, to throw handfuls of musket-balls at his feet, and abuse and insult him in every sort of manner, frequently threatening his life—a threat which, in more than one instance, they have attempted to fulfil. The Maharajah bears it all with the greatest coolness, and they proceed with perfect impunity until they are detected in any great crime, such as robbery or murder, when he shows no mercy, and they are immediately deprived of either their noses, ears, arms, or legs, according to the degree of their offence.'

They are useful when acts of desperate valour are needed. During the progress of a negotiation, while Runjeet was besieging Moultan in 1815, 'An Akalee, named Sadhoo Sing, with a 'few companions, advanced to the *fausse braye*, and without 'orders, in one of their fits of enthusiasm, attacked the Affghans, 'who were sleeping or careless on their watch, and killed every 'man. The Sihk army took advantage of the opportunity, and, 'rushing on, in two hours carried the citadel.'

Avarice, carried to an extreme degree, was the besetting weakness of Runjeet in his latter days, as much as rapacity had been in the earlier and more adventurous period of his life. It is well known how he involved his dominions in an expensive war, to get possession of a famous horse called Leili; and nothing can be more characteristic than his barefaced robbery of poor Shah Shooja, the lately reinstated monarch of the Affghans. That prince was obliged, in his misfortunes, to apply to Runjeet for protection; and the latter determined to make him pay for it, by extorting from him the celebrated diamond called Koh-i-Nor, or the 'Mountain of Light,' which the conqueror Nadir Shah had abstracted from the peacock-throne of Delhi.

'The eagerness of the Sihk to obtain, and the reluctance of the Affghan to resign, this celebrated jewel, (alike renowned for its magnitude and its migrations,) appear to have been of equal intensity: but not so the power of the contending parties. The character of Runjeet, more unscrupulous than cruel, was curiously displayed in the measures he adopted to possess himself of this highly coveted prize. No greater severity was employed than appeared absolutely necessary to vanquish the obstinacy of the Shah, and none was omitted which promised the accomplishment of that end. *The exiled family was deprived of all nourishment during two days;* but when their firmness was found proof against hunger, food was supplied. It was in vain that the Shah denied that the diamond was in his possession; and having exhausted remon-

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strance, resorted to artifice and delay. Runjeet was neither to be deceived nor diverted from his purpose, and at length Shah Shooja, wearied out by importunity and severity, and seeing that nothing else would satisfy the rapacity of Runjeet, agreed to give up the jewel. Accordingly, on the 1st June 1813, the Maharajah waited on the Shah, for the purpose of the surrender. He was received with great dignity by the Prince, and both being seated, there was a solemn silence, which lasted nearly an hour. Runjeet then grew impatient, and whispered an attendant to remind the Shah of the object of the meeting. No answer was returned; but the Shah made a signal with his eyes to a eunuch, who retired, and brought in a small roll, which he placed on the carpet, at equal distances between the two chiefs. Runjeet ordered the roll to be unfolded, when the diamond was exhibited to his sight. He recognised, seized it, and immediately retired.'—P. 32.

At Adeenanuggur the mission had an opportunity of seeing a personage called the 'burying Faqueer;' whose feats had attracted much attention in the upper provinces, and even became the subject of a grave article in a work on the 'Medical Topography of Loodhiana,' by Dr M'Gregor of the Artillery.

'He is held in extraordinary respect by the Sihks, from his alleged capacity of being able to bury himself alive for any period of time. So many stories were current on the subject, and so many respectable individuals maintained the truth of these stories, that we all felt curious to see him. He professes to have been following this trade, if so it may be called, for some years; and a considerable time ago several extracts from the letters of individuals who had seen the man in the upper provinces, appeared in the Calcutta papers, giving some account of his extraordinary powers, which were at the time, naturally enough, looked upon as mere attempts at a hoax upon the inhabitants of Calcutta. Captain Wade, political agent at Loodhiana, told me that he was present at his resurrection after an interment of some months, General Ventura having buried him in the presence of the Maharajah, and many of his principal sirdars: and, as far as I can recollect, these were the particulars as witnessed by General Ventura:—After going through a regular course of preparation, which occupied him some days, and the details of which are too disgusting to dilate upon, the Faqueer reported himself ready for interment, in a vault which had been prepared for the purpose by order of the Maharajah. On the appearance of Runjeet and his court, he proceeded to the final preparations that were necessary, in their presence; and after stopping with wax his ears, nostrils, and every other orifice, through which it was possible for air to enter his body, except his mouth, he was stripped and placed in a linen bag; and the last preparation concluded by turning his tongue back, and thus closing the gullet; he immediately died away into a sort of lethargy. The bag was then closed, and sealed with Runjeet's own seal; and afterwards placed in a small deal box, which was also locked and sealed. The box was then placed in a vault, the earth thrown in and trod down, and

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a crop of barley sown over the spot, and sentries placed round it. The Maharajah was, however, very sceptical on the subject, and twice in the course of the ten months he remained under ground, sent people to dig him up, when he was found to be in exactly the same position, and in a state of perfectly suspended animation. At the termination of the ten months, Captain Wade accompanied the Maharajah to see him disinterred, and states that he examined him personally and minutely, and was convinced that all animation was perfectly suspended. He saw the locks opened, and the seals broken by the Maharajah, and the box brought into the open air. The man was then taken out, and on feeling his wrist and heart, not the slightest pulsation was perceptible. The first thing towards restoring him to life, was the forcing his tongue back to its proper position, which was done with some little difficulty, by a person inserting his finger and forcibly pulling it back, and continuing to hold it until it gradually resumed its natural place. Captain Wade described the top of his head to have been considerably heated, but all other parts of the body cool and healthy in appearance. Pouring a quantity of warm water over him, constitutes the only farther measure for his restoration, and in two hours' time he is as well as ever. . . . . He states that his thoughts and dreams are most delightful, and that it is painful to him to be awoke from his lethargy. His nails and hair cease growing, and on his first disinterment he is for a short time giddy and weak, but very soon recovers his natural health and spirits. His only fear whilst in his grave is of being attacked by insects, which he obviates by having his box suspended from the cieling.'—P. 123.

In an unlucky hour for his saintship, he volunteered to have his pretensions tested in the presence of the English envoys, on their arrival at Lahore. On their suggesting a few additional precautions—producing padlocks, and proposing to post sentries of their own, the poor Faqueer first diplomatized, then blustered, and finally 'bolted,' and fairly refused to submit to the conditions. But his fear of Runjeet's anger, and the loss of his own importance, quite overcame his objections to being actually buried alive. He offered to

'Agree to the proposed terms, though he felt sure that our object was only to destroy him, and that we knew very well that he never would come out alive! I told him in reply, that I was as certain as himself of the latter fact, and that though there were no coroner's inquests in the Punjab, I had still a strong objection to having his death laid at my door; and that, as he himself now allowed the danger of the attempt, I must decline having any thing more to do with it.'

So the credit of the conjurer stands in the Punjab, we suppose, on as firm a footing as ever. If the Faqueer actually had set up for a saint on the strength of his wonderful performances, it might undoubtedly be a meritorious act to unmask him. Otherwise, there was some degree of hardship in the proceeding. The trade of a juggler is harmless and amusing:—and it seems hard

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that the powers of a swallower of swords should be tried, by proposing to allow another to thrust one down his throat; or those of a fire-king, by forcing him to imbibe prussic acid under medical superintendence; or those of a burying Faqueer, by not being suffered to bury himself in his own way. Let the observers find out the trick if they can; but it is a little cruel to dispel the illusion by such expedients.

Although the visit lasted only a few weeks, Captain Osborne became a great favourite with the politic ruler of the Punjab; and though he did not actually offer him the government of a province, as he did to Victor Jacquemont, (if the gasconades of that ingenious traveller are to be taken for granted,) he made him various tenders, some of them of a nature little accordant with our notions of Oriental feeling respecting females. But Runjeet Sing's proceedings and opinions were peculiar, and partook of that absence of all strong passion which seems to have characterised the man. A remarkable as well as amusing instance we shall give in the words of Captain Osborne. The heroine of the story was one of Runjeet's famous Cachemerian Amazons—a corps of young females whom he disciplined, in one of his fancies, into a corps of cavalry, and of whom he stood in greater awe than of the stoutest and most mutinous Sihks of his army.

'One of these girls, called the 'Lotus,' is rather a celebrated character at the court of Lahore. Runjeet Sing received her, with the tribute, from Cachemere about two years ago, when she was said to have been very beautiful. He fell violently in love with her, and fancied that his affection was as violently returned. One evening, in the course of conversation with General Ventura, an Italian officer in his service, when the girl was dancing before them, he made some remark upon her attachment to him, which he declared was purely disinterested, and too strong to be shaken by any offers of advantage or affection she might receive from other quarters. Ventura was incredulous; and Runjeet Sing, highly indignant at this doubt of his powers of attraction, defied him to seduce her, and promised to put no obstacles in his way, farther than stipulating that she should be placed in the customary seclusion of his zenana. After several polite speeches on the part of Ventura, upon the impropriety of his attempting to rival his sovereign, the challenge was accepted, and the young lady immediately transferred to the royal seraglio, with every precaution to ensure her safety.

> 'Shakspeare described the sex in Desdemona
> As very fair, but yet suspect in fame;
> And to this day, from Venice to Verona,
> Such matters may be probably the same."

'They are so in the Punjab most certainly; for scarce had eight-and-forty hours elapsed ere the hoary old lion of Lahore was aroused from his happy dreams of love and affection, by the intelligence that his guards

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were faithless, his harem violated, and himself deserted; and that the lovely Lotus had, nothing loth, been transplanted from her royal lover's garden to the Italian's, where she was then blooming in all her native beauty.

'Runjeet Sing bore her desertion with great equanimity, and in a short time she returned to her allegiance, and is now enrolled in his corps of Amazons. She has lately been very ill, and is said to be much altered in appearance, but is still a very lovely girl.'

This lady told Captain Osborne, that her royal lover had endowed her with seven villages, by way of providing her with a suitable income; and there were few of the corps of Amazons, it seems, who could not boast of some such dotation—so completely have the customs of the ancient monarchy of Persia descended from age to age in the unchangeable East. It is a singular and melancholy conclusion of the history of the Lotus, that she burned herself on the funeral pile of Runjeet Sing; although, like Goethe's Bayaderé, she had no call to such an act of self-devotion, and no title to share in the fearful honour which his four legitimate wives derived from it. A sceptic in female virtue might argue from this example that it is easier, at least in the East, to encounter a hideous death for a lord and master, than to remain constant to him.

The hateful debaucheries in which the conqueror of the Punjab indulged, are too well known to need recapitulation. Captain Osborne, it seems, had the honour of being invited more than once to take his share in the Maharajah's drinking parties.

'His wine is extracted from raisins, with a quantity of *pearls* ground to powder and mixed with it, for no other reason that I can hear, than to add to the expense of it. It is made for himself alone, and though he sometimes gives a few bottles to some of his favourite chiefs, it is very difficult to be procured, even at the enormous price of one gold *mohur* for a small bottle.

'It is as strong as aquafortis, and as at his parties he always helps you himself, it is no easy matter to avoid excess. He generally, on these occasions, has two or three Hebes, in the shape of the prettiest of his Cachemerian girls, to attend upon himself and guests, and gives way to every species of licentious debauchery. He fell violently in love with one of these fair cup-bearers about two years ago, and actually married her, after parading her on a pillion before himself on horseback, through the camp and city for two or three days, to the great disgust of all his people. The only food allowed you at these drinking bouts is fat quails, stuffed with all sorts of spices; and the only thing to allay your thirst, naturally consequent upon eating such heating food, is this abominable liquid fire. Runjeet himself laughs at our wines, and says that he drinks for excitement, and that the sooner that object is attained the better. Of all the wines we brought with us as a present to him from the governor-general, consisting of port

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claret, hock, champagne, &c., the *whisky* was the only thing he liked.'—P. 189.

We suspect that the story of the pearls was a mere invention of the Maharajah's, to justify the charge which he thought proper to make for his liquor.

In the midst of his excesses and intrigues—in the full indulgence of licentiousness and ambition—Runjeet Sing was called to his account—worn-out and decrepit—at the age of sixty. His character, when fairly considered according to such authorities as we possess, resembled in most of its features those of other recent founders of military monarchies in the East—such as Ali Pasha of Albania, and, in some degree, the present ruler of Egypt. In all of them we trace the same almost instinctive disposition to artifice and chicanery; the same species of deliberate courage, useful rather than chivalrous, unsheathing itself only where a plain opportunity offers of striking with advantage; the same strange mixture of unbelief and fanaticism in religious matters; and the same tendency in the later years of life to miserly habits—deadening by degrees not only the nobler qualities of the heart, but the acuteness of the intellect. There were, however, many differences between them, both in circumstances and disposition. Runjeet Sing does not seem to have had either the extraordinary daring, or the equally extraordinary *finesse* of our ancient ally, the Albanian tyrant; but he had over him the great advantage of humanity. He was by no means cruel by temperament, and his policy confirmed him in the practice of clemency. He never took away life—a strange example among the sanguinary rulers of Persia and India; and though his justice in other respects was summary and savage enough, it was mildness itself in comparison of that which was administered from the durbars of his neighbours. He is not to be compared, undoubtedly, to the Pasha of Egypt, either for the grandeur of his projects or for compass of mind; but having to deal with very different subjects—with independent Sihks whom it was necessary to control by management, instead of a wretched peasantry, with whom the only problem was, to stop short in the course of oppression exactly at the point beyond which it would have exhausted and destroyed them, he has necessarily pursued a more useful though less ambitious career. On the whole, his detestable profligacy apart, there are few Eastern despots who will have left a better personal character in history, when little or nothing else is left of his name, and the fabric of his policy shall have fallen to pieces. This will probably soon be the case. He seems to have looked to Britain for the maintenance of his monarchy in the person of his

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son; but Britain has no means of preserving in amity a body composed of a hundred petty republics or clans, held together for a time by the genius of a single chief. If we are to maintain all our positions beyond the Indus, it will probably be necessary for us to command, in some way or other, the passes of the five tributary rivers which wash the plain between that great stream and our western frontier; but to control the conflicting passions and interests of the chiefs of Lahore, seems beyond our power.

'From the moment that Runjeet allied himself with us,' (says our author,) 'he appears to have cast away all doubt, jealousy, and fear; to have treated us with uniform cordiality, and to have reposed with entire confidence on our friendship and support—a confidence which is now repaid by the exercise of our influence and authority to secure to his legitimate son, and designated heir, the inheritance of the kingdom which was created by the wisdom and the valour of his father.'

Short has been the period that 'our influence and authority' furnished this security! Captain Osborne—more honest than the Abbé Vertot, who refused to stop, in their passage through the press, those pages of his work in which he predicted the immortality of the Swedish constitution, when the news arrived that the King had abolished it—has appended the following note to this passage:—

'The reign of Kurruck Sing, who mounted the throne upon the death of his father Runjeet, has been of brief duration. For while these sheets are going through the press, intelligence has been received of a revolution in the court of Lahore, by which Kurruck was dethroned, and his son elevated to the musnud in his stead.'

ART. VIII.—*Speeches in the House of Commons on the Motion of* Sir J. Y. BULLER, '*That her Majesty's Government, as at pre-sent constituted, does not possess the confidence of this House.*' 8vo. London: 1840.

IN a free country like ours, periods recur at which it specially becomes the interest, as it is always the duty, of those who desire the preservation and improvement of our institutions, to consider attentively the state of parties, and the principles professed and acted upon by the men who possess, and by those who seek to obtain, political power. At all times these enquiries are important; but at a time like the present, when parties in the legislature are nearly balanced, and when unexpected events have more than once brought the objects of ambition within

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the sight, and almost within the grasp of the leaders of Opposition, it is incumbent upon all who have political duties to discharge, to weigh well the relative claims of the parties contending for dominion, and to ascertain the trustworthiness of those to whom the public interests are confided. In despotic countries such enquiries are perhaps of less importance—where the sabre or the bowstring decide upon a royal succession, and where, as has been well expressed, 'le despotisme est temperé per l'assassinat,' the agents or the opposers of revolutions may be few in number, or they may not be of a class accessible to sober reason. Where military power, or the brutal force of the multitude decides the fortune of a dynasty, it is not to the precepts of the philosopher, or the examples of the historian, that those who attack or those who defend are wont to appeal. But far different is the case under a constitutional government like ours. With us the base on which political power rests, is wide and strong. It includes the whole mass of the population, there being none who are debarred from the possibility of acquiring political rights; and every right so acquired involves a duty to the state, which can only be effectually discharged where a just estimate is formed of political parties and of public men. It is the diffusion of power among all classes which constitutes the real strength of the state. From the minister who advises the Crown, to the humblest non-elector, who, through the medium of opinion and of influence, acts on those who possess the franchise, the chain is unbroken. Rights exist which are to be protected, duties exist which are to be performed: whether a parliamentary vote is given which decides the fate of a government, or a shout is raised at the hustings for or against a candidate, it is only by a just consideration of facts, and a fair estimate of principles, that the peer or the peasant can effectually discharge his functions.

We do not pretend to approach the consideration of this question with indifference, or with apathy. One of the besetting sins to which nations in an advanced state of civilisation are liable, is a careless insensibility to the public character of their rulers. The number of those who only seek and require tranquillity and repose, may undoubtedly comprehend many very excellent persons. But their sluggishness to public interests is a great evil. It is an evil, as it leaves the political arena to be occupied only by the fierce zealots of party; it is an evil, as it withdraws a considerable portion of the community from the performance of duty, or in other words from the school of virtue; it is an evil, as it limits the sympathy which is felt for public exertion, and diminishes the impulses which public opinion should ever give to public men. 'A base and inglorious sloth,' observes Mr Burke,

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'is the master-vice in men of business:' it is a vice scarcely less formidable in those by whom the actions of men of business are to be weighed, and their merits rewarded. The secession of the calm and of the reasonable deprives party-spirit of all moderating powers: the ship is sent adrift without adequate ballast; it first degrades political struggles by lowering their dignity, and having degraded political men in public estimation, acting in a vicious circle, it justifies the degradations to which it has mainly contributed. In this class of lukewarm politicians we desire not to be enrolled. On the contrary, we are inclined to think that those who act upon the low and contemptible principle of caring but little who are to guide and to govern, are unworthy of a safe guide and of an honest government, which constitute the glory of a free state.

Nor is the duty which is to be performed in the days in which we live, more imperative in its character than it appears to us to be clear and easy in its performance. In a parliamentary government there must be always two great and leading divisions, under which, parties, however broken into more minute sections, must ultimately be enrolled;—the one, a party which, feeling confidence in the people, will, alike in applying the principles of executive government and of legislation, favour all propositions for the extension of public liberty, so far as is consistent with order and with security; the other, a party distrusting the judgment and the virtue of the people, and which seeks to confine their rights and powers within the narrowest limits compatible with contentment and obedience. Both principles are liable to be carried to a dangerous excess. But, assuming a reasonable and constitutional application of the one and of the other, the practical question is, to which our preference ought to be given; and which principle is most consistent with human happiness, and most in conformity with those general laws which Providence has ordained for the government of mankind. Lord Bacon has truly observed that the mind cannot remain stationary—it must go back if it does not advance; and the political party which vainly imagines that they can compel all around them to stand still, because they are themselves afraid of an onward movement, commit as great a blunder as that of a man who seeks to control the motion of a steam-engine by overloading the safety-valve, in place of guiding the action of the machine.

At no one period of our history does it appear to us that this great and leading distinction has been more obvious and palpable than at the present—provided we judge of parties by their acts, rather than by their professions. The ruling passion may not be avowed; but it influences when it does not absolutely govern.

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Whigs and Tories may inscribe what devices they please upon their banners; but the one party acts upon the principle of confidence and of progress, the other regulates its proceedings by the opposite principle of mistrust and of restraint. It is between these two antagonist opinions that Parliament has lately decided, and that the public are called upon to decide; and it is by the judgment, when finally pronounced, that the future destinies of this country must be determined.

It should be remembered that the one of these principles as well as the other is capable of almost an indefinite application. It is not a naked profession of faith which either party adopts. From the high functions of the legislature itself to the lowest duties of administration in a parish vestry, these principles of good and evil are in opposition. Even were the legislative measures proposed by the two parties the same, the consequences of those measures would very widely differ. A reform, liberally and cheerfully proposed by those who have been and are reformers, binds the people to the constitution; the same enactments, tardily and reluctantly conceded, only gratify self-love, perpetuate party violence, and provoke to further aggression. Measures of restraint, where unhappily necessary, are submitted to, if introduced by friends of the people, whose feelings and inclinations form the best evidence that such restraints are recommended with regret, and that they will be limited both in their force and in their duration. Nor is it otherwise in the administration of public affairs. A popular spirit may be infused into the administration of a turnpike-trust, or applied in the meetings of Justices at quarter-sessions. It was observable that Grosvenor Square was for a season a sacred district, into which the alarming novelties of gas-lamps and macadamized pavement were not allowed to enter. The Tory party would in like manner reject all improvements, unless demonstrated by actual experiment, and yet would resist all experiment as a dangerous innovation.

We have stated the nice balance of parties in Parliament to be a reason why the claims and the conduct of both Whigs and Tories should be carefully scrutinized and compared. There are other motives, also, which render such an examination most important. If it can be proved that either of these parties is fighting under false banners—seeking and obtaining support under false pretences—that one profession of faith is made in Parliament to influence a division, and another in popular assemblies to deceive the constituencies;—if these frauds can be exposed, and this want of truth and of directness can be held up to the scorn and contempt of the people, not only will that good be attained which is always consequent upon the unmasking of

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hypocrisy, but the real objects of the contest may be rendered obvious to all who are called upon to judge and to act.

A consideration of the present state and conduct of parties will be somewhat amusing, if not important, on another ground also. In the operations carried on during the last parliamentary recess, there have been some evolutions of so very extraordinary a nature, that it may not be without use that the feats of activity of certain posture-masters, who have exhibited or exposed themselves on various provincial theatres, should be preserved from that oblivion into which they might otherwise fall. It would be a pity if those marvellous performers should be altogether forgotten, and if they should not attain all the credit from a grateful posterity, which the vigour, if not the grace, of their movements has so richly merited. The character of the stratification, to use a geological figure, is sometimes ascertained by the *exuviæ* of the fossilized animals which a rock contains; and the proceedings of the Tory party in 1839 may hereafter be illustrated by the specimens which we are inclined to collect for our museum—'not that the things themselves are rich or rare.'

On the main question, the authorities to which we are enabled to appeal, and the data from which our inferences will be drawn, are all of the greatest weight. The relative merits of the contending parties have been brought to issue by themselves; the trial has taken place; no technical difficulties were raised to shake the credit or the competency of the witnesses produced; actions, words, and even intentions, past, present, and future, were relied upon on both sides; the leaders of the Whigs and of the Conservatives were employed as advocates, and there was no lack of power, eloquence, and subtlety on their part. Neither were the public unprepared for the great struggle, nor indifferent to its results. The government of this free country was the subject of contention; the sovereign and the people were parties to the suit; the popular branch of our legislature was called upon to decide. Nor was this decision sought upon any one insulated point, on which victory or defeat might be unimportant. The conflict was not a war of outposts. The assailants had the choice of every point of attack. The internal state of the country, the condition of Ireland, trade, finance, foreign policy, the colonies, Canada, India, Jamaica, Education, Church affairs, the claims of the Dissenters—all these difficult and important questions were subjected to the most adverse examination. The circumstances of the times were peculiarly favourable to the attack. During the recess, no pains had been spared to instil into the public mind a distrust of their rulers—to persuade them that, if trade failed in America, it was the work

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of the Whigs; that if the harvest was deficient, the want of 'alternate showers and cloudless skies' was traceable to the Board of Trade; that the demand for gold, and the state of the foreign exchanges, proceeded from the acts of the Treasury. These and similar absurdities were circulated by that class to whom the Chinese title of *laboriously vile* is so peculiarly applicable. To these misrepresentations and falsehoods were added the loudest boastings of increased strength and power, and the most confident expectations of success. The meeting of Parliament was held out to be that fortunate dawn in which the Tory Ajax was to fight and win. The time, the circumstances, the weapons, the conditions of the strife, were all selected by the assailants. The day arrived: the lists were opened: and the Eglintoun Tournament itself did not prove a more entire failure. The return, after the division, was as rueful a procession as that to the Castle. The whole scene is described to the life by a late American traveller. 'It was curious to remark how the general aspect 'of the multitude was changed by the substitution of disap-'pointment for expectation. The lagging gait and surly silence, 'in place of the elastic step and merry joke, seemed to have 'darkened the scene more than the withdrawal of the sun.'

'Sad was the hour, and dismal was the day,
When from St Stephen's courts they took their luckless way.'

To be serious: no sooner was the judgment of Parliament pronounced, than the beaten party raised an objection to the competency of the court to which they had themselves appealed. They now object to the jurisdiction—so low, so degraded, and so unprincipled a House of Commons, is declared to be unworthy and incapable of determining a great national question. More eager and sincere partisans go further, and affirm that no House of Commons, elected under the Reform Bill, is competent to express the sense of the people, or to tender advice to the Crown. A third party, more reckless still, lays down a more dangerous doctrine: one general challenge is taken to the votes of Scotch and of Irish members—they are proclaimed to belong to an inferior class and caste. Distinctions inconsistent with all national strength are drawn, and the union of the three crowns is presumptuously severed by those who insult any portion of the representatives of the people, by excluding them from that perfect equality which is their constitutional right. This most dangerous argument is now specially applied to the Irish members; and, to make it more absurd, it is advanced in reference to Irish debates. Because Ireland is that part of the empire which is the most deeply interested in a particular legislative measure—because the happiness and well-being of the Irish people

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are at stake—therefore, and on that special ground, the Irish members are held to be unworthy of considerance, and their votes are to be rejected as of no account. We are really at a loss to conceive whether the liberality or the logic of this argument is the most entitled to our admiration. But, though the objection is professedly used against the Irish members, it is not confined within so narrow a circle. The same reflections have been unsparingly cast upon the Scotch representatives also; and, in the approaching discussions of those ecclesiastical questions which must soon come before Parliament, we should not be surprised to find that the politicians who stigmatize the national establishment of Scotland as being 'a religion without a church,' may hereafter protest against a conscientious vote of the Scotch members; and may prefer, to such an expression of our wishes and feelings, the doctrines of Episcopalian divines and of Tory politicians. The votes of the members for Edinburgh and Leith may yet be challenged by the representatives of Oxford and of Cambridge, when the latter come forward to propose, as a remedy for our religious dissensions, the establishment of a Bishop's see at Auchterarder, or of a Dean and Chapter at Strathbogie!

The decision of the House of Commons has been pronounced, and has been pronounced by a majority greater than was anticipated. Against that decision exception is taken, and a protest entered. To what other and higher tribunal do the Tory politicians intend to carry their case? We presume that they can only refer to the judgment of public opinion—to the judgment of those calm and reasonable men who read and think, who enquire and judge for themselves. If this be the tribunal before which the Tory party is desirous that the cause should be heard, we bow to its competency. We venture to anticipate that the judgment of the House of Commons will be affirmed, and the appeal dismissed.

Before we refer to the more direct charges against the Government, it is, however, necessary to dispose of one general objection, upon which, if it were valid, the whole question might turn. It is asserted that the Government and their supporters form an incongruous mass, united by no common or intelligible principle, and making to each other the most unworthy and disgraceful sacrifices, to retain power and to defeat their political opponents. Reserving for after-consideration the enquiry, whether this charge does not justly apply to the Opposition, we proceed to consider it and the evidence on which it rests. If we examine the principles which must ever guide the conduct of the popular party in this, or any other country, we must perceive that they rest upon freedom of judgment, and a protest against the slavish adoption of

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a restricted political creed. The faith of those who are opposed to all change may, on the contrary, be one and indivisible. Those who are afraid of winding up their watches, will never complain of any difference in their movements. The hands may be made to point to the same hours, and they may continue models of the most orthodox uniformity. But those who assign a wider sphere to the destiny of man—those who have a nobler sense of human duties—those whose hope and humble prayer it is, to be made instrumental not only in preserving what is given, but in increasing the sum of human virtue, happiness, and freedom, cannot so easily bring their minds into this perfect political unity. To reproach the Liberal party because their opinions differ, is only to reiterate the accusations brought against the Reformed Churches by the Church of Rome. Our political Drydens may personify their Tory faith by the 'milk-white hind, immortal and unchanged,' though the public will not, as far as we can anticipate, say of that faith, 'it feared no danger, for it owned no sin.' Civil as well as religious liberty, leads to the same consequences. There must arise in both cases differences, though not necessarily oppositions of opinion. Political as well as religious sects will spring up; but it does not follow that one common constitutional, as well as one common Christian feeling, may not pervade and govern all. At all events, if they cannot claim a unity of spirit, it behoves them to maintain the bond of peace. If this be not the case, what becomes of the common tie which unites all the Reformed Churches—what becomes of the tie which ought to connect together the friends of freedom in all lands?

Nor do these inevitable and admitted differences of political opinion in the Liberal party, imply, or necessarily produce, any selfish or unworthy sacrifices. No such thing. They require, it is true, somewhat more of a candid and wise toleration than the imperfections of our nature and the heats of political party permit. The advocates for triennial parliaments may, with perfect consistency, vote for reducing their duration from seven to five years. The friend of household suffrage may, without self-reproach, give his support to a repeal of the rate-paying clauses. The believer in the Ballot may, notwithstanding his trust in mechanical inventions, lend his aid to any remedy tending by moral means to secure the independence of the voter. Above all, if acting on behalf of the public with sincerity and earnestness, he can never hesitate in preferring that party which is friendly to the extension of popular rights, to opponents who declare such extension to be dangerous or impracticable.

There exists, it is true, a small, conceited, and headstrong party, influenced by disappointed vanity or by a strange perversion of

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mind, who act upon the principle, that a grievance is better than a remedy. They reverse the proverb, and believe that no bread is better than half a loaf. Dissatisfied with the constitution of Parliament, they prefer the rejection to the adoption of good legislative measures. They hope that the House of Lords may dissent from popular acts, in order that a case may be made out against that branch of the legislature. They are as reluctant as the Bishop of Exeter that one single cathedral should be shorn of its prebendaries, lest the anxiety for Church reform should be diminished. This political sect we may term the sect of the *Impracticables*; but it is neither very numerous nor important, though in its little way it has been productive of much occasional mischief. Its leaders, indeed, have not scrupled to lay down the doctrine of the homœopathic physicians, and would persuade us that the administration of doses of Toryism to the nation is the safest remedy for Toryism itself. We do not, however, find that they are disposed to limit their prescriptions to infinitesimal doses. The old proverb relies on a hair of the mad dog as a remedy for his bite; but the Impracticables would compel us to swallow and digest the whole animal, from head to tail. The four tailors of Tooley Street could not have felt more assured of being the virtual representatives of the people of England. The lowest amongst them repeats authoritatively, *Tu, quid ego, et populus mecum desiderat, audi*; but this identity of opinion between the people and either the Parliamentary or the Chartist orators, is always to be taken for granted, as no attempt is made to prove it by reasoning, and as it is uniformly disproved by all experience.

Weak as this party is, we have already stated that the mischief it effects is far from being inconsiderable. The least important of its evil consequences is, the occasional support which it gives to the Tory Opposition. That support speaks for itself; and though at times it may vary the result of a division, it does not add to the credit or to the permanent strength of the Conservative majority. It may frustrate a Whig measure, but it cannot create a Tory government. A more serious inconvenience is, the excuse which it gives to the half-informed and the timid, to attribute to the whole popular party the violent and unreasonable doctrines of a few. This disgusts some, estranges others, and gives to the misrepresentations of our opponents some colour and some excuse. To the independent members of the liberal party, it also produces much of inconvenience and of injustice. They are held up to their constituents as being false to their principles and forgetful of their pledges, because they resist the exaggerations of those who have driven many calm and reason-

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able men from the liberal ranks. Rejecting this exaggeration of their own principles, they are stigmatized as cold or indifferent to the principles themselves. Practical good sense cannot be more usefully applied, than in exposing and resisting the application to evil of doctrines essentially true, when confined within their due limits. Charles Surface would have been justified in selling the portrait of 'Uncle Noll,' if the picture had been an odious caricature, in place of a correct likeness. To the Government, these Impracticables are also mischievous, and this mischief is sometimes increased by inconsiderate support given to them by men of a much better class. Should Lord John Russell propose to relieve the ten-pound householders from any one of the onerous conditions to which they are subject, the Whigs are charged with enacting every restraint allowed to continue on the statute-book. Should the punishment of death be repealed in ninety-five out of a hundred cases, the Whigs are held up as creating capital offences in the five of exception. If the duty on newspapers be reduced from fourpence to one penny, the measure is dealt with, not as a removal of seventy-five per cent of an impolitic tax, but as the imposition of an insulting burden upon knowledge. Thus a tone is given which depreciates the best efforts of the Government—which deprives them of that popular encouragement which is a reward in victory, and a consolation in defeat. It deadens popular feeling, it weakens popular support, and diminishes—though in honourable minds it cannot destroy—the motives to perseverance in a struggle for the advancement of civil liberty. 'Depend upon it,' said Lord Melbourne in 1835, in reply to an address from Derby, 'the popular party 'are not sufficiently strong to bear any divisions among them-'selves.' This truth is, at the least, as undeniable now as it was five years back. These fatal divisions are to be averted, not by calling upon any class to do that, which, on reflection and principle, they disapprove, but by enforcing on all the policy of contending manfully for the opinions which they hold in common, and inculcating forbearance on the points where they differ.

Perhaps all this may be conceded to us; but it may still be urged, that, although a freedom and independence of action may be unavoidable among the individuals who compose the Liberal party, such difference of opinion becomes objectionable if tolerated within the Government itself. It is not our intention at present to discuss the propriety of 'open questions,' and indeed it is not necessary that we should do so. It will be sufficient for our purpose to call the attention of our readers to the only two cases in which it has been stated that open questions now exist. We allude to the question of the Corn-Laws and to that of the

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Ballot. It would be beyond our present limits to argue either of these questions upon its merits. Our object is to show that neither the public interest, nor the characters of the members of the Government, are prejudiced by the liberty of action conceded on these points to the Ministers of the Crown, and to those who act under their authority. We allude only, in passing, to a fact perfectly notorious. The charge of want of unanimity on the Corn-Laws, is brought forward to prove that the present Ministry are undeserving of public confidence. This mortal sin is supposed to be peculiarly their own. Now it so happens that, during the government of Lord Grey—now so often appealed to with encomium by those who had been among its most violent opponents—the most uncompromising reply given to the Corn-Law arguments of Sir James Graham, then a cabinet minister, proceeded, not from an opponent to the Government, or from a person unconnected with it, but from Mr Poulett Thompson, representing the Board of Trade in the House of Commons. We should be sorry to rest our justification on precedent only. We are prepared to assert that there could not be a greater misfortune for the public, and for the progress of the Corn-Law question, than that it should be taken up, and dealt with strictly, as a party question. We believe that it would retard the settlement to which we anxiously look forward—a settlement that can only be made with safety, if the question is argued on principles of amicable discussion, admitting the existence of rights and interests on both sides. This reconcilement of conflicting views would not be promoted, if one of the great parties of the state was to pledge itself for, and the other against, the repeal or modification of the present Corn-Laws. The violence and exaggeration to which a question of this nature inevitably leads, would all be augmented were the repeal of the Corn-Laws to become the watchword of party. The exasperated spirit which now, both in prose and verse, treats the proprietors and farmers throughout the empire as selfish robbers; the ignorant prejudice which resists all proposal of change as spoliation and radicalism; would be fearfully increased, if the line which divides the two sides of the House was also the division between the supporters and opposers of the existing law. Already the tendency to estrangement between the several classes in society is most formidable. They have each taken up an adverse and threatening position. They have each their missionaries, their conventions, their advocates, and even their poets. The tendency of all this is to tear society asunder, and to produce bitter and enduring animosities. The coming strife may be a strife between the great bulk of the manufacturers and consumers on the one hand, and the class of agricultural proprietors

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upon the other. Should a period of dearth arise, no one can contemplate the collision without awe and apprehension. That the present Corn-Laws should, under such circumstances, be scattered to the winds, is perhaps not the most important, though it is the most certain result. But all other evils would be enhanced, and the hopes of a dispassionate and a just settlement would be indefinitely postponed, if, to the other causes of hatred and animosity, were to be added the violence of party division. Earnestly desiring, therefore, that the dangers which are here described may be averted; and believing that this can best be achieved by forming a just estimate of the rights of the contending parties through mutual concession, ultimately leading to an equitable compromise, we rejoice that the Corn-Laws are not to be discussed upon the stern principles of party. The Liberal party ought to be tolerant, when they find that some of their most conscientious and honourable friends adhere to the principles of agricultural protection; and the Tories will act prudently if they decline committing themselves to any unalterable resolution against a salutary change, when they find that *the pigeon* which they released from their ark at Devonport, has brought them back a head of Odessa Wheat as a badge of peace and of security.

Nor is the objection on the subject of the Ballot less easy to be answered. Differences of opinion are distinguishable into two classes perfectly distinct the one from the other. A difference of principle is a manifest inconvenience, and may be an absolute bar to combination in action; it is far otherwise in respect to a difference of opinion on the mode of applying a principle, acknowledged as just on both sides. The principle which is involved in the question of the Ballot, is the recognition of the right of the voter to exercise his franchise free from all intimidation or corrupt influence. Has it ever been stated, that upon this point any difference of opinion exists between the friends and the opponents of the Ballot in the Cabinet? On the contrary, have they not on all occasions, whether in or out of office, as individual members of Parliament, or as members of an Administration, contended against that base and sordid doctrine which considers the constituency of England as so many chessmen with whom the privileged orders are to play? Has Lord John Russell in opposing, any more than Mr Macaulay in supporting, the Ballot, hesitated to avow the old constitutional doctrine that elections should be free, and therefore that the electors should be free also? As concerning the object to be gained, so far from discovering any difference of opinion, we perceive a sincere and perfect unanimity. Whether the Ballot will effect its object—whether it can

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be carried into practice, whether it may not produce new and serious inconveniences, whether it may not diminish the force of public opinion, by substituting the balloting-box for the higher and nobler agency of censure and applause—these are all important considerations, upon which, were the present occasion a fitting one, we should not hesitate to express our opinion. But we wish to impress upon the minds of our readers that this formidable difference, which is to work the disqualification of our Whig Ministers, is a difference with respect to the *modus operandi*, and not a difference on the object to be effected.

We admit, however, that the Tories may boast a concord of opinion, both on the principle and the detail of this question. Theirs is the glorious doctrine, 'that a man may do as he will with 'his own'—theirs the perverted use of the maxim which affirms the influence of property. Their theorists—and we grieve to say their moralists and divines also—maintain and defend doctrines which are, in our opinion, repulsive to the first principles of freedom and of duty. Their reasoning is to the following effect:—We, the educated classes, are alone capable of judging upon high questions of political interest. We are bound in every way to advance those interests to which we are on conviction attached. This is our duty specially in reference to the conduct of others, whose capacity of judging is less than our own. Therefore we should persuade our dependents, where persuasion will be effectual, to surrender their consciences and their votes into our keeping. If persuasion is ineffectual, their pecuniary interests should be appealed to. If they are blindly insensible to interest, then coercion ought to be employed. But, under all circumstances and by all methods, the vote of the ten-pound householder must be procured, or an opportunity is lost to strengthen the good cause, and an imperative duty is neglected. This logic, if true, would lead even beyond Toryism. It is the doctrine of persecution: it leads to the practices of the Inquisition.

It might perhaps be imagined, that men who exhibit such exquisite sensibility on the subject of union and agreement between all the members of a government, had been, when themselves in office, one pure and unbroken chrysolite. But, unless our memory deceives us, they rather resembled a piece of ill-compacted pudding-stone. They had tolerated in one cabinet the liberal and enlightened Canning, hunting in couples with Lord Eldon: Lord Wellesley, the eloquent advocate of emancipation, was condemned to receive his instructions from Lord Sidmouth: Mr Goulburn and Lord Plunket were jointly associated in the government of Ireland. Here were exhibited differences of opinion of no common kind; for the one party held

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emancipation to be the destruction of the constitution of England; the other considered religious equality to be the means of safety, as well as the accomplishment of the ends of justice. These differences of opinion extended to all questions of administration; they interfered with every act of state—with every appointment, and with every election. Nor were they confined to the Catholic question, or to Irish politics. In foreign policy, in commercial regulations, in financial affairs, the same differences prevailed. 'The Treasury Bench,' wittily observed Lord Brougham in 1824, resembles the keys of a pianoforte, 'now a black note 'and now a white one; until, when approaching the Crown 'lawyers, in the persons of Sir Charles Wetherall and Sir John 'Copley, we find two very black notes brought closely together.' Such are the persons who now charge the Government with a want of concord and of unity in opinion! From Sir James Graham the charge comes with a still worse grace. His feelings, it would appear, are outraged by the difference of opinion between Lord John Russell and Mr Macaulay. When the member for Pembroke next meets the 'Cumberland Farmer,' he may perhaps learn how greater differences of opinion may be reconciled. When the man who was as great a believer in small notes as Mr Attwood himself, can justify his present faith in the gold standard—when the same man who proposed to make the Ballot a part of the Reform Bill, can defend his opposition to all further change, he may then find some justification for the vehemence of his attacks upon his former colleagues.

But passing from former times, and a particular instance, to the actual condition of the Tory party—is there any one fact which is more evident and more undeniable than the irreconcilable differences of principle which exist among those who compose the Opposition? They may profess one common allegiance to their distinguished leader; but the seamen at the Nore were not a more mutinous crew. *Servi è ver, ma servi ognor frementi.* It is from their ranks that the most unmitigated abuse is pointed against Sir Robert Peel. We doubt whether their political antipathies against their natural enemies the Whigs, approach in inveteracy to the mistrust and hatred which they are at no pains to conceal, when they discuss the past life, and anticipate the future course of him whom they are constrained reluctantly to follow. The little knot of ex-official men—those whom these political partisans are wont to designate as the red-tape squadron—may perhaps keep compactly together. But whenever a question arises, either in or out of Parliament, in which the late and the present member for the University of Oxford draw out their respective forces, the *Oriflamme* on which are inscribed the

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sacred names of Ernest and Philpotts, is that which attracts to the field the largest number of Tory combatants. There is a very beautiful work of modern German art, with which our readers are doubtless familiar, in which the two Leonores are represented in equal but contrasted beauty. The two Sir Roberts might furnish to some existing Tory painter a subject equally interesting; or, if male portraits were considered inadmissible, Orthodoxy, resting upon her beaming cross, and Expediency, with eyes that turned from heaven to heaven's pavement, would aptly personify the leaders of the two sections of the Opposition. We should like to know what other political party had ever before applied the terms of 'disgust' to the conduct, and 'degradation' to the position of their political chief? We should like to know whether the conduct of Sir Robert Peel was ever stigmatized, and we will add misrepresented, as it has been in the following attack from one of his own partisans?—'The Protestants of Ireland have been 'again betrayed in Parliament, as the whole body of British Pro-'testants were betrayed in 1829. Sir Robert Peel and his 'body-guard have once more *sold* their supporters. The right 'honourable baronet would seem to be so anxious to remove 'all impediments to his return to office, that he is willing one 'day to trample on the English Courts of Justice, and on the 'next to throw overboard the Protestant Church in Ireland. 'More improbable things have happened of late years, than 'the introduction by Sir Robert Peel himself of a bill to esta-'blish Popery in Ireland.' This accusation is contained in the *Morning Herald* of the 10th of last month. Whilst free from the obligations and ties of office, these differences may, to some small extent, continue concealed, though they occasionally exhibit themselves, as we have shown, in a very ludicrous manner. In a case of privilege, the acknowledged leader may be told that he carries with him 'but a very insignificant fraction' of the Conservative members. He may find, on a division, that Mr Whittle Harvey can seduce away from their allegiance one-half of his retainers. But if placed at the Home-Office, would he venture to talk of Mr Oastler's 'wicked and dangerous 'agitation' (Speech, 31st January) to the member for the North Riding—a subscriber to the Oastler tribute, and one who casts the protection of his party round the patriot of Huddersfield? How would those Tories, who declaim against Whig Bastiles and the tyrannical triumvirate of Somerset House, bear the declaration of their first Minister, that the 'New Poor-Law Act 'raised the character of the poor, promoted the public welfare, 'and that he took his full share of the unpopularity of the 'measure?' How would Lord Stanley, if in Downing Street,

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settle with Mr Gladstone, as his under-secretary, that question of Clergy Reserves in Canada, on which a personal visit to North America enabled him to form a just, and, as we hope, an unchangeable opinion? Would the conscience of the man undergo a change, or the conscience of the State submit to some modification? How could Sir Robert Peel conciliate that section of his followers who come up laden with petitions from Protestant Associations, seeking the repeal of the Act of 1829, and the exclusion of Papists from offices of trust and emolument, when he refers to Catholic emancipation as 'the most virtuous 'act of his life,' and stigmatizes their clamours and schemes as 'visions baseless and delusive?' Will his welcome of the 'three 'Colonels, in three distant counties born,' be very warm or cordial, if he hints that it was 'some vagabond who waved an Orange 'flag at the Dublin Theatre over the head of the Lord-Lieuten-'ant?' Will he once more expose himself to the indignity of having members of his government declaring their hostility to measures recommended by him to Parliament, and only awaiting a proper season for resignation and an adverse vote?

The confusion which we have described does not arise from differences of opinion respecting the details of measures; but involves differences on the most important principles of policy. Each of the contending parties, if sincere, must believe that the measures recommended by the other are dangerous, if not fatal, to our most valuable institutions; yet we are called upon to believe that these men could form a strong, united, and vigorous administration! The more natural conclusion is, and it appears an inevitable one, that an attempt at combined action would be to the party what Talleyrand called *le commencement de la fin.* The party would have to choose between their allegiance to their chief and an adherence to their principles; the one or the other must be sacrificed; for, political opponents though we are, we will not venture on the supposition that the leaders could wholly forget the obligation which they owed to their country, and the duties which they were called on to fulfil. Even if they would, they dare not. Some small concessions they might make, to give a loophole of escape to their ultra friends; and they might be urged to go farther, and be pronounced by some Tory Wakley to be formed of 'squeezable materials.' Nor would there be wanting evidence in support of this probability. It might be said that Sir Robert Peel was gently, but most effectually, compressed into acquiescence, when the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed; that a stronger engine was applied when he was 'squeezed' into Popery in 1829. On that occasion the operation was so violent, that not a single drop of

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Orange juice was left undischarged. Lord Stanley, it might be said, was 'squeezed' between the saints and planters, till he in his own defence abandoned his proposal for a loan of fifteen millions, and 'squeezed' the country out of a gift of twenty. His 'squeezable' nature was again tried when the Irish members forced him to drop his Arms Act. The 'squeezing' of Mr Goulburn was a more cruel operation; to the pressure of Mr Huskisson and the West Indians, he yielded his sugar duties; and to that of the Irish members, his tax on spirits and his stamps. Sir James Graham also was subjected to much severe discipline; —he was of materials so squeezable, that he became a party to the 147th clause of Lord Spencer's Church Reform, by which a portion of the temporalities of the much-injured Irish Establishment was reserved for secular appropriation: after a second 'squeezing' process, he acquiesced in the extinction of Irish parishes, under certain contingencies. Having been 'squeezed' by Lord Durham and Lord John Russell, he recommended the Ballot; but was subsequently 'squeezed' out of this opinion by the majority of Lord Grey's Cabinet. In his case, the *peine forte et dure* was so frequent and so severe, that it would have compressed Daniel Lambert into the dimensions of the Polish count; yet, notwithstanding this suffering, we doubt not that, if the hydraulic press of the Admiralty was brought into action, we should see the member for Pembroke pressed into the balloting box again. These are the men who repeat a vulgar and unfounded taunt against their political opponents; and hesitate not to give circulation to a coarse and ludicrous sarcasm, which they have not even the equivocal merit of having invented.

Such being the disjointed state of the Tory party, it may excite some surprise how that party can possibly have been kept together for any purposes of combined action. A little reflection will, however, answer this enquiry. In the first place, there are few party bonds so strong as that of a common antipathy. It may not be an admission very flattering to human vanity; but we are inclined to believe that, in all times of party violence, men are more governed by their animosities than by their sympathies. It is their common hatred of the Liberal party which alone overcomes the jealousy and mistrust of the old Tories for their nominal leaders. The lesser serpent is swallowed up by the greater, and the latter is the serpent of Aaron and of the Levites. To excite and to aggravate this feeling, it has become necessary to propagate, with restless and incessant activity, the falsehood which describes an enmity to all religious establishments, and to the Church of England in particular, as being the governing principle of the Whig Ministry. In vain does the Duke of

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Wellington admit, as he did on a late occasion in the House of Lords, 'that he was convinced that Lord Melbourne and his 'colleagues were equally disposed with himself to maintain the 'Church Establishment.' In vain does Lord John Russell fight the battles of the Church in what, to the minds of many, appears the most dangerous position, the Bench of Bishops in the House of Lords; vainly do the Government oppose ecclesiastical measures which they think are conceived in an aggressive spirit, or which may lead to dangerous consequences;—because the hostility of the Government to the Church is gratuitously predicated, it is therefore held to be proved. The supposed danger of the Church is made now, as in the worst periods of our history, the bond of party connexion. Yet we should be willing to rest the whole of our case upon the verdict which a candid clerical jury, sworn to decide according to the evidence, and to consider the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, would give on the following issues:—Has not the peace of the Church been promoted by the measures proposed and carried for the relief of the Dissenters? Has not the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts—have not the statutes for marriage and for registration, and, above all, for the commutation of tithes, contributed to the stability, the efficiency, and the temporal interests of the clergy? Do you wish to return to the times when the most sacred forms of religion were impiously desecrated for temporal purposes? Are you desirous of hearing again repeated at the altar, and *in facie ecclesiæ*, those protests which, however satisfactory to the consciences of the parties, were scandals and offences to the feelings of the congregation? Will you exchange your present well secured and greatly augmented incomes under the Tithe Commutation Act, for a less valuable property—uncertain in its amount, capable of being rendered most vexatious in its collection, and impeding, by jealous bickerings, the spiritual influence of the parish minister over his flock? Do you not confess that, when condemned to perpetual contest for your legal rights with the proprietors and occupiers of land, your pastoral visits, as well as your Sabbath ministry, were less gratefully received than they are at present? Were not recruits for dissent made at the tithe audit, and during the visits of the valuing surveyor? The Norfolk poachers consider a bench of country justices to be no better than a jury of cock-pheasants; and we, as Whigs, may be excused if we do not altogether believe in the absolute impartiality of Tory rectors. Yet we have no manner of doubt that upon every one of the questions which we have propounded, answers must be given by every reasonable parish priest in England, affirming the good consequences, to the Church, of

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legislative changes introduced and carried through by the Ministry of Lord Melbourne.

Again, we venture to ask, has a voice been raised against the character and the qualifications of the learned and excellent men who have received their well-deserved clerical promotion? In one instance, it is true, the ecclesiastical tocsin was sounded. When Dr Hampden was named regius professor, all Oxford was summoned to the rescue—

> 'And ever and anon they beat
> The doubling drum with furious heat;'

but that act (as was said with such power and readiness by Sir George Grey on a late occasion) 'we are content to leave to 'the protection of the party.' On the truth as well as the justice of the attack made against Dr Hampden, we believe that the impartial public has already and authoritatively decided.

One ecclesiastical offence of the present Government has as yet not been noticed—one offence for which it seems no adequate atonement can ever be made, in the judgment of the Tories. An attempt was made to compose the strife and dissension arising from the levy of church-rates. The Government wished to secure an undisputed and adequate fund for the maintenance of the buildings consecrated to religion. They proposed to do so in a manner which would not diminish either the present or the future probable income of the Church;—in a manner that would satisfy the Dissenters, and would promote agricultural improvement by facilitating the application of capital to great masses of landed property, now left, on the admission of all parties, in a most wretched state. This plan, it seems, is considered abortive, and the calculations on which it was founded did not, in Sir James Graham's opinion, stand the test of investigation. Now this we presume somewhat to doubt. Though some might admit Sir James Graham's authority in figures of speech, even after the melancholy fate of the Royal George, we must prefer the authority of Mr Finlayson, where the figures of arithmetic are concerned. Form and quantity are dangerous topics in arguments which partake of a mathematical character. Perhaps his observations on this topic may be nearly of the same weight with his late notable discoveries in finance, when, either from total ignorance on his own part, or from a faith in the ignorance of his auditors, he stated a high premium upon Exchequer bills to be a reason for funding; and thus gravely recommended the public to go as a purchaser into the market, not when the article to be bought was low, but when it was highest in price! It remains to be shown how far the failure of the Church-Rate Bill is attributable to any public cause, and

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how far to the personal and unreasonable claims of interested parties. One matter, however, is certain. The real point on which the argument turned was—whether the rate was a burden which could be enforced against the will of a majority of the vestry? If incapable of being so enforced, the argument used by the Tory advocates falls to the ground. In that case, the church-rates are no more than a parochial application of the Voluntary principle, and the Church possesses no certain and well assured fund on which it can rely. Our readers will doubtless recollect the masterly letter addressed by the Attorney-General to Lord Stanley. On this question the courts of law will speedily be called upon to deliver their judgment. It is not for us to anticipate what that judgment may be. But if it should be given in conformity with our opinions—if the Church should at length discover, that so far as these rates are concerned, they are but tenants at will—if the parishioners should learn, on the authority of the Court of Queen's Bench, that they may exercise their entire discretion, and refuse the rate at their pleasure, we are inclined to think that some regret will hereafter be felt at the failure of a measure which would have given security, where there is now uncertainty;—a measure recommended in good faith, and supported on just principles.

These Church questions, and the misrepresentations to which they lead, have been the main, if they have not been the exclusive, cause of the relative strength of parties. They have made the Tories united, and increased their numbers. This has given them an intelligible and avowable bond of union. But it is not to the Tories only that these results are attributable. Valuing as we do the great services of the Protestant Dissenters to the cause of civil and religious liberty, we are yet compelled to admit, (and we do so with great regret,) that much of this evil is also attributable to them. Whilst acting on the defensive—whilst seeking the removal of real grievances—whilst claiming civil equality as their right—they were all-powerful. They carried with them not only all their own body, but they obtained the sympathy of the liberal members of the Establishment. But on the Dissenters, success produced the same evil results which it produces too often on individuals. They became unreasonable—overconfident in their own strength; and they were tempted to advance claims inconsistent with the security of our National Establishments. They not only asserted the expediency of a severance between Church and State as an abstract doctrine; but they sought to enforce it as a practical measure. As was to be wished as well as expected, this proposal estranged from them the great bulk of Churchmen, however attached they might be to liberal

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opinions. The Dissenter was left to himself,—not 'alone in his 'glory,' but alone in his weakness and defeat, the results of folly and rashness. Nor was this all. The conduct of the Dissenters roused the Church from torpor and inactivity into unexampled vigour and exertion. Hence the weakening of the one party and the increased strength of the other. The Dissenters were not prepared for this result. Like the companions of Sinbad, they thought themselves standing upon an island, the soil of which they were at liberty to trample underfoot, and on which they could eat, drink, and take their rest. But they soon found that the supposed lump of earth was in reality an animated creature, which had strength to carry the intruders far into a rough sea, and to leave them in danger amongst the breakers.

This most impolitic conduct of the Dissenters does not, however, justify the violence of the clergy. The demand of Mr Timothy East for the overthrow of national establishments, or the refusal of Mr Thorogood to obey the laws of the land, is no sufficient reason why the Archbishop of Canterbury should oppose the Government Scheme of Education. Still less is it an apology for those agitating clergymen who have carried away the first prize at all the late Conservative shows—men who head election processions, and crowd the hustings. Surely, the arena of political strife is not the place which is best fitted for the ministers of truth and charity. The surplice should be unspotted by any earthly pollution. Factious cheers are as unsuited to sacred lips, as is the song of *A jolly full bottle* to the Church of England, with which, by the Tories, it is so strangely, and in our judgment so irreverently, connected. It is said that after one of those battles of the middle ages, in which warlike Abbots and Bishops were wont to take a part, the release of a captive Cardinal was demanded by the Pope from the chief who had been victorious in fight. In place of yielding a canonical obedience to the orders of the see of Rome, the successful general contented himself with sending back to the Pontiff the splendid shield and coat armour which the Prince of the Church had borne,—adding this significant and most orthodox quotation from the book of Genesis: *Hanc invenimus; vide utrum tunica filii tui est, an non.* We confess we should like to send up to Lambeth the weapons and instruments of offence with which some of our polemical lovers of strife are armed. If the question were duly considered, we much doubt whether the Primate of England would be well advised in claiming, or even recognising, these holy warriors as true sons of the Church. A lesson might be learned by them from the fate of the Dissenters. So long as the latter were moderate and reasonable, they were

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formidable; but when they ventured to act on the aggressive, —when public opinion, generally correct in its ultimate decisions, turned in favour of their opponents—their strength was taken from them. Guided by a Bedel and a Jeremy Taylor, the Church of England is all-powerful; but if, forgetful of its mild and comprehensive spirit, it yields to the sway of a Sacheverell in one age, or a Philpotts in another, we tremble at the risk to which it cannot fail to be exposed.

These exaggerations are, however, a more common offence in political contentions, than the double-dealing and trickery which has been practised to retain votaries, and to procure votes. In fitting up privateers and letters of marque, it was not unusual to disguise the ship by painting the two sides of the vessel in a strongly contrasted manner. On the larboard were perhaps exhibited showy stripes of orange and of purple, whilst on the starboard side all was as black as the national dress of a Venetian senator. The whole appearance of the ship might be metamorphosed in a few minutes by applying or withdrawing a piece of tarpaulin; and, in the twinkling of an eye, a peaceful merchantman was converted into a vessel of war. This is precisely what is done by the Tory party; and they even go further, for they hoist an ensign which bears, on the one side, the cross of St George, and on the other the blood-red colours of the corsair. In Parliament nothing can be more obvious than the care which is taken to avoid those very topics to which, out of Parliament, the people have been taught to look with the most extreme interest and anxiety:

> 'Not Sappho, at her toilet's greasy task,
> And Sappho perfumed at an evening mask,'

differ more essentially than Tory orators, who, during the recess, vented slander against the highest and fairest in the land, and performers of the same party, who at Westminster, like Bottom, 'roar you like any sucking-dove.'

The best efforts of the Tory press, and of certain instruments in the Tory cause, were exerted, before the session, to accomplish three great objects, with the view of throwing discredit upon the Government. The first was to extend and exasperate the most unrelenting antipathy to the Roman Catholic creed and its professors; the second, to excite a hatred against the whole Irish nation, except the favoured race of the Orangemen; the third, by the vilest and most calumnious insinuations, to create a mistrust of that young, interesting, and blameless Sovereign, to whom our sympathy as men, and our allegiance as subjects, are equally due. In other words, the active partisans who have engaged to do the 'dirty work' for their friends, have placed at hazard the prin-

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ciples of Christian charity, of national strength, of loyalty to the Queen, and of chivalrous respect towards a woman, young and accomplished, and who, as against falsehood and calumny, was defenceless. We shall proceed to illustrate each of these assertions, although it would be a task too disgusting to collect together all the filth which the proceedings of the last six or eight months would supply.

1. What can be said of the following resolution, moved by Sir R. Hill, and adopted at a public meeting where the Earl of Bradford took the chair?—'That Popery, in the idolatry, intolerance, and perfidy inseparable from the system, is justly comparable to Jezebel of old; and that its encouragement in Great Britain is as directly opposed to the commandments of Almighty God, and as wholly incompatible with the promotion of civil and religious liberty, as the practices of Jezebel were with the safety and prosperity of Israel.' What can be said of the petitions and resolutions, praying against the admission of Roman Catholics to political office, ten years after their eligibility to such appointments had been recognised by law? It is in vain that the leaders of the party—finding the grave inconvenience consequent upon a declaration of hostility against the whole Roman Catholic Church—have endeavoured to explain away these declarations. In vain have they sought to persuade others, for they could scarcely have deceived themselves, that the particular men, or rather two out of three of the gentlemen selected for office, were considered to be objectionable politically, and not on account of their creed. No one is weak or silly enough to treat this uncandid defence with any respect or courtesy. Is there any limitation in the disgusting and uncharitable resolution which we have copied? Is it the tithe resistance of Mr Sheil, or the educational heresies of Mr Wyse, which are pointed at? No such thing. It is Popery, which is considered by these pious men to be the sign of the beast—the abomination of desolation—the accursed thing, against which hostility the most unrelenting, and exclusion the most complete, are to be pronounced by the nation. This scandalous calumny against the creed professed by millions of our fellow-subjects—the creed of the great majority of the Christian world—is cheered at public meetings—it is placarded on the corners of our streets—it is sent round in circular addresses—it is used as the most efficient means of adding to the political strength of the Tories in various wretched constituencies, whose prejudices are such as to make them the dupes of exaggerations however gross, and delusions however apparent. Such men may perhaps be persuaded that Fénélon was bigoted, that Bossuet was ignorant, that Pascal possessed neither wit nor liberality; that th

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Benedictines were the destroyers of historical manuscripts, the Jesuits the enemies of classical education, and 'Marseilles's good 'Bishop' an agent for the propagation of the plague, in place of the ministering angel who exposed his life to arrest the progress of disease.

2. We proceed to the proof of our next position, that the same party have endeavoured to create the most irreconcilable national antipathies—an offence scarcely less malignant in its character than the first. Is there any observer, however careless—any reader of history, however unphilosophic and superficial—any public man, however indifferent to our domestic interests and to our foreign relations—who must not feel that the most difficult, but the most important task which the British Government and the Legislature are called on to fulfil, is the reconciliation of Great Britain and Ireland, by the substitution of benign influences for the bitter recollections of evil times which are past? The invasion, the wars, the devastations, the religious exclusions, the forfeitures, the rebellion, the union, have all left deep traces of sorrow behind. Evil-disposed and reckless men have been but too ready, and at times but too successful, in their endeavours to perpetuate the feelings of hatred for former wrongs; and to inculcate the doctrine (a most false one) that all the crimes have been on one side; that the union is a curse, and that England never can be looked up to with confidence or affection. But this feeling was, and, we fain would hope, is, rapidly subsiding. For the attainment of this result, the wise and the good on both sides were labouring with equal sincerity. The malignity of party, however, interposes, and for its base and unworthy objects calls into renewed activity all the terrible events of the past, and all the evil passions of the present generation. From what high place, and on what authority, were the Irish told that they were '*Aliens in religion, in language, and in 'blood?*' Is there any quarter of Ireland, however remote, into which this *anathema* has not penetrated? Is there one single peasant so uneducated, and so obtuse, as not to understand the import of this fearful denunciation? What does it mean, but present inferiority and future proscription? Has it been repeated in terms of greater exasperation by the Roman Catholics, than of insolent triumph by the Orange bigots? Is it not a declaration of war, to which the Conservatives of Canterbury and the corporation of Dublin have eagerly responded? Was not the following statement made by a member of Parliament, and cheered by his audience?—'I say deliberately that the people 'of Ireland are bigoted savages, hardly more civilized than the 'natives of New Zealand; and the Papists of Ireland, priests

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'and laymen, are alike enemies, aliens as they are in blood, in 'language, and in religion.' These are fearful signs of the times, and they may lead to fatal consequences. To see the faculties of men perverted to sow disunion between two brethren, is a painful exhibition to those who have been taught that 'blessed 'are the peacemakers.' To see family excited against family is more disastrous still. But Eteocles and Polynices, whether ancient or modern, may fall and be forgotten. The Montagues and the Capulets may be swept away. Nations are enduring, and national hatreds are equally enduring. Long after the incendiary who has fired the train has paid the penalty of his crime, the flame continues to burn. His evil deeds survive him, and he obtains a disgraceful immortality in the permanence of the evil of which he was the origin. If a hatred towards England should be instilled into the minds of the Irish by these revilings, that hatred will be found somewhat more formidable than the threats, or even the hostility, of the Celestial and Flowery Empire. Spirits more bold than Commissioner Lin will be brought into play. It is not with the Hong merchants that the British Government will have to deal; and a more important stake may be risked than all the Congo and Bohea in existence. Nor should it be forgotten, that Dublin and Waterford are somewhat nearer than Canton and Macao; and that foreign sympathies, which could not double the Cape of Good Hope, may be wafted with ease across the Channel. All these are considerations which cannot escape the attention of prudent and reasonable men, however unimportant they may appear to those who are 'alien' to generous sympathies, and disregardful of the rights and duties of nations.

3. We now proceed to consider our third proposition, and that question on which, as it appears to us, the conduct of the Cossacks of the Tory camp has been the most base and malignant. Few Englishmen can have forgotten the burst of public feeling which was displayed on the accession of our present sovereign. That event formed a new era in the history of our monarchy. The anti-Jacobin spirit of the times succeeding the French Revolution, and the coincidence between the obstinacy of George III. and the ignorant prejudices of the multitude, had given to that king a certain hold upon the attachment of the people. To this his irreproachable domestic habits had also mainly contributed. The social attractions of the Prince of Wales in his early life, and his graceful manners, had cast around George IV. a degree of popularity, which nothing but his selfish voluptuousness, and his subsequent desertion of his early friends and principles, could have destroyed. William IV. enjoyed and deserve

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the confidence and respect of his subjects, so far as respect and confidence could be won by simplicity of heart, sincerity of good intention, and an earnest desire to perform his duty. Yet no one of these sovereigns possessed the power of creating any enthusiasm for the crown, or for him who wore it. All sentiments of chivalrous loyalty seemed to have disappeared from political life; and if strong personal attachment still subsisted, it could only be found in the friendship of an ancient equerry, or of a superannuated lord of the bedchamber. To this result, partly attributable to the commonplace and unpoetical character of the three last monarchs, the cold-blooded utilitarianism of the last half century had contributed. It was under such circumstances that there was exhibited at Kensington palace that most interesting scene, which the pencil of our countryman Wilkie has so well embodied in his picture of the first meeting of the Council of Queen Victoria. A fair princess, just entering upon the first years of youth, appeared before her subjects to receive those offerings of duty and allegiance which were warmly, affectionately, and enthusiastically tendered. The young sovereign had a claim upon the public sympathy for the sake of her excellent father, foremost as he had been in every work of liberal charity; that sympathy was increased from the respect felt for the illustrious mother who had superintended the education of her royal child. To these former sources of interest were now added the still higher claims of the young sovereign herself. There was something almost awful in the contrast, between the youthful being who stood before her councillors, and the responsible duties which she was called upon to fulfil. The eye rested with anxiety upon that beautiful and unruffled brow which was so soon to sustain the diadem of the three kingdoms—on that delicate female hand that was to bear the weight of the imperial sceptre. Her youth, her innocence, and inexperience, seemed to call upon all classes of her subjects for dutiful affection. For the first time during a a century and a half, the hearts of the people of England were moved on behalf of their sovereign. One feeling of generous devotion to the crown pervaded all classes—blessings and prayers for her future happiness burst from every lip. These kindly emotions were for some time allowed to take their course undisturbed and unalloyed. But this did not suit the interests of party, and efforts were soon begun, in order to disturb the pure and tranquil current of public opinion. Her Majesty was found guilty of the unpardonable offence of giving her fullest confidence to her Whig Ministers; and that offence was one not to be forgiven by the Tory party. Soon after her Majesty's accession, anticipations of evil were insidiously suggested, and that by authorities not without

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some political as well as literary importance. In a contemporary Journal, ranking the highest among the organs of its party, the Queen of England was placed in the same category with the female sovereigns of Portugal and Spain—the right of whose succession was disputed, and whose thrones had been polluted with bloodshed, revolution, and civil strife. The British public were informed, that 'the accession of three female sovereigns had 'brought the principle of female succession to a severe trial;' and it was added, 'that those may well be excused who feel alarm, 'if not anxiety.'—This was, however, only the overture to the discreditable drama which was soon to follow. Embittered by disappointment—having seen political power brought within reach of their leaders—having seen political power withdrawn from their grasp, by the spirit and resoluteness of the Queen herself, the 'laboriously vile' among the Tories began the work of detraction. Not only were the servants of the Queen, but the Queen herself was made the object of coarse and unmanly attack, and still viler insinuation. We could not have believed that, in a nation of high-minded gentlemen, such a course could have been pursued; or, if ventured upon by the jackals of party, we should have felt confident that they would have been driven back to their dens by the whips and scourges of their more honourable keepers. The attack was commenced by hypocritical appeals to the moral and religious feelings of the public; by the misrepresentation of facts; by the circulation of atrocious falsehoods. Bigotry, national animosities, the evil spirit of party divisions, were all pressed into the service. A private calamity, which all united in deploring, was forced into cruel prominence; a domestic misfortune was represented as a martyrdom. Nor was this the work of unknown and anonymous libellers. This did not proceed from the lips of Chartists or Socialists. Members of Parliament, in public meetings, suggested analogies drawn from 'the forced abdication' of James: they proclaimed 'that Englishmen would not consent that the Crown 'should be degraded and debased for the inglorious ease of any 'created being, who might think it enough if the monarchy 'lasted her time.' Candidates for popular favour called on the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel 'to purge the court 'from that filth which stunk in the nostrils of all but those 'who did not know virtue from vice, purity from impurity,'—adding, that 'virgin innocence was banished from the palace, 'whilst vice rioted rampant at the royal board.' A minister of the Church of England stated, in language still more atrocious, that 'if a clergyman were admitted as a guest at the 'royal board, licentious ribaldry would be stopped in its cour-

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'in the gross indulgence of which he feared the present 'profligate inmates of the palace rejoiced to indulge.' But we cannot allow ourselves to add to these disgusting examples. The exhibition we have already made is a melancholy one, and is a sufficient proof of the degrading effects produced upon the human heart by disappointed ambition, and by exasperated malignity. The circulation of calumny like this, by men whose station gave them a claim on public attention which their principles but ill merited, could not fail to produce some mischief in the minds of the prejudiced and the ignorant. This mischief was increased by the difficulty of conceiving that any man would be so base as to invent and propagate these falsehoods for low party purposes. It appeared incredible that any set of men would have sought a party triumph at the hazard of the happiness of the Queen, and at the risk of her just estimation with her subjects. With the events of the summer strong in his memory, we are not surprised that Lord Melbourne should have spoken of the 'power of falsehood' as he did, in his indignant reproof in the House of Lords—'Living amidst misrepresenta-'tion, I, my Lords, have felt the power of falsehood. I know that 'falsehood is often permitted to be strong for a considerable time; 'particularly when aided by those who are accustomed to abet 'its progress, and who can only live in an atmosphere of calumny 'and malignity.' The progress of these abominable inventions is better described in the literature of other countries than in our own, and it is to be hoped that our deficiency in this respect arises from our want of practice in these low intrigues—'Croyez 'moi,' says Beaumarchais, 'il n'y a pas de plate méchanceté, 'pas d'horreurs, pas de conte absurde, qu'on ne fasse adopter aux 'oisifs d'une grande ville; *et nous avons des gens d'une addresse.* '..... D'abord un bruit leger rasant le sol de la terre, comme l'hir-'ondelle avant l'orage; pianissimo, murmure, et file, et seme en 'courant, le trait empoisonné; telle bouche le recueille, et piano 'vous le glisse à l'oreille adroitement. Le mal est fait, il germe, 'il rampe, il chemine, et vous voyez calomnie se dresser, siffler 's'enfler, grandir à vue d'œil.'

We are as far from insinuating as from believing that this cruel and unmanly wickedness was connected with the known and acknowledged leaders of the party. Quite the contrary. We are persuaded that it is not in the character of those leaders thus to calumniate their sovereign, by raising suspicions in the minds of subjects whose natural feelings would otherwise have overflowed in loyal attachment. These leaders should, however, recollect that it is upon the owner of a mad dog that the responsibility rests, and not upon the rabid quadruped itself. To

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revert to our former illustration: From the mast-head of the first-rate which carries the Duke of Wellington, no flag less honoured than the cross of St George can float. The red rovers who follow in his wake, are those whose badge and whose warfare is of a far different character. But if the Tory leaders, in place of pluming themselves on the accumulation of their Parliamentary stock in trade when it is brought into its finished state, will but condescend to examine the coarser process of the early stages of the manufacture, they will be compelled to confess, that they owe much of their strength to the unworthy influences and moving powers which we have exposed. The machine first used in preparing cotton wool for the spindle is called the Devil; and we believe the same name might without impropriety be given to the agency most commonly employed at the Tory hustings, and at too many Conservative meetings.

It is true, that on many points Sir Robert Peel has disavowed, and indignantly disclaimed the leading principles of his followers. He has even done more—he has affirmed that it is for himself, and for himself alone, that he is to be held responsible. He has stated, that the House of Commons and the Town-Hall at Tamworth, are the only positions from which his principles are to be made known. We doubt the practicability of acting upon so austere a principle; but even if practicable, the principle appears to us alike inconsistent with the duty, and with the influence, of a leader of a great party. A more complete deathblow to party attachment cannot be struck than by such a declaration of want of sympathy from a leader to his followers. A private person, or a proud and selfish philosopher, may retire into seclusion like one of those solitary birds which haunt the rocks and the mountains. A private member of Parliament may act alone, and may deliver his oracles as his inclination prompts. A leader must act upon other, nobler, and more kindly principles. As he acquires power from the confidence of his friends, so he incurs responsibility also—a responsibility not only to the public, but to his party. He is to be their adviser, their protector, and their friend, as well as their organ. He must be loved and esteemed, to be cordially supported. To disclaim all participation in their opinions—to cast them aside, except when they are to be numbered in a division, is to estrange them from him—to slight, we had almost said to insult them. This course becomes suspicious, if this proud silence of the chief affords him an increase of strength. If the opinions of his supporters, and from which he conscientiously differs, are, during the recess and at elections, made profitable to his party, his silence may then be accounted for. Withdraw from the Tory ranks those men wh

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owe their return to opinions disclaimed indignantly by Sir Robert Peel;—let him reject in Ireland all but those who concur with him in applying the epithet of 'Vagabond' to the man who raises the Orange flag;—let him refuse the support of all who seek a repeal of the New Poor-Law, or whose agents chalk No Popery on the walls,—the number of his troops will not exceed the land forces of the republic of San Merino.

It may perhaps be said, and said with some justice, that it would not be fair to condemn the Tory party for the sayings and doings of their more violent friends. 'It is one of the most difficult problems in practical politics,' observes Lord Dudley in one of his admirable letters to the Bishop of Llandaff, 'to know how far a party ought to go in protecting over-zealous friends. The safest and honestest side to err on is that of protecting them too long. Yet it is an irksome duty.' Now, granting all this, and assuming farther that the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel remain in happy and convenient ignorance of the misdeeds of their friends, or that they want the power to restrain and guide the party—*qu'ils regnent, mais ne gouvernent pas*—it can yet be shown, from the acts of the Tory leaders themselves, that in their looseness of principle they almost contend for the mastery with their followers. We can show how ready the leaders have been to misrepresent—how prone to exaggerate—how reckless of consequences affecting the public, where a party object is to be gained. If we look at the late speech of Sir Robert Peel upon the Vote of Confidence—if we examine his arguments in detail—it is impossible to avoid being struck with their great disingenuousness. It is somewhat amusing to perceive, that the standard of excellence to which he is now pleased to refer is the conduct of Lord Grey. To this, as Whigs, we have nothing to object; on the contrary, we trust the day may never come when the high principles of that great and excellent man should cease to be objects of grateful admiration and respect. But if, as Sir Robert Peel admits, the state of the empire was truly described by Lord Grey on the 9th July 1834;—if 'the internal state of the country was improved; if trade was in a sound and healthy condition; if public credit was secure, and all interests, agriculture excepted, had been promoted; if political and trades' unions had disappeared, and the firm administration of the ordinary laws had been attended with complete success,'—does it not occur to him that he and his friends were the most factious of men, in opposing, with unrelenting violence, Lord Grey and his colleagues? If he so respects and praises Lord Grey in 1840, how can he justify his bitter attacks continued from 1830 to 1834? We may only add, in passing, that the

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period of prosperity to which Sir Robert Peel refers, namely, the 9th July 1834, was not during the Administration of which Lord Stanley, Sir J. Graham, and their friends formed a part. It was, on the contrary, during the Ministry from which they had seceded several months before—a Ministry designated by one of these seceders, with such conciliatory elegance of expression, as the 'Thimble-Rig Ministry.' But Sir Robert Peel has discovered that the country now presents a contrast to its condition in 1834. Trade, it seems, is now in an unsound and unhealthy condition; public credit is now, according to his judgment, decayed; the country is convulsed with political disorder; insubordination is spreading far and wide; and rebellion and insurrection are now raising their heads. A more signal instance of exaggeration can hardly be cited. It must have been a matter of no small surprise to those whom he addressed, to find that these tremendous calamities had befallen their country, and that they had not sooner been made aware of the distressing facts. 'The country 'is ruined,' argues Sir Robert Peel, and 'for this ruin the Go-'vernment is responsible.' Unless both these propositions can be made out, his argument is without force. We will not weary our readers by statistical details, to show how very unfounded is the supposition of such a general decay of trade and manufactures. We are contented to refer them to the very excellent and practical speech of Mr Hawes. Admitting, as we regret to say we must do, that in the present, as well as in many former years, particular branches of trade are unfortunately in a state of depression, we may still enquire by what ingenious logic the difficulties which have occurred in the American market can be traced to the acts or the opinions of the Whig Ministry. If our calamities can be connected with any branch of our home policy, it is with our present Corn-Laws that they are connected; laws which have had the effect of limiting the foreign market for our manufactures, of raising the price of food, and, by forcing an export of bullion, deranging the circulation of the whole empire. For this state of things, the responsibility rests rather with Sir Robert Peel than with Lord John Russell. Let us enquire from a man more competent to form an opinion on the subject than any political advocate can be, whether these commercial distresses have been increased, or have been mitigated by the acts of the Government. We shall refer to a late publication from the pen of Mr Jones Loyd, a writer whose authority is equally eminent among men of science and practical men. It is in the following words that he describes a measure of the Government, and states its beneficial consequences:—'The Usury laws have been partially

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'repealed, and great benefit has arisen from the measure. *It is 'difficult to say to what extremity the Bank would have been reduced* without this protecting power. The partial repeal of these 'laws *has been of incalculable advantage* to the commercial community, by securing the free circulation of capital, and the 'power of determining the application of it to those quarters in 'which the demand may be most intense. This is the true 'source from which support to public and private credit, in periods of emergency, ought to be given.' This measure, so described, was vehemently objected to by the Tory Opposition. Even while we are writing this article, the proceedings at the last meeting of the Bank of England proprietors, furnish us with fuller and more recent evidence in disproof of Sir Robert Peel's allegation of any general ruin and decay of trade. 'On the 19th 'of March, Mr Young, a bank proprietor, begged to ask whether the Bank had not, during the last six months, discounted 'a large amount of commercial bills, and whether there had been 'any loss?'—'The Governor had no hesitation in saying, that 'the discounts had amounted to *Forty Millions;* and he was happy 'to add, that such was the state of credit, that there had been 'but three failures, and that the *Bank had only sustained a loss 'of* £600!'

Upon this evidence we think we are entitled to dismiss Sir Robert Peel's statement of total ruin, as one of the most groundless assertions that was ever hazarded to promote the objects of a political party.

The next assertion is, that public credit has been impaired; and the proof relied on is the discount to which Exchequer bills had fallen before the late increase of interest. Is the House of Commons to be informed that there are other public securities in the market besides Exchequer bills, and that neither the prices of the public funds, nor the state of the Savings banks, have exhibited any proofs of the decay of public credit? Sir Robert Peel's assertion might, indeed, have been justified in 1825, under Lord Liverpool's Government, when the floating debt fell to a discount of 84s., and when stock was nearly unsaleable; it might also have been justified in 1832, when the dread of the accession of a Tory Government produced a run upon the Savings banks. If further evidence be required to rebut this statement, we might refer to the terms at which the funding operation was completed during the last session, as a proof that the public credit of the empire was never at any previous period more firm and more assured.

The more serious accusation is reserved for the last. The country, it appears, 'is convulsed with disorder; insubordination is

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'spreading far and wide; and rebellion and insurrection are rearing 'their heads.' Can these high-sounding figures have been employed by Sir Robert Peel in sober seriousness? We do not deny, on the contrary it is part of our case to admit, that in some few districts a lamentable spirit of disorder had arisen. These disorders were neither to the extent stated, nor did they equal similar movements in times past; nor yet are they attributable to the causes to which Sir Robert Peel and his friends are pleased to refer them. The spirit of outrage broke out in South Wales and Monmouth, and much anxiety was also justly felt in some of the northern manufacturing districts. But no general disaffection existed, such as that described in the metaphors of the Tory leader. Contrast the state of the country in 1839 and in November 1830. Compare the legacy left by the Duke of Wellington's Government to that of Lord Grey, with the most alarming account which has as yet been given of the Newport riots. Examine the Journals of the House of Commons during the last weeks in November, and the first week in December 1830; and we shall find that, in the course of a few weeks, thirty-eight Members of Parliament were compelled to ask for leave of absence on account of the disturbed state of their several districts. The names of Sir Edward Knatchbull, Mr Portman, Mr Bennett, Mr Fleming, Lord Surrey, Lord Mandeville, Lord Norreys, Mr R. Palmer, Sir R. Vivian, Lord Darlington, Lord Jermyn, Lord Francis Osborne, Lord James Townshend, and many others, prove sufficiently that a frightful spirit of insubordination had extended itself through Kent, Dorset, Wilts, Hants, Surrey, Huntingdonshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Cornwall, Shropshire, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Norfolk. Yet it is the Tory party who, with these facts before them, now presume to call upon the people of England to withdraw their confidence from Lord Melbourne's Government, and to trust exclusively in their powers of preserving the public peace!

Whilst there are some resemblances, there are also strong contrasts, between the late events at Newport, and the similar outrages which occurred under the bland influences of Tory rule in former times. Ireland has now, for the first time, furnished to England increased means of security and of protection. Her garrisons are dismantled—regiment after regiment is withdrawn; peace is nevertheless maintained, and the alarmists are now reduced to the lamentable necessity of having no enemy to contend with but Father Mathew, the 'tee-totaller,' and no danger to apprehend but a danger to the Excise by the progress of temperance societies. Another strong contrast is to

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be found in the means of repression successfully resorted to. No suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act; no Gagging Bills; no restrictions upon the press, have been resorted to. On the contrary, the complaint has been, that members of the Government too openly declared their determination to adhere to the principles of English liberty. We bless them for it; and feel convinced that those declarations, so unfairly quoted and turned against them, have been among the principal causes which, under the blessing of Providence, have contributed to the restoration of peace. The ordinary law has at the same time been vigorously enforced; and the best proof that the prosecutions have been properly directed, is to be found in the striking fact, that out of 290 persons committed for trial, 232 have been convicted.

But we cannot yet dismiss this subject. Let us imagine that the insurrection at Newport was the first that had ever occurred since the days of Wat Tyler; that Luddites had never been known in Nottinghamshire, or riotous meetings in St George's Fields or at Manchester; we may still deny that the Whig Government are to be justly held responsible for the Welsh disturbances. If our space permitted, and the patience of our readers would allow, we might trace the evil spirit to a very different cause. We could show the origin of these disturbances in the combination between Toryism and Chartism. We could exhibit the unholy alliance between Oastler and Feargus O'Connor, between the Rev. Mr Stephens and Mr Bronterre O'Brien. The manufacturing labourers were taught and encouraged by the Tories how to combine against their employers. The working-classes were excited by Conservative agitators to organize themselves in resistance to the Poor-Law. The cry for the torch and the dagger was first breathed from reverend lips. Such were the masters under whom Frost and Williams received their first lessons in violence and crime; and yet Sir Robert Peel, forgetful in what normal schools this frightful instruction was given—forgetful, too, that partisans of his own were the teachers—was weak enough to imagine that he could persuade the House of Commons and the people of England, that Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell were the delinquents; and that a specific for all these disorders would be found in the restoration of the Tories to Downing Street.

In our latter observations, our readers will have perceived that we have not dealt with any mere Thersites. We have refuted the arguments, and exposed the objects of those who stand highest in the Conservative ranks.

'Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ.'

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It would be a great fallacy, however, to imagine that the delinquencies we have described are the only offences to be complained of. Far from it. At the most critical moment of the Canadian struggle, when the integrity of the empire seemed endangered by aggression from without, and by internal commotion, the possibility of assailing Lord Durham and the Government was too great a temptation to be resisted. When the authority of the Home Government, and the best interests of humanity were alike disregarded by the Jamaica legislature, the social existence of that island was endangered to secure a party triumph. The colonies were taught this fearful lesson, that the destinies of those who are subject to the power of a legislature in which they are not directly represented, were considered unimportant if civil war in the one instance, or contumacy in the other, could be turned to the profit of party. When the result of the gigantic movements on the Indus were uncertain, Sir James Graham rushed forward to the assault, with that chivalrous and generous courage which loves to display itself in attack upon the absent. It is true that he was restrained, possibly by a higher and a more patriotic authority; and he has since been called upon to join in an unanimous vote of thanks for the military glories of the campaign. When measures of force were most reluctantly resorted to against Holland, the virtues of the King of the Netherlands, and the importance of the Dutch alliance were the continued themes. Yet we have seen that the very measures so complained of, gave to Lord Palmerston the strength which he used with such signal success when Belgium subsequently drew back from an acquiescence in the terms of pacification proposed. When General Evans and the British Legion were contending against the most fearful difficulties, how uncharitable and unpatriotic were the Tory commentators! The very courage of the British troops was undervalued, and the most flattering designation with which they were favoured was that of bloodthirsty mercenaries. Let a foreign sovereign strengthen his alliance with England, and he is spoken of with disrespect or mistrust. But let it be supposed that a cloud, however temporary, has cast some shadow between his court and the Foreign Office, and he becomes an immediate object of interest and of encomium. If Lord Palmerston asks for new powers to enable him to enforce the faith of treaties, and to suppress the abominations of the Slave-Trade, a charge is made against the Government for a supposed disregard of the rights of an independent state. A tone of discourtesy, if not of insult, towards the United States, is adopted in debate, which, if it had pervaded the despatches sent from Downing Street, or

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the conferences at Washington, would have produced that greatest of all calamities, a war between the two British nations destined to be the depositaries of the liberties of mankind. Parliament is invited to believe, that British commercial interests are neglected, at a time when Lord Palmerston's treaties with Austria and with Turkey have been ratified. Our influence is said to be disregarded, when our mediation has preserved peace between France and the United States, and has stopped the shedding of blood in Mexico. Attack after attack has been repelled, not only by argument, but—by that which is still better—by success. Luckily for those assailants, whose occupation would otherwise have been gone, the Flowery Empire promises to afford them a new field of battle; and Commissioner Lin will probably succeed to that discreditable protection so long bestowed upon Carlos and Miguel. We have no doubt that the Tory attack was prepared for the alternative, either of war or peace at Canton. If we had submitted to the barbarous tyranny of the Celestial Empire, Captain Eliott, we doubt not, would have been hailed as a martyr; the degradation of the British flag would have been said to be complete. But when the Government have shown that they will act with vigour, in order to procure retribution for the wrongs already perpetrated, and security against their recurrence, all the sympathies of the Carlton Club are at the command of the Hong merchants and the mandarins. The principles which have ever been considered as the most sacred by the Tory party, have all been set at nought. The most essential prerogatives of the Crown have been disregarded. The promotions in the army and marine have been questioned in Parliament; and we regret to add that one, who had himself filled the highest station at the Admiralty, did not hesitate to suggest to the gallant officers of the navy, that, in the present times, political subserviency was more appreciated than public service and professional claims. It is true that the chastisement inflicted for these unjust charges, in Mr Charles Wood's brilliant and generous defence of the Board of which he had been the organ and the ornament, was signal and severe. The punishment, so deservedly bestowed, was such as almost to change our indignation into pity. The bitter, but calm and most conclusive refutation there given, will long be remembered in the house in which it was spoken, and by the party to whom it was addressed. The Bishop of Exeter might charitably suggest that it would produce a moral reformation. We do not indulge in so bitter a sarcasm or so sanguine a hope.

It might have been expected that, on one subject at the least,

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higher and better influences would have prevailed; and that some consideration might have been shown where the public credit of the country was concerned. The discussion of finance questions forms, however, no such exception. During the last six years, the complaint of the Opposition has been that the great branches of the service, those on which the safety of England depends, had been sacrificed to a love of economy. In the late debate, the increased estimates are ostentatiously stated as a proof of delinquency. The increase of the public debt has been proclaimed, without referring to the Slave Indemnity, by which that increase of debt was produced. That greatest of all offences, the compliance with the prayer of petitions coming from all quarters in favour of a reduction of postage, is made the subject of renewed vituperation. 'As to your pledge of making good 'the deficiency which may arise on this side,' observed Lord Stanley,' 'we scorn, we repudiate that pledge.' If this was our opinion, which it is not, we should not venture to address such vituperation to the large majority by which the resolution so assailed had been voted. If the security taken had been merely a naked resolution of the House of Commons, is it very wise on the part of one who aspires to be a statesman, to hold up to public contempt a solemn act of the legislative assembly to which he belongs? Is it prudent to suggest that a resolution entered into by a very large majority in one session, is to be considered as of no avail in the next? Did Lord Stanley maintain this doctrine, when, in the Government of which he was a member, the question of Repeal of the Union was met by a counter-resolution? What would have been his indignant reply, if, after that resolution had been passed, Mr O'Connell had stated that he treated it 'with scorn and contempt.' In the case of the reduction of the postage, the security is greater. The pledge is given not by a mere resolution, but by the whole legislature, it being embodied in the Act of Parliament. It stands recorded as the consideration for which the reduction of postage was conceded. We may be told by Lord Stanley, that the preamble of an act of Parliament signifies as little as the resolution of the House of Commons. We may be told that the statute as well as the resolution deserved to be treated with scorn and contempt. Will Lord Stanley venture to go so far? How often has he relied on the recitals in the Act of Union respecting the Irish Church as giving security and strength to that anomalous establishment; how often has he relied on those recitals as constituting an indefeasible title which cannot be disturbed; and can it be contended that the force of the obligation is not equally stron

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in the one case as in the other? Lord Stanley's alarm may, however, be diminished; for another security is inserted in the very bill on which he animadverts. On this he has preserved a prudent silence. The reduction of postage holds good for one year only; and should the House of Commons prove themselves to be as deficient in principle as Lord Stanley represents them to be, the million and a half of revenue which is said to have been so injuriously sacrificed, would be at once brought back into the Exchequer for the payment of the public service, and the security of the public creditor. As if all these misrepresentations and suppressions were not considered adequate to raise the cry of Conservative alarm, a bolder measure was resorted to. A motion was made by Mr Herries, calling for financial disclosures, of a character and at a time quite unexampled in the annals of Parliamentary contention. Though the proposition was one which some of the Tory members connected with commerce declined to support, it was unfortunately carried, and a fall in the value of the public securities was the consequence of this party decision.

We have hastily and imperfectly placed in contrast to each other the leading characteristics—the principles of the two contending parties. We might easily have carried our illustrations much further. We might have opened the case of Ireland, in itself decisive of the question; for the triumph of Lord Ebrington seems now complete and undeniable. We might have contrasted the energy of the Bishop of Exeter in giving a notoriety and an interest to the folly and wickedness of the Socialists, with the opposition given to the Government Scheme of Education. We might have congratulated the Tories upon the new love of economy which they exhibited in reducing the grant proposed for the husband of the Queen, and the knowledge of human nature and of the constitution of England which they have displayed. We might also have said a word on the postponement of Prince Albert's Naturalization Act, in consequence of the absence of one single peer whose pleasures called him into the country. These considerations, though secondary in importance to the arguments on which we have already dwelt, will not be without interest to those who seek to pursue the subject further. The Speeches on the want of confidence motion, which we rejoice to see have been published for general circulation, will enable the balance to be struck between the contending parties. On their relative merits the Commons have decided, and public opinion will now have to decide. The question is rather one between the Whigs and the Tories, than between Lord

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Melbourne and Sir Robert Peel; though our conclusion would be the same in both cases. But it is manifestly impossible that the latter could carry on an efficient government, consistent in its policy, whilst encumbered with the followers who form the strength of his forces. There are some among them, with whom he could not march through Coventry. The Tory leader is much more in advance of his party than he is behind the just expectations of the people. How often must he not say with Lord Dudley,—'Nobody has a greater dislike to 'Tory prejudices than I have; but unhappily the Tories form 'the main body of the army with which the "Radicals" are 'to be opposed?' The public at large cannot fail to attribute this opinion to Sir Robert Peel, however cautiously it may be suppressed on his part. This belief cannot fail to generate mistrust and dislike on the part of his supporters. This must be fatal, if they should ever be called upon to co-operate in government. It is more than probable we may yet see the bitter cup which was prepared for Mr Canning in 1827, returned to the lips of Sir Robert Peel himself. His ostracism may be distant, but to us it appears to be certain.

On the other hand, let Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell continue to act with spirit but with prudence; satisfied to achieve practical good, let them not propose any measure in which they are not confident that public opinion will support them. Faithful to their sovereign, true to the people, disdaining to acquire strength by exciting national antipathies or religious bigotry, but unflinching in their desire to extend knowledge, to improve the condition of their fellow-subjects, and to secure and perpetuate civil and religious freedom, their strength will augment. They have averted a risk, if not a danger in India, and have triumphed. They have seen the tyrannical usurpers with whom they would not condescend to ally themselves, expelled from the Peninsula. The complete and brilliant success of the Governor of Canada, Mr Thompson, gives to Parliament the opportunity of settling the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of British North America; unless, indeed, the spirit of intolerance should tempt the Church to frustrate this great and happy adjustment. Ireland is in repose and contentment. These are benefits which the sober-minded and rational part of the community are not disposed to place at risk. Public confidence in the Queen's Government must increase daily. But, to insure this result, the political friends of the party must act with discretion and with forbearance. They must place a willing and generous confidence in the excellent men who are now happily charged

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with the administration of affairs. Content to advance gradually, provided they are sure that we are advancing, the Liberal party should remember that even the most enlightened of Tory statesmen is one who states his apprehension of shipwreck '*on* '*the dirty and muddy shores of progressive reform.*'* When the course which we believe the public to be desirous of steering is thus contemptuously described, we doubt the policy of accepting the services of a Conservative pilot. The maxim quoted from Lord Bacon by Sir James Graham, is no less applicable to the people than it is to monarchs. 'It is in vain to consult of 'matters if we do not consult of persons also. Matters are 'nothing but dead images; but the execution of affairs consists 'in the choice of persons.'

* Sir R. Peel's Speech, p. 10.

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THE

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ART. I.—1. *Sketches of the Relations subsisting between the British Government in India and the different Native States.* By Captain J. SUTHERLAND. 8vo. Calcutta: 1833.
2. *Reports and Papers, Political, Geographical, and Commercial, submitted to Government by* Sir A. BURNES, Lieutenant LEECH, Dr LORD, and Lieutenant WOOD, *employed on Missions in the years* 1835-36-37, *in Scinde, Affghanistan, and the adjacent Countries.* Printed by order of the Government. Folio. Calcutta: 1839.
3. *Correspondence relating to Persia and Affghanistan: being Papers laid before Parliament.* 8vo. London: 1839.
4. *Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul, and Affghanistan, and of a Residence at the Court of Dost Mahomed; with Notices of Runjeet Singh, Khiva, and the Russian Expedition.* By G. T. VIGNE, Esq. F.G.S. 8vo. London: 1840.
5. *The British Empire in the East.* By Count BJÖRNSTJERNA. 8vo. London: 1840.

THE period has not yet arrived for forming a conclusive judgment upon the results of the recent military operations in India. It is questioned by some, whether Shah Shooja be firmly seated upon the throne of Affghanistan; and time alone can prove whether the policy of the Courts of Nepal and Ava will be permanently affected by the brilliant success which attended the whole progress of the expedition beyond the Indus,

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and which was crowned by the storming of Ghuzni and Khelat. The immediate result of that success was, of course, to lower the tone of those courts, and to deter them from breaking with a power which had given, in the promptitude and force of the blow which it struck at so vast a distance, another and most signal proof of its ability to maintain its authority. But in the East, the permanence even of the strongest impressions of this nature cannot be calculated on. With very rare exceptions, every Asiatic despot, who is not, like Hyder Ali and Runjeet Singh, the founder of a dynasty—

'Fortunæ faber ipse suæ,'

is a mere child, puffed up with the most exaggerated notions of his own power; because his own rabble of soldiery is immediately before his eyes, and he is utterly ignorant of the relative resources of his neighbours, whom he regards with the most profound contempt as long as they are out of sight. Having such parties to deal with, in two quarters at least—and it is to be feared that Runjeet Singh has bequeathed his hard-won kingdom to one of the same class—we must needs speak somewhat doubtfully of the ability of our Indian Government to maintain, for any length of time, that peace to which its triumphant settlement of the affairs of Affghanistan has given such an appearance of stability.

Affairs being in this uncertain condition along the whole line of our frontier from the Sutlege to the Irrawaddy; the Russians having advanced upon Khiva, though only, as it would appear, to be defeated by the climate; that and other circumstances having compelled the Governor-General to canton a considerable force to the west of the Indus; and our disputes with China rendering it necessary to embark troops for that quarter, in order that we may be able to negotiate effectually with the haughty Tartars who govern that enormous empire;—it may truly be affirmed that Anglo-Indian politics never presented features of higher interest, or more worthy of the attention of every intelligent Englishman.

But this is not all. Many of our fellow-countrymen may care little about the friendship or hostility of the barbarous monarchs whose territories border with our Indian possessions; or whether the revenue of those possessions be wasted in unprofitable war, or employed to the best advantage in creating and extending the blessings of peace. But there are numbers who, if once thoroughly aware of their value, would not be so indifferent to openings for commercial enterprise, and to fields where nothing is wanting but the funds and energy of the British capitalist to ensure large and cheap returns of the most valuable products. The

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real value of British India is only now becoming thoroughly known even to those who know it best. Formerly, even our statesmen were beguiled by vain dreams of large direct tribute. The heaps of ill-gotten bullion which existed, or were imagined to exist, in the treasure-chambers of the few despots with whom caprice took the form of parsimony, were considered as demonstrative proofs of the wealth of a country, which exhibited in fact every feature of abject poverty. The rulers of India have become wiser. They have learned—rather let us say, have been taught by that 'private reason which always prevents or outstrips public wisdom'—that poor and miserable as long and aggravated misgovernment, the worst of false religions, and social institutions the most absurd and degrading, have made her, India possesses, in her soil of unmatched fertility—in the abundant population which has hitherto, generally speaking, tilled that soil for a bare sufficiency of the simplest food—in her numerous ports open at all seasons to vessels from every quarter—in her noble rivers, which afford the easiest communication between these ports and the most remote fields of production—and in the extent of dominion, and variety of climate, which permit the profitable cultivation of many of the most valuable products, both of the tropics and of the temperate zone—the means of realizing to her masters wealth to which no limits can be assigned; and that too by a process inseparably connected with the greatest and most enduring benefit to her own children. The agriculture, the commerce of India, are both as yet in their infancy. There is no limit, at least none that will be reached for centuries, to her power of supplying the great staples of cotton, sugar,* silk, coffee, tobacco, saltpetre, and indigo. Almost every year adds some important article to her long list of capabilities. Oil-seeds, caoutchouc, and wool, are exports of very recent date.† The tea of Assam will outstrip them

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* Under the encouragement afforded by the reduction of duty from £1, 12s. to £1, 4s. per cwt., the quantity of East India sugar imported into England has increased from 76,613 cwts. in 1834, to 519,126 cwts. in 1839. Justice and policy equally demand that the duty on East Indian rum should be reduced to the West Indian standard.

† The first shipment of wool from Bombay took place in 1833. The export increased from 59,944 lbs. in 1824, to 2,444,019 lbs. in 1837. 'At present, the chief supplies of the article are drawn from Cutch and 'Sinde, and from Marwar *via* Guzerat. Small quantities also are re-'ceived occasionally from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. From 'these sources, and from the active measures taken by Government to im-'prove the fleeces of the sheep in the extensive pastoral country of the

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all in value and importance; and will soon, we trust, render us in a great measure independent of the monopolists with whom we have hitherto had to deal.* There is no doubt that skill and care in the growth and preparation are alone wanting to render the hemp and flax of India equal to that furnished by the north of Europe. Experiments are in progress with a view to the naturalization of the Cochineal insect. There is little question that rhubarb could be grown as well in India as in China, from which country that which is called Turkey rhubarb is now brought by Russian caravans. The highly-intelligent commercial communities of Calcutta and Bombay, and the planters and merchants settled in the interior of those presidencies, are actively engaged in improving and increasing the old, and in discovering new, articles of export.† With the exports must increase the means of purchasing British manufactures. And for many most important purposes, the gigantic power of steam, though as yet most inadequately applied, has, in effect, brought our magnificent possessions in India nearer to England by two-thirds, than in those, so called, good old times when the Company's ships achieved a passage to Madras or Bombay in six calendar months!

Yet, notwithstanding all these motives of interest, all these attractions, British India is almost a *terra incognita* to the great body of educated Englishmen. Though this little island possess an empire in the East, that the Cæsars might envy—the foundations of which the servants of a company of merchants were laying wide and deep, while the ministers of the Crown were flinging away the affection and allegiance of the brave men who had created for us an empire in the West—the ignorance

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'Deccan, so well adapted for the carrying of such an experiment into 'effect—the export trade in wool promises in a few years to be one of 'the most active and flourishing from Bombay.'—*Bombay Trade Report of* 1836, p. 37. We observe from the Commercial Reports published by the Supreme Government in Calcutta, (cited at the head of this article,) that our merchants may expect to draw large returns of wool from Affghanistan, and the countries still further to the northward.

* The Commercial Reports above cited show, that the people of Affghanistan, and of the wide tracts beyond it, as far as Bokhara, including the more remote tribes to which that city is an emporium, will be large customers for tea. If it can be produced as cheaply as is expected, our Indian subjects will be great consumers.

† The researches and experiments of the Agricultural Society of India, which holds its meetings in Calcutta, directed and encouraged by its excellent president, Chief-Justice Sir Edward Ryan, have been most energetic and useful.

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and indifference which prevail concerning it are wellnigh incredible. The introduction of any subject connected with Indian affairs, acts as a spell in clearing the benches of either House of Parliament; and the majority even of the few who remain, and deem themselves qualified to discuss such subjects, seldom fail to furnish, out of their own mouths, abundant proofs that their interest therein has not been sufficient to lead them to acquire the knowledge necessary for the purpose.

But this cannot last. India is rapidly acquiring a commercial importance, which must command attention; and recent events have so intimately connected some of her political relations with those of Europe, that no person with any pretensions to the character of a statesman, will find ignorance regarding them to be any longer safe or creditable. We shall endeavour to encourage and facilitate the first steps of public intelligence in the acquisition of knowledge so important and interesting, by laying before our readers a rapid sketch of the present state and future prospects of our Indian empire. And as it is our object to convey this information in a popular, and, as far as we can render it so, an attractive form, we shall not be disappointed if the very few of our readers in this country who are deeply versed in Indian politics, do not find any thing very recondite in our observations. It would be time and labour thrown away, when scarcely one in a thousand is acquainted with the very elements of the knowledge which we seek to impart—or rather wish to stimulate the public mind to acquire—to enter upon abstruse disquisitions or nice details concerning relations, claims, and treaties, which could scarcely be rendered intelligible to the best-informed man who has not served a long apprenticeship in the political departments of Indian office. The importance of India ought to be written in characters which all who run may read: much injustice has already been done to the subject by discussing it in a cypher which only the initiated can readily understand, and which no one else will take the trouble to master.

Some retrospect is necessary to the satisfactory fulfilment of the task which we have here set ourselves. We cannot refrain from considering the circumstances which placed us in our present relations to Affghanistan and Persia, without appearing to shun questions of great importance, upon which we are aware that general opinion—and that, too, supported by the judgment of some of the highest authorities—is opposed to the line of policy chosen by the Governor-General; notwithstanding the signal success, in a military point of view, with which that policy has been carried into execution. We shall endeavour to form our conclusions upon a calm examination

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of the points which appear to be at issue; without suffering ourselves to be dazzled, on the one hand, by the brilliant exploits of our troops; or to assume, on the other, that Lord Auckland did not take the wisest course which circumstances left open to him, merely because the course taken may have entailed some undeniable evils upon our Indian administration.

As regards the general question of peace or war, this has been emphatically the case. At no previous period were the real interests of British India so well understood, or equal pains taken to advance them. That wise and benevolent statesman, Lord William Bentinck—the memory of whose sterling virtues and earnest endeavours to benefit the millions who were subject to his rule, will long survive the petty piques and selfish irritation of those among the subordinate agents of that rule who deemed themselves aggrieved by his measures—had laid the axe to the root of many an obstinate prejudice, many a mischievous custom, and had occupied the ground thus cleared with the foundation-stones of a sound system of national improvement. He laid down, and during his whole administration strenuously acted upon, the broad principles, that the good of the great body of the people, not the selfish interests of the ruling power or of its servants, ought to be the object of all government; and that the best mode of rendering men, in the situation of our Indian fellow-subjects, trustworthy instruments of government, is to employ them, under proper superintendence, in situations of sufficiently remunerated trust. Lord Auckland—of whose pre-eminent qualifications as an administrator of civil affairs there seems to be but one opinion, and whose calm and sagacious judgment admirably fitted him for giving effect to the principles which his more enthusiastic predecessor had established—was labouring most assiduously, and with the best prospects of success, in the great work of raising and liberating a deeply-debased and long-enthralled people, when his attention was loudly called from this congenial occupation, by the necessity of providing against the external dangers which threatened our empire. Deeply must the Governor-General have felt this interruption of an employment, worthy at once of the highest talents and of the most earnest philanthropy: more deeply still will India have to lament the expenditure in war of invaluable time, and of those pecuniary means of improvement which would have yielded, if sown in peaceful fields, the richest returns.

But although the Indian government was most sincerely desirous of peace, the necessity of being prepared for war, and that not in one quarter only, was most manifest and urgent. Never certainly, since Lord Wellesley's administration, had the poli-

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tical horizon been so gloomy and threatening as in 1837-38. Disregarding equally the advice and remonstrances of the British Resident, and eventually grossly insulting him, the King of Persia had been instigated to undertake the siege of Herat, and to advance ulterior claims of sovereignty over the whole of Affghanistan. This actual approximation of the unfurled banners of Islam to the frontier of India; the general impression that it was the intention of that sovereign to carry them to the Indus at least, if his forbearance were not purchased by the submission of the chiefs of Cabul and Candahar; the equally prevalent belief that he was encouraged and supported in these schemes by the Emperor of Russia; and the exaggerated notions of the power of that potentate to afford such aid to the Shah as would render the resistance of the Affghans and of the British government alike unavailing—combined to unsettle the minds, and to resuscitate the dormant enmity, of the Mahomedan population throughout the peninsula. Their hopes of recovered domination were strengthened by the expectation that our power would be simultaneously assailed from other quarters. A revolution had seated upon the throne of Ava a prince more impatient than his predecessor of that humiliating relation to the British government, in which the treaty of Yandaboo, concluded in February 1826, after a struggle of two years, had placed the descendant of the great Alompra. The conduct of the new monarch towards the representative of the Governor-General, and the nature and tone of his public observations upon our power, and his own intentions in dealing with it, rendered it extremely doubtful whether the maintenance of peace with that overweening and barbarous court could be made to consist with a due regard for the national reputation. To the government of Nepal, also, the juncture appeared favourable for retrieving the losses of territory and honour to which Lord Hastings had compelled it to submit. It engaged, accordingly, in a correspondence with the Court of Ava;—entered deeply into intrigues both with the *quasi*-independent princes of the peninsula, and with the petty rajahs occupying the wild tracts on the skirts of the provinces of Bengal and Behar; and did its utmost to fan into a blaze the disaffection of that most inflammable portion of our subjects, the idle and dissolute Mahomedans of the large cities. We shall have occasion to mention more at large, in the sequel, our relations with Ava and Nepal; but it was necessary to advert, in this place, to the hostile attitudes assumed by the powers upon our north-eastern, eastern, and south-eastern frontiers, at the very time that the cloud was gathering most darkly in the north-west; in order that our readers might form an

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adequate conception both of the effect which such an apparent combination of enemies was calculated to produce upon the excitable minds of our native subjects, and of the circumstances under which it became necessary for Lord Auckland to choose his line of policy with regard to the affairs of Affghanistan and Persia. He will be well entitled to take high rank as a statesman, if it shall appear that such a crisis neither paralysed his energies nor excited him into rashness.

It seems to us that the state of affairs in the countries to the north-west of India, afforded the Governor-General the choice of but two courses besides that which he actually took.

Firstly, He might have refrained altogether from meddling in those affairs, otherwise than by endeavouring to dissuade the King of Persia from carrying on aggressive operations in Affghanistan—resting satisfied with taking every practicable measure to strengthen the position of the British government within the Indus; or, *secondly*, he might have formed a defensive alliance with Dost Mahomed Khan of Cabul, and the chiefs of Candahar—engaging to assist them in repelling the attacks of Persia on the one hand, and to stop the further encroachments of Runjeet Singh on the other.

The result of the endeavours made by Mr Ellis and Mr, now Sir John M'Neill, places it beyond question that the King of Persia—urged on by the representative of the Russian government—was not to be restrained from attacking Herat, and from extending his views of conquest, or of preponderating influence, to Cabul and Candahar, by any mere remonstrances on the part of the Governor-General or of Great Britain. His ministers distinctly told the former that they considered the dominion of Persia to extend to Ghuzni, and that they looked beyond Herat to Candahar; and the envoy from the chiefs of the latter place publicly declared at the Persian court, that 'the whole of Affghanistan 'was, with the exception of Herat and its dependencies, ready 'to come under feudal subjection to the Shah; who, in fact, 'might, with the aid of the Affghans, push his conquests to 'Delhi.'* We must, therefore, regard the first proposition as a simple one, and form our judgment with respect to the policy of active interference in the affairs of Affghanistan, upon the hypothesis that the power of Persia was the only limit to the execution of her views of aggrandizement in the direction of the Indus.

We have already alluded to the effect of those views—supported as they were assumed to be by the gigantic power of

* Mr Ellis's despatch of 10th April 1836.

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Russia—upon the minds of the millions of Mahomedans of all classes, whether our own subjects or not, throughout India. As long as they retain their present creed, we never can have any hold upon their affections. They hate us with all the intensity of combined political and religious animosity. Forgetting that their power had almost entirely reverted to the Hindoos—as represented by the Mahrattas—before we took any general part in the affairs of the Peninsula, they detest us as the subverters of their domination over the fair plains and wealthy cities of Hindostan: they detest us with still greater cordiality as the Christian rulers of the followers of the last true Prophet. The Shah of Persia is to them, with all the greater enchantment of additional distance, adding emphasis to the *ignotum pro magnifico*—what Dost Mahomed Khan, the chief of Cabul, called him—'the King of Islam;"—the representative of that mighty power which once swayed the destinies of the fairest portions of Asia and Europe, and but for the prowess of Charles Martel, as displayed in the seven days' conflict on the plain of Tours, would, in all human probability, have subdued the whole of Christendom. They regarded his advance upon India with the same fond aspirations which the Christians of Palestine and Syria must have breathed for the success of the monarchs who led the third crusade. It seems probable that the artillery and military stores recently discovered in the arsenal of the petty principality of Kurnool, almost at the extreme south of the peninsula, were prepared to take advantage of, and to further the expected invasion of the Shah. Of the military power of the Russians, the most extravagant notions were entertained. Captain Conolly, speaking of his stay at Herat, says,—'In comparison with the Russians, I found that neither my countrymen, nor the people of any other European nation, were considered of consequence: indeed, some conceived from his title, "IMPERATOOR-AZUM"—"The Supreme Emperor,"—that the Russian Autocrat gave the law to the kings of Europe.' 'Wonderful things,' he proceeds, 'were asserted of the Oroos, particularly about their military deeds. Shumsoodeen Khan, among other things, told the company that no fort could hold out against this people; for that they never stopped at a ditch, marching soldiers into it until it was filled, and so on, over their heads, to the storm: and our host, whom I had credited for better sense, said that on a certain occasion provisions falling short in his army, the General-e-Oroos gave orders that fifty thousand men should be killed and served out as rations!' 'Is it possible?' exclaimed an old Affghan gentleman among the audience; 'why then they are cannibals, and must have a larger

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'army than Timour had.' We may be sure that such tales lose nothing of the marvellous as they travel towards the East; and that the people of India are at least as credulous as those of Affghanistan. It is certain that even the timid, shrewd, money-making Hindoos of Calcutta, the oldest of whom remember no other than British rule, and who assuredly have no desire to witness a struggle for the sovereignty of Bengal, nor even to set up a dynasty of their own, began to speculate regarding the effects upon the public funds, of the advance of a Russian army, and Lord Cornwallis's permanent settlement of the land-revenue.*

The mischief, therefore, which the conquest of Affghanistan by Persia, or even the acknowledgment by the chiefs of Herat Cabul and Candahar of the supreme authority of the Shah, would have inflicted upon the British interests in the East, must have been greatly enhanced by the subserviency of that power to Russia; and by the certainty that every extension of Persian dominion or influence towards the Indus, tended to approximate the *point d'appui*, from which the Court of St Petersburg could operate upon the peace and security of our Indian empire. Mr Ellis's testimony places it beyond question that such were the views of Count Simonich, however disavowed, as convenience dictated, by his master, in urging the King of Persia to undertake the expedition against Herat; and we have the same unexceptionable evidence (for Mr Ellis could have no favourite course of future policy to recommend, and no foregone conclusions to

* These persons presented to Lord Auckland, on his recent return to Calcutta, an address of congratulation, containing the following remarkable passage:—'My Lord, it has been reserved for us to see the soldiers 'of our country carry victory into regions towards which India has 'hitherto looked with no other feelings than those of apprehension. 'It has been reserved for us to see those regions become the scene on 'which the power and greatness of the Indian empire have been made 'memorably manifest, in the vindication of its honour and rights, in the 'face of Asia and of the world. It has been reserved for us to see the 'tide of conquest, which for so many ages has flowed towards the East, 'at length turned back by heroic bands, in whose ranks we proudly 'recognise the sepoy warrior marching to triumph and renown, side by 'side with his British fellow-soldier.' More than eight centuries have elapsed since Ghuzni, whose alleged impregnability has been so signally confuted by our gallant troops, opened it gates for the departure of its Sultan, Mahmood, at the head of the first Mahomedan invaders of Hindostan. There has indeed been a strange reflux, and there appears no present prospect that the prophecy of Seneca will be fulfilled, by the Persians drinking the waters of the Elbe.

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justify) as to the evil effects upon British India of the successful issue of these plans, and to the absolute necessity of taking vigorous measures to defeat them. So early as April 1836, that judicious diplomatist wrote to Lord Palmerston as follows :—

" The success of the Shah in the undertaking is anxiously wished for by Russia, and their minister here does not fail to press it on to early execution. The motive cannot be mistaken. Herat once annexed to Persia, may become, according to the commercial treaty, the residence of a Russian consular agent, who would from thence push his researches and communications, avowed and secret, throughout Affghanistan. Indeed, in the present state of the relations between Persia and Russia, it cannot be denied that the progress of the former in Affghanistan is tantamount to the advancement of the latter, and ought to receive every opposition from the British Government that the obligations of public faith will permit."

In another despatch, written in the same month, he stated that he was " quite convinced that the British Government could no longer, with safety to its possessions in India, refrain from intimate connexion with the Affghans, whether they be subject to one chief, or divided into principalities."

" The Shah of Persia," he continues, " may, and I begin rather confidently to hope will, be prevented by want of means from attacking Herat this year, and annexing it to his dominions ; but he will not abandon this object unless compelled to do so by the declared opposition of the British Government. His Majesty has been encouraged, and I have been recently informed has been promised positive assistance in this design, by the Russians, who well know that the conquest of Herat and Candahar by the Persians is in fact an advance for them towards India, if not for the purpose of actual invasion, certainly for that of intrigue and disorganization."

Sir John M'Neill, who succeeded Mr Ellis as our minister at the Persian Court, confirmed in his despatches of the 3d November 1836, and 1st June 1837, the information given by his predecessor, as to the earnestness with which Count Simonich had pressed upon the King of Persia the expedition against Herat. On the 8th August 1838, he wrote in the following terms :—

" At this moment, the united influence of Persia and Russia would seem to be established in all the Affghan dominions, with the single exception of Herat ; and the existence of that influence in those countries, viewed in conjunction with the course which those powers have recently been pursuing, and the measures that have resulted from their joint diplomatic exertions, is so obviously incompatible with the tranquillity of India, and even with its security, that no measures can be more unequivocally measures of self-defence than those which the British Government is called upon to adopt, for the purpose of counteracting the evils

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with which India is threatened. Persia has no provocation to complain of. The course pursued by the British government towards this government has been one of uniform friendship and forbearance; and it appears to me that it would be a hazardous and costly line of policy to adopt, were the British government any longer to permit Persia, under shelter of her treaty with England, to open the way to India for another and far more formidable power."

It appears to us that these facts and considerations afford abundant grounds for concurrence in the opinion, so strongly expressed by Mr Ellis, that the interests of the British Government imperatively required that it should connect itself, in the closest relations, with the rulers—one or more—of Affghanistan.

Persia had manifestly ceased to be an outwork of defence against Russian aggression or intrigue, and had become the stalking-horse of that power: and no efforts of mere diplomacy on our part—however much insisted on as all that was necessary, by some who do not consider sufficiently the change that has taken place of late years in the policy of Russia towards her feeble neighbour—could have mended our position in that respect. The Court of St Petersburg has no immediate views of territorial aggrandizement at the expense of Persia. It is far more for its interest to use it as an instrument which may be taken up or cast off at pleasure, for keeping the hands of one of its great European rivals—of the power that stopped its march from the Balkan upon Constantinople, and which could at any time most effectually baffle its designs upon the Dardanelles—full, to the utmost possible extent, of embarrassing employment: consequently, now,

> "Wiser than before,
> It tempts by making rich, not making poor;"

and applies itself to excite the ambition and religious enthusiasm of a young despot, by holding out to him hopes of re-establishing the empire of Nadir Shah by the subjection of the hated (because Sunni) Affghans—if not of driving us out of India, and reigning there in our stead. To such incentives as these, backed by positive aid, the representative of the British Government can oppose no arguments more effective than sage counsel as to the propriety of attending more sedulously to 'the internal 'affairs of the kingdom,'—intimations that 'it is reported that the 'expenditure exceeds the revenue,' and that it is therefore expedient that 'the ministers should this year make such arrange-'ments that the expenditure of the kingdom may be balanced 'by the receipts,'—and advice that the time and means of the government should be rather devoted to bringing certain old

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provinces of the kingdom 'into proper order,' than to extending its frontier. Who could believe that a young Persian sovereign's passion for conquest and plunder would be repressed by such suggestions as these? and yet we are quite sure that Mr Ellis used the strongest arguments that were available; for no one, we presume, will be found to regret that more rupees were not poured into the gulf of the Persian treasury, with the vain hope of staving off the attack upon Herat for a season, but really rendering the Shah more competent to undertake it.

It has been urged, however, that we have defeated our own object, by interfering with the affairs of Affghanistan; that, whilst it was our avowed aim, and confessedly our true interest, to keep Persia and, still more, Russia at a distance, we have, in effect, gone out to meet them; and have thus greatly increased the chance of that collision which it is our obvious policy to avoid. It is said, also, that the Indus is our natural boundary and strongest barrier; and that if danger is to be apprehended from the north-west, we ought to array our forces to meet it on the eastern bank of that noble river.

It appears to us, however, that Persia, having become the mere tool of Russia,* it is of vital importance to British India that Affghanistan should be interposed as an effectual barrier between the great Mahomedan power of Central Asia—urged on by Muscovite intrigue, and supported, whenever a favourable opportunity may offer, by Muscovite troops—and all that is inflammable within the peninsula. There is surely a difference of great consequence, whether at a moment when, perhaps, our hands are full in Europe, Russia should be able to place the fulcrum of her lever of mischief at Cabul and Candahar, with the command of the right bank of the Indus; or at Astrabad and Meshid, or even (when she has achieved their subjection) at Bokhara and Balkh. What the Russians desire, in the words of Captain Conolly, is '*to* '*have it in their power* to attack us in India, in case of a quar- 'rel rendering such a measure expedient.' Such an enemy upon the Indus, able to play off the bigotry of the whole Mahomedan population against us, would set and keep all Hindostan in a ferment, obliging us to maintain the fullest war establishment at a very petty cost to itself. It has truly been said that Russia

* This is unquestionably the case, but no blame is fairly attributable to any British diplomatist or statesman on account of it. As long as Russia conducts herself with common judgment and forbearance from aggression, her local position gives her a commanding influence at the Court of Persia, which it is altogether futile for us to attempt to combat.

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possesses, in mere rumour, a powerful engine to employ against British India. Approximation increases the power of this engine in a geometrical ratio: a single boat upon the Indus would excite more hope and more fear than a fleet of first-rates in the Caspian.

On the other hand, the advantages of possessing Affghanistan as a barrier, and, if need be, as the scene of military operations, are great and manifold. Of the former we have said enough, in describing the dangers to which its occupation by others would expose us. For an able statement in regard to the latter, we must refer our readers to Captain Conolly's chapter upon 'The 'Overland Invasion of India.' He shows clearly, that 'if the 'Affghans, as a nation, were determined to resist the invaders, 'the difficulties of the march would be rendered wellnigh insur-'mountable;'—that 'the Affghans could put beyond reach, or 'destroy, the partial supplies that might otherwise be obtained;' —that they 'have little to gain, and much to fear, from letting 'the Russians enter their country; that they are natural enemies 'to the nations by whom the Russians must in the first instance 'be assisted, whether Oosbeg or Persian; and that they more-'over cherish a strong fanatical antipathy against the latter 'people.'* Our author is speaking throughout of the unaided resistance of the Affghans to the invaders of India seeking a passage through their country; and he sums up his opinion upon that hypothesis, after detailing the difficulties and strength for military defence of the several routes, by stating, that he is satisfied that the Russians could not 'force their way either from the 'north or west,' (*i. e.* either from Balkh or Meshid,) 'through 'Affghanistan to the Indus, against the consent of the people.' We need scarcely add, that a very moderate share of British science and British valour, acting in concert with the Affghans, would enable them, in the defiles of that difficult country, to laugh to scorn any force that Russia could possibly bring into the field.

As to the expense (much to be regretted) of the expedition, it is manifest, we think, from what we have already stated, that there was, in this respect, but a choice of evils; for the question which we are now considering is, whether we ought, or ought not, to have interfered at all in the affairs of Affghanistan—not whether such interference should have been conducted through the instrumentality of A or B. The feeble chiefs of Cabul and Candahar were ready to succumb to Persia; the latter had

* The Persians are heretics—Sheahs: the Affghans, Sunnis, or orthodox Mahomedans.

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actually accepted terms, involving the acknowledgment of the Shah's supremacy, guaranteed by Russia; and Dost Mahomed Khan had been for some years an humble suppliant for Persian aid against the Seikhs. But for our interference, Persia and Russia would have been virtually upon the Indus. Who that knows India will require a formal demonstration that their being established in such a position would have cost us ten times more, in one shape or another, than the expense of interference? And who can calculate the value of the moral effect of our success upon the courts of Nepal and Ava, on the princes of the Peninsula, and on the minds of our native subjects? Even supposing that our inaction would not have given Persia and Russia opportunity to occupy a position from which they might, at any moment and at their own pleasure, have wrought us the greatest annoyance, it would have damaged us in the estimation of our own people, and of our immediate neighbours, to a degree which no mere pecuniary saving could compensate. And the expense of the expedition, and of the subsequent occupation of Affghanistan, has hitherto been met from the ordinary revenue, without borrowing. On the other hand, the humiliating retreat of the Shah of Persia from Herat,

'Foil'd by a *Briton's* hand before a batter'd wall,"—

for all parties attribute the successful resistance of that city to the skill and energy of Lieutenant Pottinger,—and the triumphant consummation of the campaign in Affghanistan by the capture of Ghuzni—(the first news of which the Mahomedans of our north-western provinces loudly ridiculed—saying that 'every 'one knew that Ghuzni could not be taken,')—have quelled the spirit both of foreign and domestic enemies, and established a universal impression of the hopelessness of any attempt to combat our supremacy.

Only one other argument against interference remains, we believe, to be considered. It is said, that if Persia acted as the mere tool of Russia, the injury inflicted, or threatened, ought to have been requited upon the waters of the Baltic and the Euxine, and not left to be avenged by the East India Company, and the simple occupation of Affghanistan. But those who argue thus seem to forget that, in the opinion even of Sir John M'Neill, the Shah of Persia was fully justified in making war upon the Prince of Herat, 'an enemy who had given him 'the greatest provocation;'* that Russia was bound by no treaty

* Sir A. Burnes, writing from Cabul in October 1837, says—'The out-

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to abstain from helping its ally in such a quarrel; that the feeble chiefs of Cabul and Candahar had humbly solicited the assistance of Persia, as brethren in the faith of Islam, to enable them to resist the encroachments of the idolatrous Seikhs; that the one party had the full right to ask, and the other to give, such aid; and that Russia had committed no overt acts of hostility which could have justified so extreme a measure as a European war. Her conduct afforded ground for remonstrance; and the papers laid before Parliament show that such remonstrance was most ably made, and with the most satisfactory results, by Lord Palmerston. Count Simonich was superseded at the court of Persia, and the unhappy Vicowich was recalled to St Petersburg, where he died—it is said by his own hand—immediately after an interview with Count Nesselrode. In fact, as we have stated, Russia has no present, nor perhaps proximate, desire for collision with the British power in Central Asia. Count Björnstjerna quotes Karamsin, whom he calls 'a profound and eloquent 'Russian historian,' as holding that 'the object and the charac-'ter of her foreign policy has universally been to seek to be at 'peace with every body, and to make conquests without war, 'always keeping herself on the defensive, placing no faith in 'the friendship of those whose interest does not accord with her 'own, and losing no opportunity of injuring them without osten-'sibly breaking her treaties with them.' Such an avowal is candid, at least, whatever may be thought of its profoundness. However, we believe that, in the present case, Russia is quite as much averse from war as we are. What she desired was, to creep, under shelter of her stalking-horse, into such a position that she might be able, should her interests require it at any future period, to embarrass and distress us. That view has been far more effectually thwarted by our new relations with Affghanistan, than if, neglecting to avail ourselves of that barrier, we had lit up the flames of war in Europe. Russia has not only had the mortification of seeing her ambitious designs penetrated and baffled, but has witnessed their counteraction by a course of policy which, as far as human foresight can penetrate, would render utterly vain any attempt to reconstruct the scheme that has been so summarily and effectually broken up.

We come now to examine the second line of policy which was

'rageous conduct of the ruler (of Herat) and his ministers, in having sold 'into slavery the greater part, if not the whole, of the Sheah population of 'the city, would justify any attack on the part of Persia.'—*Political Reports published by the Government of Calcutta*, p. 10.

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at the choice of the Governor-General; viz. that of alliance with Dost Mahomed Khan of Cabul, and his brothers the chiefs of Candahar. It is a point much nicer than the preliminary question of interference—whether Lord Auckland acted wisely or unwisely in resolving not to form a connexion with those parties, but to ground our Indian relations with Affghanistan upon the re-establishment of Shah Shooja on the throne of his ancestors?

As that restoration could be effected only by British arms, or rather, as any attempt to bring it about by other means would have been attended with the hazard of a mischievous failure, it is certain that measures taken in alliance with chiefs ruling *de facto* over Eastern Affghanistan, and largely in possession of the resources of the country, seemed to promise the attainment of the same ends at a less immediate expense of treasure, and probably of blood, than those actually resorted to. It may be assumed, also, that such a connexion as might have been formed with Dost Mahomed Khan and his brethren, (the chiefs of the Barukzye family and tribe,) whilst it might have sufficed to detach those parties from Persia, and to protect British India from all mischief from that quarter, would not have laid us under such indefinite obligations, threatening future embarrassment, as the relations in which we have been compelled to bind ourselves to Shah Shooja.

Having said this, we think that we have stated fairly the strongest ground that can, with truth and reason, be taken by those who, thinking that interference with the affairs of Affghanistan was essential to the protection of British interests, are nevertheless of opinion that the Governor-General acted unwisely in not availing himself of the assistance of the actually established government. But, as is usual, when the merits and demerits of a line of policy actually allowed, are weighed against advantages and disadvantages which can be regarded only as *in posse*, much more is taken for granted in disparagement of the former, and in favour of the latter, than the real state of facts and candid inferences from them will warrant.

It is assumed, for instance, that the chiefs of Cabul and Candahar were not only extremely well affected towards the British Government, and disposed to enter into a cordial alliance with it, to the abandonment of all hopes of support from the westward; but that they possessed a firm hold upon the affections of the people over whom they ruled, and were indissolubly bound together by the strongest ties, both of blood and affection, and of mutual interest. Shah Shooja, on the other hand, has been represented as the most imbecile and helpless of pretenders to a

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throne which he had lost by his own incompetence, and the contempt, if not hatred, of his subjects; and on which he can be maintained, as he has been reseated, solely by British arms and British treasure. Upon such assumptions, rhetorically enforced, it is easy to found an absolute condemnation of Lord Auckland's policy.

But those who will take the trouble correctly to ascertain, and dispassionately to consider the circumstances, will find, we apprehend, cause to question the justice of such a conclusion. The case, however, is confessedly not one where the preponderance of considerations in one scale is so palpable as to render politics a game which can safely be played, off-hand, by every speculator; the crisis demanded, perhaps as much as any that has occurred during the rise and progress of British ascendancy in the East, that cool judgment to decide, and spirit of devotion to public duty to execute, which are essential to the character of a statesman qualified to lay his hand upon the helm of our Indian empire.

It appears to us that there is sufficient moral evidence to show, *first*, that Shah Shooja, as the head of the powerful and sacred family of Suddozyes,* is far more acceptable, generally, to the Affghans, than Dost Mahomed, or any other or all of the chiefs of the Barukzyes; *secondly*, that the latter were not only feeble from division, but were leagued together by no ties that would not have been broken, on the instant the chief of Cabul thought that he could possess himself of the territory of Candahar, or that the chiefs of Candahar saw reason to believe that they could eject their brother from Cabul; *thirdly*, that if any of these chiefs ever had any real apprehension of Persia, it was very slight and transient, and that the true object of their negotiations, both with that power and with the Governor-General, was to strengthen themselves against each other, and against the Suddozyes, as represented by Shah Shooja or Prince Kamran of Herat, and to obtain the means of repelling the Seikhs; and *fourthly*, that if our course of policy had been such as to permit Persia, backed by Russia, to furnish those means—which our relations with Runjeet Singh and our obvious interests equally forbade us to afford — the Shah might, by playing off Dost Mahomed against the chiefs of Candahar, and those chiefs against Dost Mahomed, easily have possessed himself of the virtual sovereignty of the country.

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* Prince Kamran may contest this rank with him, but he is a man of dissolute and abandoned character, and exceedingly unpopular.

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Upon the first point, we have the unequivocal testimony of Captain Conolly, given long before the late crisis, that 'the right 'of the Suddozye family to the supreme government has hither- 'to been considered sacred by the Dooraunees,' (the great predominant tribe to which the Suddozyes and Barukzyes belong;) 'and that there would always be a strong feeling in their 'favour, if they put themselves forward.' He even says (after describing in strong terms the demerits of Prince Kamran of Herat,)—that, 'notwithstanding all his faults, the people would be 'glad to see him restored to the throne; the interests of the 'Suddozye tribe, and of all the old Dooraunee families, are con- 'nected with his; and the Affghans, generally, have in every 'way suffered so much from the consequences of the revolution, 'that they would hail the resumption of the royal authority, 'whether by Kamran or any other man of the family.' These opinions are strongly supported by Sir John M'Neill, in the following passage:—

'Though the sovereignty of the Affghans has passed out of the hands of the descendants of Ahmed Shah, the Dooraunee tribe appears to maintain an undoubted ascendancy in the nation. The Barukzyes have usurped the greater portion of the power of the Suddozyes; but the latter family still maintains itself in Herat, and has a strong hold on the prejudices, if not on the affections, of a large part of the Dooraunees.

'The Barukzyes holding Cabul and Candahar in independence, and Peshawur as tributaries to the Seikhs, would appear not to have conciliated the attachment of the Dooraunees, and to depend in a great measure for their power on influences foreign to that tribe. Dost Mahomed Khan of Cabul, descended by his mother from the Kuzzilbashes, or Persians, who have for some generations been settled in Cabul, has connected himself with that powerful body, and in any emergency must trust rather to them than to the native Affghans for the means of pursuing conquest or repelling aggressions.'

Major Wade and Mr Masson entirely concur in these sentiments. The latter, who has lived long among the Affghans, and knows them intimately, wrote in 1835 as follows:—

'The failure of Shah Shooja is now most sincerely lamented. I myself rejoiced at the time; but the course of events seems to prove that his success would have been felicitous to the countries. The wishes of all classes turn to his restoration.'—Again,—'I confess I am not very sanguine as to any very favourable results from negotiations with the Barukzyes. They are indeed their own enemies; but their eternal and unholy dissensions and enmities have brought them to be considered as pests to the country; and the likelihood is, that affairs will become worse, not better. The British Government could employ interference, without offending half a dozen individuals. Shah Shooja, under their auspices, would not even encounter opposition; and the Ameer and his friends,

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if he have any, must yield to his terms, or become fugitives.'—'Of Shah Shooja,' says Lieutenant Leech, 'they' (the chiefs of Candahar) 'stand in the greatest dread, as he is extremely popular in Affghanistan; and the tyranny of the upstart Barukzyes has effaced from the mind of the Affghans that of the Suddozyes, while the former cannot support the dignity, the power, or the show of monarchy.'*

The soundness of these views has been abundantly substantiated by the events of the expedition. The difficulties experienced were solely those of toil and privation; owing principally to the natural wildness and desolation of the country between the Indus and Candahar, which is absolutely devoid of vegetation, and where the army was constantly obliged to make marches of twenty miles in order to find water. But the reception of Shah Shooja at Candahar—which is situated in a lovely and very fertile country—was most enthusiastic. The Barukzye chiefs fled before him without striking a blow, and with scarcely two hundred followers. Their most confidential servants deserted them. The whole population, high and low, came out to meet Shah Shooja, bringing garlands of flowers, and strewing the roads with roses. On the march from Candahar to Cabul, Ghuzni was the only place where resistance was offered, and that, probably, only because the garrison was commanded by Dost Mahomed's favourite son. After its fall, Dost Mahomed's army of twelve thousand men deserted him; leaving him to fly almost unattended, and all his guns—twenty-eight in number—to be taken possession of by a single squadron of dragoons. In fact, with the exception of the conflict at Ghuzni, the sovereignty of Eastern Affghanistan was transferred to Shah Shooja without any struggle. Power which had a real basis either in the affections of the people, or in the ability and resources of those who swayed it, and which was fit to be relied upon as a barrier to British India, could not thus have crumbled away from its own want of consistence. The fact that the country was overrun by bands of armed plunderers, who treated English officers, or other stragglers from the British camp, with no more respect than other equally tempting prizes, proves nothing (in a country like Affghanistan, where whole tribes have been predatory by profession from time immemorial, and which has been in a state of disorganization for more than half a century) against the general popularity of Shah Shooja's cause. Life and property were not a whit more secure when Mr Elphinstone visited the

* Political Reports, published by the Government of Calcutta.—Pp. 63-4.

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country thirty years ago: his work abounds with anecdotes of habitual rapine; and even the nobleman sent to meet and conduct him to court, very narrowly escaped being plundered. It is no marvel that, in such a state of society, the love of booty should be with thousands stronger than attachment to a dynasty. We doubt not, however, that the followers of Dost Mahomed were plundered, as opportunity offered, with great impartiality.

We will say a few words in this place as to the character of Shah Shooja. It has been the habit of those who have blamed Lord Auckland for taking up his cause, to describe him as in the greatest degree weak and timid. This appears to be entirely gratuitous. His history affords many traits of personal energy and resolution, —too many for his own interests of moderation, benevolence, and forbearance towards thankless opponents. Had he been more unscrupulous in the use of his power, he would probably never have lost it. Mr Elphinstone, whose capacity to judge will be questioned by no one, speaks of him throughout his work in high terms. His only qualifying expression is, that he deems him 'deficient in the genius and energy which were requisite to re-'store a government so far sunk into anarchy and decay.' He has since had much good training and experience in the school of adversity. We have Sir Alexander Burnes' testimony, that this experience has raised him, in one respect at least, above the level of his country and station. Speaking some years ago of Shah Shooja's autobiography, presented to him by the King, Sir Alexander says,—'the book gives a detail of his life and adven-'tures, in a simple style, free from extracts from the Koran, me-'taphors, and other extravagances of Oriental authors. It also 'dispenses with any mention of those miracles which never fail 'to be wrought in favour of an Eastern despot, according to the 'account of historians. The work, in fact, was what would be 'described by us as an interesting detail of events.' A Mahomedan prince capable of drawing up such a narrative, and of acting with the skill and resolution which he displayed in effecting his escape, and that of his family, from the clutches of one so vigilant as Runjeet Singh, as well as on other occasions, cannot well be viewed as either a fool or a poltron.

There is abundant evidence to establish the weakness and disunion of the Barukzye Chiefs. We have seen what Mr Masson says of their 'eternal and unholy dissensions and enmities,' which had brought them, in 1835, long before the necessity for our interference in the affairs of Affghanistan was contemplated, to be considered as the pests of the country. Captain Conolly, writing at a still earlier period, though he speaks favourably by comparison with Dost Mahomed, reprobates in the strongest terms

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the conduct of his brothers at Candahar. They ruled, he says, entirely by military force, and by means of men of low birth and bad character—letting loose their troops [which were all of the Ghilgie race, though they are themselves Dooraunees, and Candahar is the chief city of that tribe] to plunder the country. 'They have ruined trade by their exactions, and all the people 'under their sway, groaning under every species of oppression, 'look anxiously for Kamran, or for any one to relieve them.' Lieutenant Leech uses similar language as to their oppression and extortion, and the consequent ruin of trade. 'Among their 'immediate retainers even, they might in vain,' says he, 'seek 'for attachment; arrears of salary, unrewarded services, and arbi-'trary confiscations, forbid the feeling. Possessing no other right 'to rule than that of fortune and the sword, they have no affec-'tion for their country or subjects. Their ambition is the ambi-'tion of robbers, and their law the law of caprice. This might 'seem to be the picture of any small state under an arbitrary 'government at any time, and in any part of the world; but the 'existence of this state under a triumvirate of brothers, each 'jealous of the other, constitutes its peculiarity; and it is a mat-'ter of wonder that they should have so long escaped the dagger 'of the assassin.'* It is no wonder, therefore, that Shah Shooja was well received at Candahar. There was no real cordiality at any time between any of the brethren. They were eternally plotting to supplant and ruin each other. Dost Mahomed complained of the treacherous intentions of the chiefs of Candahar; and Major Wade tells us, that 'even after his late success 'against the Seikhs, such was the feeling of parties towards 'him, that had it not been for the arrival of the British mission, 'nothing could have saved him from the combination which his 'brothers had formed to overthrow his authority.' We learn from Mr Vigne, that it was merely the wink of a friend's eye, cautioning him not to enter a certain tent, which saved Dost Mahomed from being made blind by his brother, the late Shere Dib Khan of Candahar; and it appears from Lieutenant Leech's sketch of affairs in that principality, that its chiefs once proposed to ally themselves with the hated idolater Runjeet Singh, 'in 'order to root out' their brother, Dost Mahomed.† He, on the other hand, deliberately proposed to Sir Alexander Burnes to eject his brothers from Candahar, and to make himself sole ruler of Eastern Affghanistan. But his negotiations with that officer

* Political Reports, published by the Government of Calcutta.—P. 51.
† Ibid. p. 61.

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regarding Peshawur, show still more clearly the opinions of the Barukzye chieftains regarding each other, and their utter want of mutual confidence. He said,—'if Runjeet Singh reinstates 'Sultan Mahomed Khan' (his brother) 'in the government of 'Peshawur, I have great apprehension; for in it I see a Maho-'medan ruler instead of a Seikh; and had the Maharajah been 'more conversant with the politics of Affghanistan, and bent on 'my destruction, he might ere this have succeeded, had he not 'displaced Sultan Mahomed Khan from Peshawur, and supplied 'him with funds to corrupt those about me who are inimical, and 'envy the rise to my present elevation. I see injury to myself 'in Sultan Mahomed Khan, when restored to his chiefship of 'Peshawur, being in alliance with Lahore; and, above all, what 'security am I to have that the chiefs of Peshawur and Canda-'har will not join to injure me, and be aided in their designs by 'Maharajah Runjeet Singh?'

What advantage could result to the British interests from an alliance with men so unstable, so untrusting, and so untrustworthy as these? How could such a rope of sand be rendered effectual to close the gates of Affghanistan against Persian and Russian intrigue and violence? We could not have taken up Dost Mahomed, incomparably the best and ablest of the fraternity, without leaguing ourselves likewise with his brethren at Candahar, and thus participating in their weakness and hatefulness; and the death-feud existing between the whole family and Prince Kamran—(he having murdered their elder brother, the founder of the fortunes of their house, and they having dishonoured the females of his family)—forbad the hope of a general alliance with all the powers of Affghanistan, in order to close the gates of its mountain passes against intrusion from the westward. For a few ducats, either party would have turned their arms against the other: for the sake of gaining some petty advantage in their miserable internal disputes, or of coping successfully with the Seikhs, either party would have caught eagerly at the aid of Persian troops, commanded probably by Russian officers. And what could we offer to them, of more ostensible benefit to their shortsighted policy, than such a connexion?

This question brings us to the consideration of our third position; to wit, that the Barukzye chiefs entertained far more dread of the Suddozyes and of the Seikhs, than of the Persians; and that the true object of all their negotiations was to obtain aid against the two former and each other;—not to oppose the advance of the latter, from whom they hoped advantage rather than feared any injury.

The papers laid before Parliament show with what eagerness

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the chiefs of Cabul and Candahar contended for the favour of Persia; how they humbled themselves before the Shah, and in what terms they described their apprehension of Runjeet Singh, and their claims upon Moslem aid against the idolatrous Seikhs. The late ruler of Cabul is a Persian in blood by his mother's side. Mr Masson says, in 1833, 'it is a part of Sirdar 'Dost Mahomed's creed, that he ought never to go to war 'with the Persians.' Sir Alexander Burnes, his warm well-wisher, admits that he 'sought for alliance with Persia, as the 'best means that occurred to him to support his power;' and in all his negotiations with that officer, the recovery of Peshawur from the Seikhs was manifestly his primary object. When he saw that he could not compass that end by means of British interference, his whole demeanour towards Sir Alexander was altered; and he threw himself unreservedly into the arms of Vicowich, (whom he had detained at Cabul for the purpose of playing him off against the British envoy,) and of the Persian party. In one of his last despatches from Cabul, Sir Alexander says—'On this occasion, I was very sorry to observe a tone 'which I had not before seen exhibited. The Ameer may have 'authorized his advisers to speak as they have done, and he may 'entertain the feelings which they expressed,' (to wit, a desire of allying himself with the British power for the sake of protection against Persia;) 'but I am bound to judge of what he said 'himself, and this by no means seems to me so satisfactory as 'I have reported, or had been led to believe.' And this, be it remembered, is the language of one personally most friendly to Dost Mahomed, and extremely anxious on that account, as well as for the credit of his own diplomacy, to effect the objects of British policy through his instrumentality. It was necessary to that end, that the chiefs of Cabul and Candahar should be united in a cordial understanding; that they should clearly comprehend—in the words of one of Sir Alexander Burnes' last notes to Dost Mahomed—that 'our friendship 'was entirely dependent on the relinquishment of alliance with 'any power to the west;' and that they should rest satisfied, as regards their eastern relations, with being secured from the further encroachments of the Seikhs, against which they might not have been able to defend themselves. If any one could have brought them to see their own interests in an acceptance of these terms, and in a hearty coincidence with the views of the British Government in respect to the exclusion of Persian power and influence from Affghanistan, Sir A. Burnes would have effected it. He failed, because the chiefs of Candahar, having no confidence in the affections of their own people, and dreading equally

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the Seikhs on the east, and the Suddozyes of Herat on the west, were eager to avail themselves of the proffered aid of Persia against both those enemies; and because Dost Mahomed, affecting to contemn the notion that he required protection against the Seikhs, thought his alliance, which Persia and Russia were simultaneously courting, of sufficient value to the British Government, to be purchased at the price of enforcing the cession of Peshawur (which had never belonged to him) by Runjeet Singh. Persia and Russia bid far higher than the Governor-General, who intended to redeem all his pledges, could afford to offer; and therefore their terms were caught at.

Our fourth position has been sufficiently established in the foregoing observations. It only remains to remark, with respect to it, that even if justice had permitted us to purchase the friendship of the Barukzye chiefs, by compelling Runjeet Singh to give up his conquered possession of Peshawur, such a step, which must have deeply disgusted, if not altogether alienated, an old and constant ally, at a time when Ava and Nepal were threatening hostilities, and whilst the latter power was endeavouring to engage the Seikhs in an offensive alliance against us, would have been impolitic in the extreme.

To sum up the whole: the Barukzye chiefs stood in a position in their relations both to their own subjects and to their neighbours, which, whilst it rendered them the most appropriate instruments of the powers whose principal aim was to use them as the means of disquieting British India, disqualified them—even admitting their readiness for the part—for being serviceable as a trustworthy and permanent barrier against aggression and intrigue from the west; whilst the raising of such a barrier was, in the words of Sir John M'Neill, 'unequivocally a measure of 'self-defence.' We do not say that those chiefs were, in the first instance, positively ill-affected towards the British Government; but they demanded, as the price of their alliance, that which the Governor-General could not properly give, and far more than all that the most sanguine politician could hope from them was worth. There was no assurance of the stable existence of their power; still less was there any reasonable certainty that any means with which we might furnish them for repelling the encroachments of Persia, would not be wasted in the feuds and squabbles of the brotherhood, or still more mischievously misdirected against our ally Runjeet Singh. Mr Elphinstone, treating thirty years ago of the past, speaks of the extraordinary levity of political character, which a long series of revolutions and perpetual civil dissensions—patched up by hasty reconciliations and incongruous alliances, to be again dissolved with increased violence

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at the end of a few months, or even days—had generated in the chiefs and people of Affghanistan. We may be sure that there has been no improvement, in this respect, under the shifting policy, the eternal intrigues, and the feeble domination of the Barukzye chiefs. The only hope for Affghanistan itself, the only prospect of its becoming an outwork of defence instead of a magazine of combustibles, and a ground on which to plant the engines of the worst mischief against the rulers and people of the great peninsula of which nature has made it the portal, lay in its being united under a popular government, as single and strong as the character of the numerous petty republics of which the national federation is composed, would admit. The first and most difficult step towards this end, (the importance of which to the interests of British India was strongly urged several years ago by Captain Conolly,*) has been already successfully taken, by the restoration of Shah Shooja to the throne of his ancestors.

We believe that the embarrassment and expense of following up this line of policy have been much overrated;—principally, because too ready credence has been given to the bold assertion of Shah Shooja's unpopularity and utter unfitness for his high situation; and to the equally gratuitous assumption, that the Barukzye chiefs possess a strong hold upon the affections and interests of the Affghans. Unquestionably, our connexion with Shah Shooja will cost additional expense, besides that which has been already incurred in establishing his government; but we see no reason to doubt that, in a short time, the restored dynasty will be able to stand alone, upon the strong ground of decided national preference. We hear that Sir William Macnaghten has already indicated the time when our troops may safely be withdrawn. It is much to be regretted, no doubt, that we have been compelled to stretch out our arm beyond the natural boundary of Hindostan, and to interfere at all in the affairs of Affghanistan. It is still more to be lamented that the state of that country, in the hands of the Barukzye chiefs, has rendered our interference unavoidably costly. But we think we have proved (and that by the unbiassed testimony of persons at once so competent and disinterested as Mr Ellis and Sir John M'Neill, and by opinions expressed, several years before the late crisis, by Captain Conolly and Mr Masson, as well as by other evidence) both that such interference was indispensable to the effectual protection of British India from evils far greater than the expense which it has imposed on us; and that it was better, on the whole, to make the restoration of the Suddozye dynasty the means to the

* Travels, vol. II. p. 333, to end.

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execution of our purpose, than to trust, in a matter of so much moment, albeit at less immediate charge, to such broken reeds as the Barukzye chiefs of Cabul and Candahar. Lord Auckland's policy cannot justly be condemned, whatever it may cost India, unless it can be shown that less evil would have resulted from some other course.

But whatever difference of opinion may exist with regard to the wisdom of the Governor-General's views, all parties must unite in applauding the promptitude and vigour with which they were carried into execution. We have already drawn a hasty sketch of our relations with Ava and Nepal, at the moment when the course to be taken with respect to the affairs of Affghanistan was to be decided upon. The necessity of being prepared for the active hostility of our threatening neighbours was not permitted to affect, in the smallest degree, the energy of Lord Auckland's preparations for the campaign beyond the Indus. Whilst these were planned and conducted upon a scale and with a completeness which essentially co-operated with the valour of our troops to achieve and secure a triumph, the forces in Arracan and Tenasserim (the provinces ceded by Ava at the close of the last war) were so strengthened as to convince the Burmese court that we were upon our guard, and abundantly prepared to resist and punish aggression by the immediate occupation of all their sea-ports. At the same time, the envoy whom the King of Nepal despatched to Runjeet Singh was arrested; that sovereign was informed that his treacherous dealings both with the princes of the peninsula and with our own subjects had been detected; he was peremptorily required to withdraw the detachments which he had pushed on towards several points of the frontier, and with which he had begun to stockade some of the passes from the lowlands; and in order to enforce this demand, and to convince him that he would be held responsible for these hostile demonstrations, measures were taken for the assembling of a strong corps of observation in the province most exposed to danger from the mountaineers. In both instances, this decided course of policy was completely successful. The King of Ava, though he continued to threaten, exhibited manifold symptoms of being far more apprehensive of an attack, than prepared to act offensively. The submission of the Nepalese was instant and entire. Both powers were effectually held in check, whilst the flower of our disposable forces were engaged in Affghanistan; and it would now, if necessary, be a matter of comparative ease to teach either or both of them the wisdom of being neighbourly. But we earnestly trust that we shall be spared the expense of such instruction: all our time and all our means are demanded

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by, and ought to be sedulously devoted to, the improvement of our own dominions.

We turn from this long but necessary disquisition on the past, to examine our present position and future prospects; first, in relation to the independent powers upon our frontiers; and, secondly, to those states which may be considered to lie within the general limits of British India.

Of the former, only the Punjab, Nepal, and Ava are of sufficient importance to require notice.

The kingdom of the Punjab, so called from the five rivers whose confluence forms the Indus—formed by the ability and energy of the late Runjeet Singh, and most likely to be dissolved into its elements and anarchy in the weak and unskilful hands of his successors—is the only part of the Mogul empire which is not substantially under British dominion. It extends over a wide tract of country pre-eminently favoured by nature, both with respect to the powers of production and the means of transport. It commands the navigation of the Indus, holds in Peshawur the key of Affghanistan, and, but for our interference, its late vigorous ruler would have possessed himself of all the territory lying between his southern boundary and the ocean.

Runjeet Singh, a prince whose sagacity sufficed to restrain his keen ambition within the bounds of discretion, appears to have been impressed, at an early period of his prosperous career, with an abiding conviction of the wisdom of keeping on the most friendly terms with our Indian Government.* Accordingly, after Sir Charles Metcalfe, acting under the instructions of Lord Minto, had compelled him to abandon his design of appropriating the petty Seikh principalities to the east of the Sutlege, abutting upon the British provinces, all his views were directed to the extension of his dominion in the opposite quarter. Even there we interfered to protect Scinde—a Mahomedan state on the lower course of the Indus, and a most tempting acquisition—from his ambition; and he submitted to the check. But we fear, for their own sakes, that his son and grandson (and we mention the latter, because it is believed that he is virtually the sovereign in the name of his feeble father) are not likely to be so prudent; and that they will be tempted to try their strength against our

* We observe that Mr Vigne states that the French officers in Runjeet's service honestly enforced this prudent line of policy upon their master, when the chief of Bhurtpore supplicated his aid at a time when we were embarrassed by the Burmese war. On his refusal, it is said that the Bhurtporians sent him a woman's dress.

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iron battalions. In this event, the partial organization and discipline of the Seikh army will serve only to make its overthrow more speedy and complete. One, or at the utmost two, pitched battles will decide the fate of the kingdom;—a conclusion which reliance upon their natural force of irregular cavalry would doubtless considerably protract. But the present rulers of the Punjab have not, we apprehend, discernment enough to perceive that Affghan and British troops are very different enemies, and to be combated by very different means. But whatever course may be taken by the Seikhs, the result of collision must be the extension of our empire to its natural boundary—the Indus; attended probably with the restoration of Peshawur to the Affghans. Both the revenue and the commerce of British India would benefit greatly by such an accession of territory; but we are quite sure that no considerations of interest will tempt our Government into a war of aggrandizement; and it will be altogether the fault of the ruler of the Punjab if he wilfully provoke a contest, which must issue in the extinction of the national independence of the Seikhs.

Nepal, though its power was greatly reduced by the treaty of December 1815, concluded by Lord Hastings at the close of a well-contested struggle of two campaigns, is still, from several causes, a formidable neighbour. The Goorkhas, the dominant race, have all the pride, courage, and fiery vehemence of character which generally distinguish mountaineers; their country is naturally extremely strong, depriving military science and highly-wrought discipline of a considerable part of their advantages; the whole free population is trained to the use of arms, under a system of service by rotation, which appears to be both effective and popular; they possess, from their situation, the means of comparatively secret communication with the Burmese; and the passes of their mountains lead downwards through a very thinly-peopled belt of jungle, where, consequently, their movements might be in some measure concealed, to our most fertile provinces, and the great cities of Benares and Patna. This latter circumstance would put it in their power to occasion us great annoyance, in the event of the principal part of our disposable forces being required for important service in the north-west. On the other hand, the wild tract at the foot of the hills is only passable, on account of malaria, at certain seasons of the year; and the Goorkhas, besides having a strong dread of cavalry, would, doubtless, maintain but a short and bloodless struggle with our infantry on the plains of Behar, when compared with the gallantry with which they defended the fastnesses of their native mountains in 1814-15.

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But our best guarantee against being forced into a war with Nepal, from which we should get nothing but hard blows in the first instance, and a number of barren mountains on the winding-up of accounts, consists in the weakness and unpopularity of the existing government. The reigning prince, a foolish young man, governed entirely, it is said, by female influence, has put to a cruel death the distinguished minister and general to whom the credit of the protracted resistance to the British arms in 1814-15 was principally due. The ablest men about the court have been disgraced and discarded; and the country is said to be misgoverned to such a degree, that the strong national pride and the spirit of independence which characterise the people have given way; and men have begun to whisper that even subjection to the British Government would be preferable to the mal-administration of their present rulers. We trust, therefore, that we shall be spared the disagreeable necessity of undertaking expensive military operations for the chastisement of Nepalese aggression.

But blood and treasure might be still more unprofitably expended. The ignorance and arrogance of the court of Ava are almost beyond occidental credence. When its favourite general Bundoola invaded Chittagong, our southernmost district, at the commencement of the last war, he brought with him golden fetters to bind Lord Amherst withal; and had orders, after he had taken Calcutta, to march on to take London! Defeat after defeat seemed to produce little sobering effect upon the drunkenness of Indo-Chinese pride; the officers who were flying before our army in its advance upon the capital, and who must have felt the utter hopelessness of the contest, were obliged, as their intercepted letters vouched, to account in the most absurd manner for their inability to stop us; and the unfortunate wretch who commanded the troops that made the last stand against us, at a place called Pagahm Mew, was trampled to death by elephants on his return with the news of his defeat. It was not until our army arrived within three days' march of the capital, that the king's eyes appeared to be opened to any rational sense of his perilous situation; and there was evidence enough, before we evacuated the country, that the effect even of such severe discipline as the exaction of a million sterling towards the expenses of the war, and the cession of some of his most valued provinces, was not likely to be permanent.

In the fourteen years which have elapsed since these humiliating conditions were imposed upon the Court of Ava, and by the change which a revolution has made in the person of the sovereign, the king and his courtiers, if not the people, appear

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to have lost much of the benefit of the lesson which it cost us so many valuable lives, and so much treasure, to teach them. Besides the evidence of recent behaviour towards successive representatives of the British Government, we have the testimony to this effect of a very intelligent and unbiassed observer, Mr Malcom, the superintendent of the American Baptist Missions; who, in his 'Travels in South-Eastern Asia,' lately published, tells us, that 'from the monarch, who adopts the 'most grandiloquent titles he can invent, to the pettiest officer, 'every man seems bloated with self-conceit. Their haughtiness 'is manifested as grossly to foreign ambassadors as is done in 'China. They are treated as suppliants and tribute-bearers. It 'has generally been contrived to have them presented on the 'great "beg-pardon day," which occurs once in three months, 'when the nobles are allowed audience with the king, and lay 'at his feet costly presents.' The difficulty of dealing with such inflated barbarians, and of resisting the constant provocation to chastise them, not merely into civility, but into the due observance of their federal obligations, and the necessary restraint of the plundering propensities of their subjects upon our borders, is extreme.

Yet the dire necessity of entering upon another war with such enemies, must be contemplated with unmixed dislike. There is nothing, either of honour or profit, to be gained; and the process, from the nature of the country, and the remoteness of its vital parts from the stations of our troops, must always be tedious and expensive. The seat and strength of the government is fixed almost at the upper extremity of the long valley of the Irrawaddy. The capital is six or seven hundred miles from the sea. The lower part of the valley is a pestilential swamp during a considerable portion of the year. Though the shorter route to the capital, over the Arracan mountains, would unquestionably be taken by our main army, the expense of transporting a considerable body of troops, with an adequate supply, not only of military appurtenances, but of provisions, (for the Burmese proved to our cost, in the last war, that they could effectually sweep the country of all resources,) through such wildernesses, and by such mere footpaths, would necessarily be great. These were the circumstances which, joined with much ignorance and carelessness, rendered the last war so tedious and costly. Matters would doubtless be better managed, as far as that could avail, on any second occasion; but natural circumstances, quite independent of any resistance that could be offered by the Burmese—whose military qualities have been greatly

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exaggerated—must always cause their effectual coercion to be long and expensive.

The country owes much to Lord Auckland for the firmness with which he adhered to a pacific line of policy in 1837. The British resident at the Court of Ava, the commissioner in charge of the southern provinces ceded by the Burmese in 1826, and many of the civil and military authorities who were, or professed to be, well acquainted with the character and views of the new sovereign, and the interests of the British Government in relation to the politics of Ava, were loud and earnest in urging the absolute necessity of vindicating our honour by an immediate appeal to arms. The army, naturally eager for active employment, promotion, and prize-money, lent its voice to swell the cry. The local press did its utmost to abet the efforts of passion and self-interest. No language was thought too strong to describe the disgraceful truckling of the British Government, or the impolicy of allowing the King of Ava to insult us with impunity, and to gain time to consolidate his power, to collect and discipline troops, and to prepare for open war at his own convenience. Lord Auckland calmly took the course already described, of preparing, and letting the Burmese know that he was prepared, to resist and to punish aggression. After the lapse of three years, during which the Anglo-Indian army has taken possession of a capital separated by no less than thirty degrees of longitude, intersected by lofty mountains and mighty rivers, from that of Ava, there is certainly no greater danger of our being compelled to chastise the Burmese than there was in 1837. Nor is there any reason to think that they are in any respect better able to sustain their insolence now than they were then. There has been no perceptible increase of their arrogance and folly. And as to troops, every one who is at all acquainted with the history of our contests with the native powers of India must be aware, that (as we have hinted in the case of the sovereign of the Punjab) the better their organization and discipline, the more speedy and complete our victories have been. But the Burmese are much too arrogant even to attempt to improve themselves; and such as their rabble of soldiery is now, such it will be found fifty years hence—utterly unable to stand for a moment against British troops, even when protected by stockades. The Governor-General's judgment has saved us, hitherto, the objectless sacrifice of life and money to which such an inglorious contest would subject us. Though prudence be certainly his characteristic, he has given, by his manner of dealing with the affairs of Affghanistan, complete assurance that no crisis will find him wanting in vigour.

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But we do not believe that the King of Ava has any mind at present to provoke collision.

It is within the limits of possibility, indeed, that if our dispute with the Chinese be not immediately settled, they may avail themselves of the relations which we know to subsist between the court of Pekin and the sovereigns of Ava and Nepal, to try to stir them up to attack us. In that case, and if successful in the endeavour, we may have to give battle to an army of Tartars on the plains of Behar—in the midst of the obnoxious poppies, or amongst the rival tea-gardens of Upper Assam. But it would be premature, at present, to speculate upon such contingencies. We hope that the necessary demonstration of our power will result in a speedy and bloodless adjustment of that dispute.

We proceed to consider our relations with the princes, more less absolutely dependent on our power, whose dominions are cluded within the general boundaries of our empire.

The principal of these are the King of Oude or Lucknow, and Nizam, whose capital is Hyderabad*—Mahomedans; Scindia, the Raja of Berar, whose capitals are Gwalior and Nagpore respectively—Hindoos of the Mahratta tribe; and the Rajpoot princes of Central and North-western India—Hindoos, in whom the pride of the highest secular caste is sustained by an equal reputation for frankness, honour, and military courage.

Our relations with the states of Hindostan have been thus classed by Captain Sutherland:—

First Class:—Treaties offensive and defensive; right on their part to claim protection, external and internal, from the British Government; right on its part to interfere in their internal affairs. There are five states in this predicament, of which the chief are Oude, Mysore (Hindoo), and Berar.

Second Class:—Same as the first, with the exception that the British Government has no right to interfere in their internal affairs. To this class belong only Hyderabad and Baroda (Mahratta).

Third Class:—Treaties offensive and defensive; states mostly tributary, acknowledging the supremacy of, and promising subordinate co-operation to, the British Government: but their princes are supreme rulers in their own territories. Twenty-five states—the principal of which are Indore (Mahratta), the Raj-

* There is another Hyderabad brought prominently to European notice by the events of the late campaign, situated in the north-west corner of India. It is the capital of the Mahomedan principality of Scinde.

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poot principalities, Bhurtpore (Hindoo), and Bhopal (Affghan Mahomedan),—appertain to this class.

Fourth Class:—Guarantee and protection; subordinate co-operation; but the princes supreme in their own territory. This class comprises five petty states named by Captain Sutherland, and 'other protected Seikh and Hill states.'

In the fifth class, of amity and friendship, Gwalior stands alone.

The sixth class contains three almost nominal powers—one of which is the fallen representative of the once terrible house of Timour—and another the Rajah of Sattara; entitled to protection, with a right on the part of the British Government to control internal affairs.

The territorial possessions of these forty-one, and other petty un-named states, are estimated to amount to 449,845 square miles: their annual revenue is calculated as follows:—

Mahomedan states,	£4,000,000*
Mahratta states,	3,000,000
Rajpoot states,	2,500,000
Other Hindoo states,	1,000,000
Protected Seikh states,	500,000
Numerous petty states and Jagheerdars,	1,500,000
Total,	£12,500,000

Let us turn from this brief statement of our relations, to examine the circumstances which have placed us in them, and their effect upon all parties—the people as well as the princes—affected by them. 'You cannot stop here; you must go for-'ward;'—were the words in which Lord Clive expressed his prophetic view of the irresistible force of those circumstances which have hurried us on, with or without our will, to the empire of Hindostan. At a period later by some years, the British House of Commons resolved, and subsequently embodied in a solemn act of the legislature, that 'to pursue schemes of con-'quest and extension of dominion, are measures repugnant to the 'wish, the policy, and honour of the nation.' Events have abundantly vindicated the foresight of the sagacious statesman: the speculative and superficial benevolence of our legislators has been barren of any fruits but those of embarrassment and perpetuated misgovernment.

* If Oude and Hyderabad were well managed, this sum ought to be £5,500,000 or £6,000,000.

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How ineffective has been the attempt to arrest the current, was forcibly shown by Mr (now Sir Henry) Russell, in 1832, before a committee of the House of Commons. 'When once,' he said, 'we changed the character of our establishments, and relinquished our capacity of merchant for that of sovereign, we entered upon a career in which it was difficult to check, and impossible to stop ourselves. Our largest and most frequent acquisitions of territory have been made since the declaration of the legislature, in 1784, that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation. Lord Cornwallis arrived in India in 1786, with this declaration ringing in his ears, and found Sir J. Macpherson engaged in a negotiation with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, in which the object of those powers was to inveigle us into a war with Tippoo. Lord Cornwallis' first act was to break off this negotiation, under a declaration that the English would engage in none but strictly defensive wars. His second act was to propose an alliance to those very powers, for a war, of which the result produced a large accession to our territory; but this was the fault, not of Lord Cornwallis, but of the circumstances in which he was placed. Events were no longer under his control; he was controlled by them; and the same has been the case with almost every one of his successors.'

The result of the Burmese war affords a strong confirmation of this position. The British Government was driven into that war by the insolence and aggressions of the Court of Ava; intoxicated with the uninterrupted success which had attended all its schemes of aggrandizement from the days of Alompra. The most ambitious of our governors-general had entertained no views of conquest in that quarter: Lord Hastings had anxiously staved off the contest, at the close of his administration, by a political artifice. But Lord Amherst, the most moderate and pacific, was compelled to add vast provinces, covered for the most part with trackless forests, miserably underpeopled, unhealthy, and far beyond our natural boundaries, to our already enormous empire. In this case, there was every thing to dissuade from appropriation. It was known that the climate of one of the provinces was equally deadly to our European and to our native troops; it was known that many years must elapse before any of them could support their own indispensable establishments: but there was no escape. It was absolutely necessary to interpose sufficient barriers between our peaceable subjects, on a frontier where it was impossible to maintain large military establishments, and their barbarous neighbours; to provide places of refuge for the

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reluctant tributaries, or half-conquered subjects of the Burmese, from whom we had received cordial assistance during the war; and—not less—to inflict upon Ava a chastisement, the smart of which might protect us from future encroachment and annoyance. These obligations have combined to place us, as the sovereigns of Assam, Arracan, and Tenasserim, among the Indo-Chinese powers. It will be well if we are eventually able to avoid taking rank, beyond the opposite extremity of the peninsula, among the Indo-Tartars.

But though the act of the legislature to which we have referred, and the public feeling which gave rise to it, and which remains to this day in general accordance with it, have been powerless to control the force of circumstances impelling us on to the acquisition of paramount dominion, these restraints have operated most mischievously, both to our interests as the real sovereigns of Hindostan, and to the interests of the great body of the people throughout that vast empire; by compelling its delegated rulers to exercise their power indirectly, and by means of the worst possible instrumentality, instead of assuming it openly, and directing it, without let or hinderance, to the obvious objects of good government. How this has happened may best be told in the words of the able historian of India, the late Mr James Mill:—

'Both the British legislature and the East India Company have declared very strongly against extending our conquests; but every now and then it has happened that those conquests were pressed on the Indian rulers as a species of necessity. All our wars cannot perhaps with propriety be considered wars of necessity; but most of those by which the territories we possess have been obtained, and out of which our subsidiary alliances have grown, have been wars, I think, of necessity and not of choice. For example, the wars with Tippoo and the Mahrattas. The conquests actually made by those wars, the dominion acquired and kept, we have frequently chosen not to acknowledge. There being a certain anticipation, on the part of the conquering government, that the avowed conquest—taking in short the government of the acquired territory simply and frankly, as we took all the military power into our hands—would raise a storm of indignation in England, where, so long as we only made the conquest, but took care to call it by the wrong name, all would be very well received,—the expedient of subsidiary and protective alliances was resorted to. The misfortune is, that to elude this species of prejudice in England, we were obliged to incur all the evil of the most perfect misgovernment in those states in the mean time.'*

* Evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1832; Answer to Question 42.

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It is a still greater misfortune that there appears to be no prospect of any termination to this miserable 'mean time' of 'the 'most perfect misgovernment;' and that this is no exaggerated expression, Sir Thomas Munro's letter to the Marquis of Hastings, of the 12th August 1817, quoted by Mr M'Culloch in his evidence before the House of Commons,* Lord William Bentinck's Minute of the 30th July 1831, on the affairs of Oude,† and the whole history of our recent connexion with Hyderabad, will abundantly demonstrate.

The Mahomedan dynasties of Oude and Hyderabad are altogether worn out. The principal Mahratta powers are much in the same condition. Not to mention petty states, the rajahs of Rajpootana alone have enough of political vitality to be capable of resuscitation; and we are happy to hear that measures, calculated to revive a national spirit and feelings of self-dependence, have been taken by the British Government, in relation to the important principalities of Jeypore and Joudpore. The Mahomedan nominal rulers are beyond the power of any moral galvanism: yet we are bound by treaty to uphold them, and to keep down their unhappy subjects; for whose protection or benefit, on the other hand, we possess no means of effectual interference. They suffer accordingly an aggravation of misrule unknown elsewhere. They endure all the evils of a weak and utterly unprincipled government, under a yoke which is forced down upon their shoulders, and kept there by the irresistible momentum of the British power. 'The usual remedy of a bad government in 'India,' said Sir Thomas Munro in the letter above cited, 'is a 'quiet revolution in the palace, or a violent one by rebellion or 'foreign conquest; but the presence of a British force cuts off 'every chance of remedy, by supporting the prince on the throne 'against every foreign and domestic enemy. It renders him 'indolent, by teaching him to trust to strangers for his security; 'and cruel and avaricious, by showing him that he has nothing 'to fear from the hatred of his subjects.' Such is a very hasty and superficial view of the misery which what is called 'the sub-'sidiary system'—originating in the necessity of depriving nominal princes of the means of subverting our real sovereignty—has inflicted upon some of the fairest and most populous provinces of Hindostan. Of what the actual state of things is, no one who has not personally witnessed it can form an adequate conception.

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* Page 1 of the political volume of Minutes of Evidence, as published by the Court of Directors.

† Page 459 of ditto.

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We, whilst travelling through Oude in 1822, heard the distant booming of cannon for nine consecutive days. This was nothing more than the ordinary process resorted to in collecting the revenue. A man was pistoled at noonday, close to our tents when pitched in the suburbs of Lucknow, and the murderer walked coolly off without an attempt being made to seize him. A respectable Mahomedan gentleman, who was our fellow-traveller, expressed, with manifest emotion and shame, his astonishment that the vengeance of Heaven had so long spared a city which richly deserved the punishment of the cities of the plain.

All the odium of supporting this misrule falls upon the British Government. It suffers also from the mischief, direct and indirect, inflicted on those of its own subjects who inhabit the districts adjoining these scandalously misgoverned countries. And it has to defray all the expense of defending the whole peninsula against foreign aggression—as, recently, in Affghanistan; and of constantly maintaining a military establishment sufficient for that purpose, from an income which is less than two-thirds of the entire revenue yielded by the territories avowedly or virtually subject to its sway. At the same time, though the troops in the pay of the puppet sovereigns, which are commanded by English officers, are capable of being usefully employed, and might probably be relied on in many cases of emergency, most if not all of those princes—including such as have no forces of the better and more trustworthy description—maintain an undisciplined, disorderly, and ill-paid rabble—terrible, in ordinary times, only to the peaceable subjects of their master,—but who might be made the ready instruments of the most extensive mischief, if any disaster befell our armies upon, or beyond the frontier; or in the event of formidable domestic insurrection or mutiny.

Such is the dilemma in which we stand. The question how we are to escape from it is one of extreme difficulty. There is no such escape, without breach of faith towards the nominal rulers whom we have bound ourselves, by solemn treaty, to maintain in their pageantry; and some of these engagements, at least, have been of our own spontaneous and anxious seeking, in order to strengthen our hands at moments of difficulty; not forced upon the delegated rulers of India at the close of successful contests, (as asserted too generally by Mr Mill,) in order to blind the public of England;—although it may doubtless be true that, but for the existing feeling at home, a bolder line of policy would have been adopted. On the other hand, we cannot execute these treaties without prostituting our mighty power to the perpetuation of the misgovernment of millions; without crippling in many ways our own resources; and depriving ourselves of large means both for

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the beneficent administration of India, and for its efficient protection. These means are utterly wasted by the great majority of those in whose hands they have been left. A part of the revenue of our own provinces is equally wasted in watching over, and guarding against, the possible treachery and mischief-making of our puppets. We should not be able, for example, to advance the troops ordinarily stationed in Oude to the north-west frontier; because, first, the king is entitled to, and would probably claim, protection against his own subjects; and because, secondly, he has some corps of ragamuffins who could not be left behind the force which ordinarily overawes them, without jeopardy to the treasuries of our adjoining districts, and to the lives and properties of their unarmed inhabitants! We fear that, consistently with the maintenance of the national faith, none but the most ineffectual half measures are open to us for the amelioration of the condition of the people of whom we are virtually, though through such wretched intermediate agency, the rulers.

We gladly turn from the distressing consideration of this choice of evils, to contemplate our general position as the absolute masters of the largest and fairest provinces of Hindostan; and the prospects of increasing power and wealth which appear to be opening to us, in inseparable connexion with the improvement of the condition of the millions whom Providence has in so signal a manner committed to our guardianship.

Her means and capabilities being the standard of measurement, India is a very poor country. The great body of her people are lamentably degraded; the moral and intellectual superiority of the classes which are in easy pecuniary circumstances, is exceedingly small. There are proofs every where upon the surface, that, evil as the effects of political tyranny endured for centuries have been, other debasing causes have carried their corrosion more deeply and mischievously into the vitals of society.

The first of those causes is the worst of false Religions; the second the system of Caste;—a superaddition of moral poison from which the victims of error in other heathen lands, with the exception, it may be, of the ancient Egyptians, have happily been exempt.

Perverse ingenuity, analogous to that which at one time laboured to demonstrate the superior advantages of the savage state, but sharpened by a disposition to depreciate the temporal blessings which follow in the train of Christianity, has been earnestly employed in arguing that the Hindoos have been grievously misrepresented; and that, if self-love would permit us to hold the balance even, the preponderance of moral excellence in

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favour of Christendom would be barely sufficient to turn the scale.

We need not adduce here, for the purpose of exposing them, all the fallacies by which this position has been supported. The most common are founded on the enormous crimes which are too frequently committed in Christian lands, and on the toleration there of too many immoral practices. But there is this grand distinction, that in India the most frightful crimes excite no horror—kindle no indignation; and that the universal moral darkness prevents any one from perceiving that there is any thing wrong, or any thing which is not venial, in practices which the broad light of Christianity exhibits in all their abominable deformity. No native of India suffers any perceptible loss in the estimation of his countrymen from being convicted of fraud, of judicial corruption, or of perjury. The simple impression is, that his being found out argues folly. No native prince or landholder scrupled, to our knowledge, to harbour Thugs, in full cognizance of their dreadful vocation; or to receive, as the price of protection or concealment, a share of the profits of systematic cold-blooded murder: no infamy attached, in the judgment of co-equals, to such participation in the most horrible crimes.

The institution of Caste produces the effect which Lord Bacon ascribed to superstition. It 'dismounts' all the natural motives and emotions, and 'erects an absolute monarchy in the minds 'of men.' A Brahmin would sooner eat, drink, and consort with a Brahmin Thug, if he thought his own life secure, than with the most virtuous man of low caste. A few years ago, a man was hung at a station near Calcutta for a dreadful murder. The magistrate superintending the execution heard, to his great surprise, unwonted expressions of indignation against the criminal. 'It was, indeed,' the English officer remarked, 'a most barbarous 'and unprovoked murder.' 'That's nothing at all,' was the reply; 'but the villain, being a man of low caste, has passed him-'self off in jail as a Rajpoot, and half of his fellow-prisoners have 'lost caste by their intercourse with him.'

Such is the depth of moral degradation from which the regeneration of India has to commence. To be complete, to be such as true benevolence will rest satisfied with, it must, seemingly, be that regeneration which the mighty and purifying power of Christianity alone can effect. This, humanly speaking, and unless the work proceed in an accelerated ratio upon which we cannot at present calculate, must be the work of ages. And it is clear to our judgment, that it is not desirable, upon the highest grounds, even if consistent with its safety, that the Government

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should take part in any direct attempt at conversion. But this restriction observed, two distinct and most important duties devolve upon the ruling power: it should preserve an honest neutrality—doing nothing to foster error, and giving individuals free scope to labour for the promulgation of the truth; and it should dispense to its subjects the greatest possible amount of light, consistent with the necessary reservation.

In both these duties, except as regards the freedom, of late years, of individual exertions, the India Company and its delegates have failed. The obligations of the Government to afford the means of secular education, have been most inadequately fulfilled; and it has voluntarily come forward, in many ways, to bolster the idolatry and superstition of its subjects; for it has by law spontaneously bound itself to interfere, in its executive capacity, to secure the due appropriation of endowments for idolatrous purposes, the most offensive and immoral, as well as for those ostensibly indifferent and harmless. Let the temple of Kali have no more and no less protection than the straw-built preaching station of the Missionary; let the Government take no more and no less account of the funds of Hindoo or Mahomedan religious endowments than of those of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

The Government, whilst it leaves the promulgation of religious truth to the zeal of Christian individuals, affording to all parties equal toleration and protection, should make much greater exertions than it has ever yet done for the secular education of its subjects. The extension and elevation of secular education; the improvement of the administration of civil and criminal justice; and the enlargement of internal and external commerce; should be the paramount considerations of the delegated sovereigns of India. The former should be made a separate concern under a Secretary in the Department of Public Instruction: business so momentous should not be doubled up with all the general questions and all the pettiest details of finance—with the management of the salt and opium monopolies—with the affairs of the post-office, of steam-boats, of the excise, and with hundreds of miscellaneous duties. And means should be afforded with a far more liberal hand for placing the blessing of education within the reach of the higher and middling classes in every part of our provinces; and, at the same time, for stimulating them to avail themselves of it. Such is the general stupor, such the want of inter-communication, such the absence of individuals calculated to lead public opinion, that the Government must be emphatically a nursing-mother to the people; left to themselves, they will continue to grovel in the

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dust: they have to acquire—and we must impart—not merely the power but the will to walk alone.

Room is wanting to indicate, even in the briefest manner, the principal deficiencies connected with the administration of justice. The existing state of things acts with a strongly repressing force upon the development of the resources of the country; and the best-directed exertions of agricultural and commercial enterprise are deprived of half their due rewards by defective institutions. The circumstances which hold the capitalist and the landowner apart, demand special consideration. But this subject must lie over until we are able, on some future occasion, to enter upon that ample field—so much darkened and perplexed by the meddling of ignorant empirics—the real grievances and the real wants of British India. We will only add here, that the direct drain of money occasioned by the late war, and by our present political relations, is an evil scarcely worth notice, when compared with the mischief inflicted upon the general wealth and prosperity of the country, by the unavoidable concomitant neglect or postponement of the many important matters requiring legislative measures, or administrative regulation.

Our parting reference to commerce must be almost equally short. As regards our own dominions, we remark with great satisfaction the anticipation of the Governor-General—expressed in his valuable Minute on the growth and preparation of cotton, recently printed and circulated in this country—that the inland transit duties of Madras (which we spoke of in a late number) will soon follow to extinction the corresponding cesses of Bengal and Bombay. This is as it should be. We are certain that there will be no eventual loss of revenue from this wise and statesmanlike measure.

The successful issue of the campaign beyond the Indus, and the complete freedom of the navigation of that noble river, which must result from the improvement of our relations with the chieftains of Scinde, will open fresh channels for commercial enterprise. From the marts which exist, or which will speedily arise, upon the Indus, our cottons, woollens, and hardware, freed from the enormous charges of a long preliminary land-carriage, and from the successive fiscal extortions of numerous petty princes and governors, will penetrate into Central Asia at a cost which will place them at the command of the general body of consumers. Under a settled government, Affghanistan will be an excellent customer. Its inhabitants, and the Uzbeks beyond them, are distinguished by energy of character, and by a commercial spirit. The observations of Captain Conolly, Sir Alex-

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ander Burnes, and Dr Lord, vouch for this; and the kind and liberal treatment which the former experienced from individuals personally strangers to him, when circumstances had placed him in pecuniary embarrassment, demonstrates that the truthfulness and integrity of our countrymen were known and esteemed beyond the limits of our political power. There is happily no want, even at points more distant than Affghanistan, of that confidence which is the vital principle of commerce. Sir Alexander Burnes says, speaking of the traders and bankers of Bokhara,—'We could not 'but feel gratified at the favourable opinion entertained by them 'of the British in India. One of them, Sirwas Khan, a Lohanee 'merchant of great opulence, to whom we were never introduced, 'offered us any money we might require, and did it in a manner 'that left us no doubt of his sincerity.' We may calculate, without doubt, that this favourable impression will have gained strength from recent political events, and from the general conduct of our troops and civil officers in Affghanistan. Dr Lord says, that 'the restoration of Shah Shooja will give us great 'renown through the whole Uzbek nation.'*

We trust that prompt and effectual measures will be taken to follow out Sir A. Burnes' proposition to establish a commercial entrepot, with an annual fair, at Dera Ghazee Khan, or some more eligible point, if such there be, upon the Indus.† That officer and Dr Lord clearly prove, that such a plan is entirely accordant with the genius of the people with whom we have to deal; that it has been pursued with eminent success by the Russians; that the Affghans, and Uzbeks and Toorkmans beyond them, have both a strong taste for many articles of our staple manufactures, and the means, in the wool of their 'countless 'flocks,' their silk, dyes, drugs, gold, &c., to pay for them; and that our present position and relations give us the complete command of this great commercial line as far at least as Bokhara. The Commercial Reports published by the Supreme Government at Calcutta, contain much valuable information as to the demands and products of the countries now newly opened to us. They show that the Indus will give us, not as generally misapprehended, customers on its immediate banks, for such do not at present

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* Political Reports published by the Government of Calcutta.—P. 123.

† The mail which left Bombay on the 30th April, and which has arrived since the above was written, brings intelligence that 'a great 'annual fair has been established at Sukher,' (a place on the Indus, near Shikarpore,) 'to last for one month, and to commence in January 1841.'

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exist to any considerable extent, but the key to the commerce of Central Asia. They show, too, how we may most effectually baffle the schemes of Russia 'by fair commercial rivalry;' and attach to us the nations that occupy the vast tracts between our respective frontiers, by the strongest ties of mutual commercial interest.

In Calcutta, there is reason to believe that the genius of commerce is co-operating with other influences for the moral emancipation and advancement of the people. By raising men of low caste to opulence, whilst at the same time it enlightens and enlarges their minds, and places them in intimate relations with well-informed and benevolent Englishmen, it must tend to render the yoke of Brahminical tyranny, the worship of logs of wood and lumps of stone, and the whole system of caste, contemptible as well as intolerable. The sons of such persons will start with advantages of education which their fathers did not enjoy. It is impossible that they should not feel, towards their priests and more bigoted countrymen, the emotions which made Cato wonder that one augur could meet another without laughing in his face. Even the men of the present generation are rapidly freeing themselves from prejudice. Some of them are keeping abreast of their English fellow-citizens in public-spirited exertions for the general good; and even outstripping them in works of benevolence, altogether foreign to the selfish and exclusive genius of their religion. Whether commerce be the cause or not, the more eminent Hindoo, Mahomedan, and Parsee merchants are far in advance of their countrymen in this honourable race. We gladly mention two of the former, whose names, unmusical though they be, well deserve to be here recorded—Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, and Baboo Moty Loll Seal—who have recently dedicated the large sum of Ten Thousand Pounds each, the former to the erection of an asylum for the blind, the latter to an hospital for destitute lying-in women. Such fruits as these seem to show, that the Upas Tree of Hindooism is now withering; for they could not have been produced beneath its baneful shadow.

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ART. II.—*Zur Geschichte der Italienischen Poesie.* (*Contributions to the History of Italian Poetry.*) 4to. Berlin: 1839.

THE distinguished historian of the Popes and of the Spanish conspiracy against Venice, has, in a short but able Essay lately read before the Royal Academy of Berlin, devoted his attention to a department of Italian poetry, certainly the most interesting, and, on the whole, the most brilliant of which that poetical literature has to boast—we mean the growth and gradual refinement of its narrative poetry; from its first dawn in the rude efforts of the predecessors of Pulci, down to the mature beauty of its meridian in the 'Jerusalem' of Tasso:—that poetry of chivalry, religion, and magic fiction, which inspired the muse of Spenser; on which the youthful Milton dwelt with such enthusiastic delight, and which, even to the last, continued to infuse the charm of romantic and graceful associations into his poetry, when the reveries of youth were replaced by the stern zeal and austere dignity of the man.

In no literature so much as in the Italian, and in no department of that literature so much as in its narrative poetry, can the gradual process of reconcilement, by which the romantic spirit of the middle ages was brought at last into an harmonious union with the classic form, and to a great extent also with the classic spirit of the times of antiquity, be so distinctly traced. We see these two streams, from which the modern poetry of Europe is derived, at first keeping their courses entirely separate, gradually approximating to each other, beginning to mingle their waters, sometimes by secret and subterranean channels, sometimes by more open and visible communications, and at last brought into complete contact. We witness the first conflict and turbulence which follows the meeting of the waters, till their interfusion is complete; and the united stream, partaking of the colour and characteristics of both, flows on again with increased depth and volume, and with restored tranquillity.

To maintain that what we call the spirit of the classic poetry, even in its original form, was altogether exclusive of those classes of associations and feelings which are usually characterised by the term Romantic, would be to push a theory beyond its legitimate bounds. Individual minds among the classic writers tended towards the romantic character; as individual minds among the writers even of the middle ages, and still more among those who wrote after the revival of literature, tended towards the classic. Still, the *general* features of the classic and romantic habits of feeling and taste, as embodied in their respective liter-

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atures, are sufficiently distinguishable; and may be considered as closely if not essentially connected—the former with Paganism, the latter with Christianity. The former was addressed more particularly to the *sense of beauty* in man, finding its appropriate objects in the visible and the material, working simply on the principle of an elevated imitation; limited, therefore, in its objects, since physical beauty could rarely be dispensed with in its creations, and the form became at least as important as the spirit; —yet within its sphere less liable to failure, and producing a feeling of satisfaction perfect so far as it went. The other appealed more to the *hearts and feelings* of men, and invested objects with a colouring derived from these feelings, and not inherent in themselves. It embraced, along with the province of the material, the domain of the immaterial and the infinite; and was founded on the principle not of exhibiting a mere imitation of objects, however refined or however ideal, but of giving a subjective expression to the moral sentiment which such objects have awakened in the mind of man. It was comprehensive, therefore, in its range on the one hand, since the affections and feelings of men may be stirred, and the imagination agreeably excited, by a thousand objects, which not only have no pretensions to beauty, but are, on the contrary, in themselves the reverse of beautiful; yet, on the other, it seldom afforded, even in its most perfect efforts, that tranquil and complete satisfaction which is produced by the masterpieces of classic genius; because, in the highest conceptions of romantic art, the active imagination is still in pursuit of something higher or more profound;—because it sees in these creations but the dim and partial embodying of a conception which does not admit of being fully realized in finite or material symbols, and must necessarily remain to some extent unsatisfied in its longings;—because the very nature of romantic art is to act only by *suggestion*, to appeal to the more mysterious part of man's being, and to call up feelings certainly too deep, too vague, and too wide-reaching for adequate expression either by the chisel, the pencil, or the pen; though perhaps attaining the nearest approach to their complete development in the dim religious vastness of the Gothic cathedral architecture.

That the imaginative literature of antiquity, in its original form, to which we give the name of the Classic, as contrasted with the first aspect of that of modern Europe, which we term Romantic, and particularly that the *poetry* of Paganism as opposed to that of Christianity—which may be regarded as the most condensed epitome of the imaginative literature of each of these respective periods—is characterised in the main by these distinctive features, as well as by some others of minor importance,

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seems to us indisputable. It appears to be not less plain, that these terms represent two different forms which creative art of every description assumes in the human mind; according as it inclines to the more passive pleasure resulting from the contemplation of beauty; or solicits the more active excitement derived from imparting to the objects of sense the subtle associations resulting from the operations of mind, and views them through the reflex light imparted from that combination. Paganism and Christianity have not created these divisions, for they existed from the first, and will remain to the last, great lines of separation drawn across the map of taste. They have only, by their peculiar characteristics, and by their moral, social, and political accompaniments, tended, according to their respective predominance, to foster and expand the one disposition or the other;—the former, while it reduced all things, or nearly all things, to material limits, and circumscribed them within the most accurate rules of grace, proportion, and harmony, naturally bringing to its perfection every thing that related to the form; the latter, by permitting the widest range of subjects, all of which were to receive their poetical value from the mental associations of which they were to receive the image and superscription, as naturally rendering the mere *forms* of things—the form of expression, the form of narrative, the form of the general plan—of secondary importance. In fact, creative art, as it appears in the middle ages, renders every thing connected with the disposition of its materials altogether subservient to an all-pervading spirit of thought and high-wrought feeling—spreading life and unity through materials apparently the most incoherent; and imparting to the whole a poetical interest more intense and agitating in parts, though less equable and well-sustained, than that arising from the artistic combinations, compact plan, and wise economy of ornament, which are the characteristics of the other.

But at the present day no one is, or can be, either purely classic or purely romantic. The groundwork, no doubt, of modern European society is Gothic. For its characteristic qualities, Europe is far more indebted to the tribes of northern Germany than to the languid and worn-out empire which these high-spirited barbarians overturned. Yet the influences derived from the study of antiquity, and the admiration of its masterpieces of imaginative composition, instilled into the mind in youth, and confirmed by the personal experience of riper years, necessarily impart to all modern poetry a mixed and composite character; in which, by a compromise between the separate and sometimes apparently conflicting elements of the classic and romantic, a whole is pro-

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duced, of a new and homogeneous nature, fitted to be the expression of that age of mixed tastes and impulses in which it had its birth.

To what extent this union may be harmoniously and naturally effected—by what poet and in what work the task has been most successfully achieved—by what steps the process of fusion has been completed so far as is poetically practicable, are the questions which Ranke has endeavoured to illustrate by this sketch of the progress of the Italian narrative and romantic poetry.

It is well known that the source from which all the Italian narrative poets borrowed the outline of their romantic fictions—though each engrafted on the general outline incidents and characters of his own invention—was the old prose collection of chronicles relative to Charlemagne, entitled the *Reali di Francia*, with its continuations the *Aspramonte* and the *Spagna;* all apparently the productions (though by different writers) of the fourteenth century. Semi-fabulous we cannot call them, for in truth, with the exception of two or three historical names, they are wholly fictitious.

Their imaginary theme is the propagation of an universal Christianity by force of arms. The worshippers of Macone, Apollino, Jupiter, Trivigante, and Belfegor, (for the name of the great opponent of Christianity in their chronicles is Legion,) are to be converted not by missions and exhortations, but 'civilly by 'the sword,'—seventy thousand obstinate unbelievers, for instance, being put to death after the capture of the imaginary town of Balda. For this high enterprise of conversion, the French monarchs, particularly Charlemagne, have been destined by Heaven; and, under their persevering efforts, by degrees Italy, Germany, and the Slavonic nations, are converted; the English, who had relapsed into Paganism, brought back into the Christian fold; and even Spain, which seems to have been the very hotbed of heathenism, and generally chosen, as Flanders was at a later period in European history, as the scene of hostile operations, is at last brought into subjection.

Nothing can be more purely and rudely feudal than the character of these prose poems. Religion and loyalty—religion, as expressing not so much the mild graces of Christianity as a merciless hatred of Paganism—and loyalty, as indicating the actual unconditional submission of the vassal to the chief, and the theoretical submission of the noble to the monarch—are the main hinges on which the whole action revolves. The Church had evidently not yet obtained that supremacy which afterwards made the possessors of the Papal See the arbiters of the politics of Europe. The Pope throughout plays a subordinate part to the Emperor. He is represented as guided, not by regard to the

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interests of Christianity, but by his personal connexion with the one party or the other;—sometimes he is even placed in a very invidious light. Neither are there many traces of that system of chivalry, which was the aftergrowth, and may be called the refined essence of feudalism. The strict adherence to engagements, on the part of the heroes, at all costs—the complicated love adventures, which make so important a figure at a later stage, are not to be traced in these ruder productions. The annals of love, when it appears, are short and simple. It arises almost always on the side of the lady, is the consequence and reward of great exploits, and is preserved with extraordinary chastity and fidelity. The friendship also of man for man, and that secret tie of the force of blood which links families to each other, are prominent characteristics of the state of society here represented. Of the element of charms and magic, which subsequently assumes so much importance, we here find little. Thus, Orlando and Ferrare are invulnerable, not by the force of spells but of well-tempered steel; and if Fioravante's mother furnishes him with a talisman against poisons, the chronicler suggests his own doubts whether it was not merely a medical potion compounded *secundum artem*, and without the assistance either of muttered spell or magic caldron.

The adventures represented in these chronicles, though, like the characters, they recur too often under slight disguises, (a circumstance equally observable in the 'Niebelungen,' the Persian 'Book of Heroes,' the old ballad literature of Spain, Scotland, and England, and indeed in all early poetical chronicles,) are not without invention and interest. And, in particular, the whole of that portion of 'La Spagna' which relates to Charlemagne's last war in Spain; the defeat at Roncesvalles through the treachery of Gan; the fall of Orlando and the death of Alda, is of such genuine and indestructible solemnity and beauty, that even in the indiscriminating hands of the laughter-loving Pulci it retains its pathetic charm; and, as he himself expresses it, makes the comedy which he intended to write grow into a tragedy under his hands.

Little was gained by the first attempts to versify these chronicles,—the 'Reali' by Altissimo, the 'Spagna' by Zenobi di Sostegno. The labour of these *rifacciatori* was one, not of love but of money. They were, in truth, mere ballad-mongers—

> 'Rude mechanicalls,
> That work'd for bread upon Italian stalls;'

And actually recited their poetry *vivâ voce* to surrounding listeners, relying on the charitable disposition of their auditors for

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their reward. It is strange how inveterately some of these usages have kept their ground in Italy. Even at this moment we may realize in Venice the recitations of these bards of the fifteenth century.

'On the Riva Schiavone at Venice,' says Ranke, 'may be seen, particularly on festival days towards the Ave Maria, and on Sundays somewhat earlier, the story-teller addressing his audience. They stand at a little distance from him, men, women, and children, in three or four rows ranged behind each other. We heard him relate the story of the sons of Aymore, and the history of Charles XII., divided into portions to suit each day; and if there was some truth in his confession that he had no gift of poetry, he at least showed a genuine turn for narration. In the middle, when the interest is at its height, he generally pauses to collect his centesimi, and refresh himself by a draught. Then he recommences his lively representation—slowly, in well-sounding words—walking up and down till night closes in.'

Such was the vocation of the early versifiers of the chronicles; nor is it wonderful that, with no higher object than that of supplying the daily demand, and often obliged to eke out their written composition by *improvisation*, they should have left behind them nothing which surpasses, if it even rises to mediocrity. We confess we are ourselves almost wholly unacquainted with these *primitiæ* of Italian romantic poetry; but Ranke, who has studied the subject with at least all the attention which it deserves, gives the preference to the work of Altissimo, as at once the first and the best.

No alteration in the substance of the original chronicles was made by these rude minstrels: the incidents, the manners of the chronicles, were slavishly copied. We owe to them only the practice of suspending the narrative, and closing the canto at some interesting moment; the habit of introducing each division of the poem by a stanza embodying some prayer or invocation, or some reflection of the narrator, serious or comic, on what has passed; the recurrence of those conventional lines and similes in which all ballad-mongers deal so largely, and that diffuseness of manner which arose from the necessity of making the thread of the story last as long as possible; and to which the natural beauty of the Italian language and versification, and the unaffected and essentially popular cast of the style, appear to have readily reconciled readers of more critical tastes than those to whom these compositions had originally been addressed.

Before the middle of the fifteenth century, however, a great change had been introduced into the social state, the opinions, and the literary tastes of Italy. The Church, no doubt, as a hierarchy, had lost nothing of its authority: its external splendour and authority had even increased. It still stood decked in purple

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and fine linen, crowned with mitre and tiara, not only bearing the keys of St Peter, but often wielding with effect the temporal sword. But that internal principle of deep-felt religion which had given birth to the enthusiastic impulse of the Crusades—which formed at once the vital spirit and the controlling and connecting power of feudalism—and on which even the permanency of the Church itself was ultimately found to be dependent, was in a great measure extinct. The age of chivalry, too, was over; that of commerce had begun. Genoa had shot up into a maritime and trading power, which had thrown into the shade many of the more extensive Italian states. At Florence, merchants were seen elevated, by their own enterprise in the peaceful pursuits of commerce, to the rank of princes and patrons of literature. The weapons of intellect were every day becoming more effective than those of force. The passionate study of the newly discovered works of antiquity, introduced by Boccaccio and Petrarch, was beginning to take root generally in the national mind, and the learned languages to be considered as the peculiar vehicle through which all themes of an elevated nature were to be conveyed. Philosophy, free speculation—nay, even determined scepticism—had forced their way into the sacred enclosure of the Church itself; for a sect had risen up within its bosom which denied the immortality of the soul. In short, so many new directions had insensibly been given to opinion—so much of the *prestige* which had invested the days of chivalry, with their concomitants of simplicity, rudeness, and strong faith, had been destroyed, that it soon became evident that the presentation of the picture of an armed and chivalrous Christianity, in its former earnest and ideal light, would have been an incongruity inconsistent with the spirit of the time. It was easier, however, to recognise the unsuitableness of the ancient materials, in their original shape, to the new order of things, than to perceive by what substitute they were to be replaced, or in what form they might advantageously be remodelled.

In Pulci, (whose *Morgante Maggiore* appeared in 1481,) the first person who applied any poetic talent to the creation of the Italian romantic poetry, we perceive the characteristic peculiarities of the Gothic and classic literatures standing side by side—generally confronting each other in hostile opposition—rarely reduced to any cordial or harmonious alliance. We see the simplicity of manner, the look of faith and earnestness in parts, the rudeness and conventional *remplissage* of the old minstrels, struggling with the ironical and mocking tone, the classic allusions, the religious doubts, and the spirit of worldly wisdom which might naturally be anticipated from the companion of Lorenzo

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de Medici, of Politian and Machiavelli. To the strong features of resemblance between Pulci and his ruder predecessors, who had arranged their poems on a key expressly pitched to suit the tastes of the multitude, he perhaps owes one distinction, which Ranke remarks that none of his successors enjoyed—namely, that portions of his work—such as the adventures of Morgante and Margutte, the conquest of Babylon, and the two cantos descriptive of the battle of Roncesvalles—were extracted from the body of the poem, and have continued, from an early period, to be constantly reprinted as popular tales. To his partial acquaintance, at least, with the antique models, and more original treatment of the subject, he owes, on the other hand, the distinction of being the first of the romantic poets whose works may be still read with interest though certainly not with cordial satisfaction; and the person to whom, so far as his manner is concerned, it appears to us that Ariosto is much more indebted than to Boiardo. His poem, no doubt, has a thousand faults of incongruity and incoherence. He himself seems often doubtful of his purpose; his hand wanders uncertainly over his instrument, producing sounds sometimes dolorous, sometimes grotesque, sometimes jarring on the ear by the most hideous and discordant combinations. The extremes of religion and buffoonery jostle each other; pathos and drollery stare each other in the face; and passages that are physically revolting, precede or follow others of undeniable solemnity and beauty. The strangest thing in Pulci, and one which has not yet received a satisfactory explanation, much as the question has been discussed, is, that though he certainly *intentionally* treats the refinements of chivalry with a certain irony, and does not disguise his intention of making the mad exploits of his weak-witted and gigantic hero a comic parody of those high adventures of Christian paladins and Pagan chiefs, which it had been the object of his predecessors to elevate and idealize, he neither seems to have intended purposely to ridicule religion, nor to revolt the feelings of his readers by the coarseness and filth which occasionally deform his descriptions. In regard to the former point, bold as some of his speculations appear, and strangely as they stand in contrast with the fervent piety and unquestioning belief of the introductory stanzas of his cantos, we agree with Lord Byron, 'that such an intention would have been no less hazardous to the poet than to the priest, particularly in that age and country; and the permission to publish the poem, and its reception among the classics of Italy, prove that it neither was nor is so interpreted.' In truth, rightly examined, it will *generally* be found that Pulci's satire strikes rather against religious institutions, such as they then existed in Italy, than against religion itself; and probably the degrading

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pictures of priestcraft and of the monastic life which he draws, were considerably heightened by the circumstance that, at the time when he wrote, his benefactor Lorenzo de Medici was persecuted by a hostile Pope, both in the way of open attack and secret machinations. Besides, without being at all an *esprit fort* in matters of religion, we can scarcely suppose that the companion of Lorenzo and his companions, was likely to be very scrupulous as to the precise line which, in regard to ridicule, separated the shadow from the substance, the abuses of religion from its beneficent influence. As to his other gross defect, the indifference which he manifests to the nature of his descriptions, it seems to have resulted from an unformed and defective taste, which even the society of the learned was little likely to improve, if we may form an opinion of the court of Lorenzo from some of the observations of Machiavel, and suppose that such *facetiæ* as those of Poggio formed the staple of conversation there, as they appear to have done among the wits of the Roman chancery in the time of his father. Certain it is, however, that this forms the chief drawback from his merits. Mr Stewart Rose, in translating Casti, boasts that he has

> 'Let go his author's skirt
> Whenever he has plunged through filth and dirt.'

But good and bad follow so close on each other in Pulci, that the reader finds it impossible to let go his hold in time, and steps, without the slightest warning, from a flower-bed into a quagmire.

Though Pulci was probably himself not unacquainted with the classic authors, and must at least have acquired a superficial knowledge of them through the society of such men as Politian and the other ornaments of Lorenzo's court, we perceive, both in the manner in which his classical recollections are employed, and in the form of his composition, the hesitation of one who feels that in venturing into the field of antiquity he is hazarding a doubtful experiment. Of the classic forms of composition he has borrowed little or nothing. For their calmness of tone, their quiet, steady progression of plot, their economy of incident, their finish of manner, he seems to have had no *native* taste. On the contrary, in Pulci, the old habits of the ballad-monger stand confessed, in the needless hurry and complication of his incidents;—in his want of poetical perspective, exhibiting all events and characters on the same plane, and with the same strength of light and shadow—so that the only really pathetic and interesting portion of the *Morgante*, that relating to the battle of Roncesvalles, is in a manner lost among the burlesque extravagances of the nominal hero;—in the occasional hardness of his style, whatever may be its Tuscan purity;—in his repetitions and his

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forced rhymes, which a little expenditure of labour would have removed; and which are the less excusable, from the ease with which that difficulty, so formidable in some of the northern languages, may be overcome in Italian. The influence of the antique appears only either negatively in the serio-comic form with which the old Gothic traditions now appear invested, or more positively in multiplied and misplaced allusions to passages in the classics; in the citation of undigested heaps of examples, often inapplicable, always pedantic, from ancient history; or, as if merely to display the extent of the author's reading, in inappropriate biblical quotations and commentaries. The groundwork on which he works is still decidedly Gothic: his object in resorting to antiquity seems only to have been to weave some additional particoloured threads into a web already of a sufficiently motley tissue.

Here, then, we see the elements of the classic and romantic in their first rude juxtaposition, or rather conflict. The old-established romantic faith has become an object of scepticism, of ridicule; the classic literature, though powerful to undermine, is still powerless to reconstruct; it is resorted to, not for lessons in the great principles of composition, but simply as a source of learned illustration and recondite instances, more novel than the old-fashioned literature of chivalry supplied. The lessons of 'careful felicity' of expression—of repose—of manner—of the selection of incidents either dignified in their own nature, or deriving dignity from the passions and affections with which they were associated;—the avoidance of all that was essentially vulgar, filthy, and degrading; the subordination of the parts to the whole;—all the principles, in short, which the study of classical literature, in a right spirit, might have impressed with advantage on the romantic poets, seems to have entirely escaped the notice of Pulci. So far as taste went, the book of antiquity remained for him to the last sealed.

Hence, where he is successful, he is never so continuously, to any extent. Lumbering stanzas, hovering between the serious and the burlesque, without the elevation of the one or the decided humour of the other, chequer even his best descriptions. Too many throats are cut and necks broken, both by the converted giant and his Christian allies, to allow us to treat the subject on the avowed footing of a comic extravagance; while, on the other hand, the palpable vein of unalloyed absurdity which runs through the whole, excludes even that species of qualified and half-sceptical belief which Ariosto, by his artful keeping throughout his poem, exterts, at least, from the imaginative reader. The result accordingly is, that, in reading

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Pulci, we either laugh at the mere extravagance of the conception—as when Turpin, after pronouncing absolution on the army, begins to skip about like a goat, and to perform gambols scarcely less strange than those of Don Quixote in the Sierra Morena; or when the Abbot of Clermont thus advises Orlando to come within cover when the giants begin to hurl rocks from the mountains above:—

> 'For God's sake, cavalier, come in with speed,
> The *manna's* falling now!'

or we are revolted by the indifference with which the heads, legs, and arms of all luckless opponents are described as scattered to the winds without remorse, and really sometimes without any good reason, by the 'new convertite' from Mahometanism. On the contrary, Ariosto, by the selection of a happy medium between seriousness and mirth, carries our sympathies, and, to some extent, our faith along with him. We look on as interested spectators of his really agitating combats; we smile—for he never creates a laugh—at the sly but kindly humour of some of his reflections; we acknowledge the high and generous spirit that pervades others; we sympathize with the noble and chivalrous cast of thought which he bestows upon his creations; and, in fact, are so hurried along by the mingled current of interesting narrative, description, and reflection, always confined within the channel of cheerfulness, moderation, and good sense, that we forget to pause upon the occasional slips of the author. The general reader overlooks entirely the fact, which some pestilent critics have detected and communicated, that not a few of Ariosto's heroes are found fighting desperately in an afterpart of the poem, who had been already quietly inurned in some preceding canto;—like another of his personages who, unconscious of having received his mortal wound—

> 'Andava combattendo ed era morto.'

But we are anticipating: for, before the purely romantic poetry found its perfection in the light graces added to it by Ariosto, an attempt was made to treat the subject in a more serious vein by Boiardo—a nobleman of rank and easy fortune—a scholar, and translator of the ancients—a resident at the chivalrous court of Hercules the First of Ferrara. A man of a high and imaginative cast of mind, he seems to have thought that, while he retained the groundwork of the popular romances, and to some extent also the popular manner of narrative, he might, by refining the characters and investing the incidents with a veil of the marvellous, produce a chivalrous poem on a fictitious subject, which should be in unison at once with the taste of the

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populace and the refined. Though, like his predecessors, he chooses for his subject a religious war between Christianity and Paganism, between Gradasso King of Sericane and Charlemagne, he does not confine himself to the story of those ancient chronicles to which Pulci restricts himself; he draws incidents and borrows characters from the later cycluses of romantic fiction relative to the Knights of the Round-Table. Some of those enchantments, the source of which has so puzzled critics, and to which they have ascribed an Oriental origin, are obviously taken from Launcelot du Lac; and Orlando himself plays, throughout the *Innamorato*, the part of Launcelot. Both cycluses of romance—those relating to the history of Charlemagne, and those relating to Arthur and the Round-Table—probably appeared to him to be defective; the first in that softening spirit of courtesy which increasing civilisation had produced; the latter in that importance and interest of subject which the opposition on a great scale of Christianity to Paganism, and the final triumph of the former, after many defeats, secured to it. Hence, while Boiardo throws his action into the former period, he borrows the traits of his characters mainly from the latter. The names of his actors are the same, but they appear invested with new attributes. He retains the Paladins with their 'fierce wars,' but he adds 'faithful loves,' and 'high thoughts, seated in hearts of courtesy,' * to moralize the song.

'Piace la guerra a lo animo piu fiero,
Lo amore al cuor gentile e delicato.' †

Add to these, the charms and enchantments which here, for the first time, become an important part of the machinery of the poem, and we have the three main elements of Boiardo's poem—War, Love, and Magic.

A fourth, and an important, though still subordinate element of the *Orlando Innamorato*, is the influence of classical fiction; not appearing, as in Pulci, in the shape of learned allusions and inappropriate instances, but gracefully and dexterously interwoven with the tissue of the story. The translator of Herodotus and Apuleius shows, by his very choice of these, an inclination for the marvellous and the mythological fables of antiquity; and many of these he has unquestionably introduced into his poem.

'It is probable,' says Ranke, 'that the ring of Angelica, which ren-

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* Sir P. Sidney.

† Lib. iii. 5.

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dered the wearer invisible, has its origin in that of Gyges. We find a sphinx propounding its riddles, a Polyphemus who spares one of his victims; in the very name of Circella we recognise Circe; the history of Narcissus is repeated in express terms. Perhaps the imitation of the ancients has not been without its influence, also, on the more compact composition of the work. For although the fable of Ruggiero, which was known to the versifiers of the *Aspramonte*, is undoubtedly older than Boiardo; yet the relation of this hero to the house of Este, the prophecies connected with this noble race, who are to be the possessors and the guardians of bravery, goodness, and morality, and under whose sway love, glory, virtue, and prosperity are to be perpetuated—these are unquestionably a new version of old traditions imitated from the Latin poets, and applied to a modern subject.

'Boiardo's poem, then, is undoubtedly made up of elements of very different origin; yet it seems poured forth from the mould of his mind as if at a single cast. We see before us a poet who is himself powerfully affected by all that is beautiful, honourable, and glorious in chivalry. Not far from Scandiano, he possessed an old mountain castle, Torricella, remote from the road, situated in a lonely spot surrounded by wood; hither, during the hot months of summer, he retired; and here, or in Gesso, another of his possessions, also situated on an eminence, with a more extensive prospect, he composed his work. To gratify those companions and kindred spirits, who, as he says, if they loved war, loved not to wage it in a spirit of revenge and cruelty, he composed his poem—to revive the glory of those knights of old who conquered every monster that haunted the world. He entered on his task with the greater enthusiasm that he had persuaded himself that the exercise of knightly virtues, for a time in abeyance, was about to be revived. "That storm, that "winter," he says, "is over. The world begins to deck itself once more "with the blossoms of virtue." *

'He has been most successful in imparting to the uniform characters, which the ancient fables, satisfied with the expression of general dispositions, handed down to him only in their leading outlines, that particular truth which his more animated poem required. How different is *his* Rinaldo from the former wild and terrible son of Aymon—not indeed the strongest of the Paladins, but master of his sword, firm on his steed, ever on the alert—a noble youth, exulting in the pleasure of action. When he is trusted by Charles with the conduct of the army, joyful hope brings the tears into his eyes, and his gratitude is expressed with a modesty which seems unconscious of merit.

'Opposed to him stands Rodomont, who knows not if there be a God, since none has seen him: his good sword, his war-horse, his courage—these are his God. Of the usages of chivalry he knows nothing. To inflict upon the enemy every possible evil is his sole aim—loyalty to his king his only virtue.

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* 'Ora è il mal vento e quel verno compito,
E torna il mondo di virtu fiorito.'

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'Astolpho—who takes all his mishaps in such good part, shrugs his shoulders, and is never at a loss for an excuse—is a character expanded and improved from the 'Spagna.'

'The faithful Brandimarte follows, who cannot hear of Orlando's departure without accompanying him; in whom the poet paints the charm of friendship, the inexpressible pleasure of imparting every thought to another as to a second self: Fiordelisa, who, young, beautiful, and fiery as she is, manifests an intelligence which has in it something of the divine: Bradamante, all youth, strength, and innocence; near her the sarcastic Marphisa, in the confidence of being invincible, defying Heaven, threatening to destroy Mahomet, and burn paradise; and the diminutive Brunello, ready to steal the moon from heaven, or the Pope from Christendom.

'Conspicuous among the rest is Orlando, the hero of the work, yet far enough from being an ideal one. It cannot be said that the character is delineated without a dash of irony. He is easily deceived, and in matters of love extremely inflammable. He believes the malicious Greek on his word, and thanks him besides for deceiving him. He goes quietly in search of a rock from which he is told he will enjoy a prospect of hell. He follows Angelica from the extremity of Asia to France, with such modest diffidence, that he makes no progress in his suit, and yet the treacherous Origilla makes an impression on him. He borders, therefore, closely on the comic; he has some traits of Don Quixote;—but he only *borders* on the ludicrous—these traits are light and good-humoured, hinted at rather than expressed—the serious element is undoubtedly the predominant. Orlando is full of a noble simplicity, cheerful courtesy, resignation, piety, greatness of mind.

'Let us be pardoned for this attempt to seize the features of characters whose existence was only in the imagination of a poet. We are here dealing with his peculiar excellence, that of delineating characters not merely in general outline, but with all those lesser traits which first confer on them truth and life. It would lead us too far were we, after this indication of the leading points of the fable and the characters, to attempt to trace the development of the incidents. Few poems are richer in original and ingenious inventions, in attractive situations, in well-imagined complexities. We wander along a marvellously intricate path, the witnesses of the strangest and liveliest adventures, ever charming and ever new. Let us not expect, however, to meet in Boiardo's work with nothing but virtue and beauty, magnanimity and gentleness. Sensual descriptions, offensive jests, appear at times in undisguised simplicity of expression. But shall we say that piety is hypocritical because jest is found in its company?—that courtesy is false because it stands side by side with sensuality?—that bravery cannot be genuine because it is accompanied by savage wildness? These strange associations form the texture of life itself as well as of the poem. And here at least we are never revolted by *startling* contrasts. A poetic spirit is spread over and mellows the poem, which, as it animated the poet himself, is communicated to the reader, and helps him over every difficulty. Boiardo is a poet who believed, in a certain sense, in what he said, and lived entirely

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in his creations; he was happy in the labour of composition, while the aspect of the world about him and his spirits would permit. Before the end of his second book, however, he begins to complain that it is in vain for him to attempt to devote his thoughts to poetry. Italy is filled with lamentations; he can scarcely breathe; how should he be able to sing? Public calamities disturb the harmless tenor of his life.

'Once more he hopes to be able to proceed with a freer heart; once more he feels himself happy in the circle of that society which his work was intended to amuse. He resumes his tale, and continues it to the middle—till the Saracens advance to the attack of Paris, and Rodomont rears the scaling-ladders against the walls, and is only restrained from mounting them by the arrival of Rinaldo. He promises to sound for us the most melodious strings of his harp, when suddenly he sees the French cross the mountains, and Italy actually involved in war and flame. Mournfully he lets the threads of his tale drop, and resumes them no more. In the same year in which the French appeared, 1494, he expired.'

Before leaving Boiardo, let us merely remind our readers that these remarks are applicable, not to the poem as it appears in the *Rifacciamento* of Berni, (produced forty years afterwards,) the shape in which it is commonly found by English readers; but to the original work of Boiardo himself. That Berni's version of the *Orlando Innamorato* has great and peculiar merits, is evident from the fact, that it has so completely superseded the original as to render Boiardo's work of rare occurrence. But Berni, while he has imparted an admirable ease and humour to the mere style of Boiardo, which is often heavy and inverted, certainly presents both characters and incidents in a very different light from that in which they appear in the original work. Whether his alterations in these respects are, on the whole, to be regarded as improvements or not, we think extremely questionable. In some respects, such as the conceits which he interweaves into his stanzas, and with which Boiardo is by no means chargeable, he has certainly altered the poem for the worse. It is the more important to keep in view this subsequent change on the original character of the poem; because, judging of it from the version of Berni, it might be supposed that Ariosto and Boiardo had more in common than they really possessed. It is the imitation of Ariosto himself, in fact, which has communicated to Berni's *Orlando Innamorato* much of that sly humour and *naïveté* in which it resembles the *Orlando Furioso*.

At first sight, no doubt, the resemblance between Boiardo and Ariosto, even after making allowance for the burlesque additions which have been superinduced upon the poem, appears considerable. Ariosto takes up the three main threads of Boiardo's narrative; he adopts his characters, stamped with those traits which

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Boiardo had impressed upon them; he leads them through the same mazes of combats, love passages, and enchantments; he even repeats incidents which are found in his predecessor. In the invention of plot, and in the conduct of the tale which he thus took up half-told, a good judge, Mr Stewart Rose, gives the preference to the work of Boiardo:*—'Boiardo,' says he, 'however inferior as a poet, must be considered as a superior artist to Ariosto; and, weaving as complicated a web as his successor, it is curious to observe how much he excels him as a story-teller. The tales, indeed, of Ariosto, (and the want of connexion among them is, in my eyes, his most essential defect,) are so many loose episodes, which may be compared to parallel streams flowing towards one reservoir, but through separate and independent channels. Those of Boiardo, on the contrary, are like waters that, however they may diverge, preserve their relation to the parent river, to which their accession always seems necessary, and with which they reunite previous to its discharging its contents into their common resting-place.'

To the characters of Boiardo, Ariosto has made no substantial addition; though he has certainly given to them more of rounding and keeping. Astolpho, no doubt, assumes an importance in the *Orlando Furioso* which he does not possess in the *Innamorato*—so far as being employed as a *Deus ex machinâ* to bring about the cure of Orlando, the union of Bradamante and Ruggiero, and the expulsion of the Saracens from Europe—but he remains the same *poco curante*, and not over-scrupulous personage, whom Boiardo had drawn in such natural colours. Angelica, certainly, does not gain in his hands. The slight portion of feeling which she appears originally to possess, she loses in the *Orlando Furioso*. On the other hand, Bradamante comes out in fine relief; and the rather revolting and unmanageable character of Marphisa is dexterously refined into something of feminine gentleness.

What, then, are the points of distinction between the two poems? Wherein lies the secret of that universal and perennial popularity, which makes the work of Ariosto familiar to every reader of imagination, while that of Boiardo has sunk into comparative oblivion?

One point at least is clear. The poem of Boiardo was not in accordance with the spirit of his age and country. It reflected the views of an individual mind, and not of the public which he addressed. In the extravagant personages of romantic fiction, his serious and enthusiastic mind could recognise the types of virtues and vices; in

* Introduction to the *Orlando Innamorato*, p. 10.

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its strange fictions, the allegoric portraiture of universal lessons of nobleness and virtue. What appeared to himself in an earnest light, he thought he could invest with significance and dignity in the eyes of others. Instead of following out the comic path which Pulci had opened, he reverted to the seriousness and good faith of the ancient chronicles. This, perhaps, explains the admiration felt for him by Milton, on whom the story of Boiardo (if we may judge by his more frequent references to it) made a deeper impression than the gayer narrative of Ariosto. Boiardo could not, indeed, exclude the influence of modern ideas, or of ancient literature from his poem; but neither did he court them. The groundwork of the strange edifice he has reared, remains Gothic, though upon this barbaric surface many a modern ornament, many a fragment of ancient marbles is enchased.

Pulci, rude and unformed as his taste was, had in this respect more justly appreciated his countrymen and his time. Those ideal campaigns, which could be traced on no map but that of fancy—those chivalrous personages, carrying on exterminating wars for the possession of an enchanted sword or courser—Durindana or Bayardo;—sacking imaginary cities;—assisted or counteracted by the spells of benevolent or mischievous fays and magicians;—could not appear to the disenchanted eyes of the fifteenth century in any other than at best a serio-comic light. Thus Ariosto has viewed them. Eminently a man of the world, he had known life in all its aspects; as a courtier, a soldier, a scholar, a country gentleman, the governor of a district; he was thoroughly conversant with the character of his countrymen; he was himself an admirable epitome of most of its better qualities; and his experience determined him at once to work out, but at the same time to refine and purify, the vein which had been opened by Pulci. He does not exhibit the fictions of romance in *travestie*, or its personages in broad and laughing caricature; but a current of comic irony is poured through many channels of description and reflection over the whole—not destructive of serious interest, for it is wonderful with what an air of reality he invests his sieges, combats, and even his scenes of enchantment—but sufficient, like a gleam of sunshine shot across a landscape, to lighten up into cheerfulness what would otherwise have been sombre and dull.

In the treatment of these romantic fictions in this spirit of good-natured irony, which is not inconsistent with a sober enthusiasm, Ariosto remains without a rival. He interweaves, with the most felicitous adaptation, the recollections of antiquity, the inventions and manners of modern times, the refinements which the language and social spirit of the age had undergone, with the Gothic groundwork which he still preserves. But here, unlike

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Boiardo, the new additions are at least as exclusive and important as the old materials with which they are interwoven. Almost all his allusions and comparisons are drawn from antiquity.

'The ladies are fair as statues formed by Phidias: they are accomplished as Pallas: or their age is that of Hecuba or the Cumæan Sybil. If he is celebrating a man—Nereus was not so fair, Achilles so strong, Ulysses was not so bold, Nestor, the aged and experienced, was not so prudent. "Dreadful age!" he exclaims in one place, "full of Thyestes' Tantalus' and Atreuses, in what Scythia do such warlike usages prevail? The youth would have found mercy at the hands of a Polypheme; but thou art more cruel than a Cyclops and Læstrygone."'

The intermixture of modern usages is equally remarkable and more amusing. The warfare of his time, which still had in it much that was chivalrous, notwithstanding the revolution effected by the introduction of gunpowder, against which he protests in the person of Orlando, (Canto 9,) allowed him to depict combats, tournaments, arms, and usages as he saw them daily about him; but he deals freely with matters far less poetical—with army contractors, victualling stores and rations, mines and muskets,* prize-money and plunder. It is evident that Ariosto had begun to comprehend what puzzled Don Quixote so much in his conference with the landlord after his second sally, that money and clean shirts are as indispensable in the high emprises of chivalry as elsewhere. His mariners, too, consult their charts in time of need, instead of driving before the wind to any haven to which a good or a malignant genius might choose to impel them; the Flanders hangings which are found among the spoils, are inventoried with a painstaking and prudential accuracy; the gold and silk stuffs are described with the accuracy and gusto of a Florentine weaver. The descriptions of the incontinence of hermits; the idea of making the residence of discord a cloister; the many other satirical strokes against clerical abuses with which the poem abounds, show that *freethinking* was on the advance.

In two points Ariosto is peculiarly successful. Though he has not evinced Boiardo's power of creating either original characters or incidents, he discriminates the shades of both with surprising variety. He brings out as by a microscope a thousand minute features of distinction, in two situations which at first appeared identical; borrowing often the whole outline of an incident from Boiardo, he produces it at once another and the same. This

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* VII. 159. Mandò per tutta la sua terra
Suoi terorieri a far cavalli e gente,
Navi apparecchia, e *munition de guerra,*
Vettovaglie, e danar maturamente.

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makes him one of the most picturesque of poets. The figures, the accessories, the movements are so painted in words that they seem ready to be transferred to the canvass.

Nor is he less a master of the art of contrast, of which the earlier poets had been singularly careless, particularly Pulci, who fatigues the reader with the endless treasons of Gan, and the constantly repeated massacres of Morgante. Ariosto delights to alternate shade and sunshine, scenes of combat and tranquillity. The drowsy quiet of the house of sleep is the prelude to the assault of Paris; between the swords of Mandricardo and Rodomont rises the graceful apparition of Doralice; from the carnage caused by Rodomont within the capital, the poet hurries us, with Gryfon and Origilla, to the festive tournament at Damascus; from the confinement of the magician's mountain fastness, we rise into the free air with Rogero upon the hippogriff; and on the fury and confusion of the general battle beneath the walls of Paris, follows the pathetic night-piece of Medoro and Cloridano, like still moonlight after a day of storm.

But along with the recasting of the whole substance of the romantic fiction, Ariosto united the most persevering and vigilant improvement of style. The vital importance of this element of poetical beauty, particularly in that department which he had chosen, could not indeed be overrated. Any want of easy and natural expression, any vulgarism of language, would have been equally fatal to the laughing graces which it was his object to attain. Fortunately for him, the critical labours of Bembo in the improvement of Italian style, had peculiarly directed his attention to the subject; and the unwearied pains which he bestowed upon his verses, with the view of realizing the ideal he had in view, is attested by his manuscripts at Ferrara. While those of Tasso, whose stanzas appear so correct and studied, betray few marks of correction; those of Ariosto are frequently almost illegible, from repeated revisal and alteration. He has attained that perfection of polish—the obliteration of all traces of the labour bestowed.

'It must not be supposed,' says Ranke, 'that he worked himself up with effort to this system of laborious correction: it was his nature. He was a man incessantly employed in his own mind with his creations. As he always found something to alter or improve about his garden or his flower-bed, so it was with his verses. Sometimes he afterward forgot the improvement he had proposed: sometimes he returned to the old reading, generally, however, adhering to the new: always at all times actively engaged with the subject. So far was his abstraction carried, that he used to be unconscious of the presence of his company; after eating, he would sometimes forget that he had done so. He once made his appearance

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in the streets of Ferrara in his dressing-gown.* He had gone out to walk from Carpi, got on halfway while in a reverie, and finding himself so far advanced, had walked on.'

Whether the Italian romantic poetry could have been long sustained upon the elevated ground on which it had been placed by Ariosto, even had his immediate successors been men of greater genius, may be doubted. Boundless as the field of romantic fiction appears at first sight, it is far less so than it seems; and the lively and versatile taste of the Italians would probably have soon led them to seek for the excitement of novelty by the choice of other subjects and plans. Certainly the sinking state of the romance poetry was not likely to be sustained by the tedious and uninspired poems of Alamanni and Bernardo Tasso.†

In their late romances, most of the characteristics of the romantic poetry had one by one disappeared. The simplicity and picturesque particularity of the old minstrels, had been superseded by a manner of representation founded on reflection and abstraction; for the quaintness, the *naïveté*, or the comic grace of the style, were substituted conventional amplifications, and a constant aim at rhetorical glitter: the *myths* of the middle ages had been overwhelmed under the fables of antiquity.

When the tone and spirit of the romance had been thus forcibly assimilated to the antique, the idea of attempting the composition of an epic poem, in the manner and after the forms of the latter, was one of natural occurrence. It had occurred to not a few before Tasso; but the attempts of Bolognetti, of Ercole de Giraldi, and Trissino, were beacons rather than encouragements to future poets. Some warning lessons indeed they certainly taught; namely, that the public, long accustomed to the full harmony of the *ottava rima*, so perfectly suited to the genius of the Italian character, would not tolerate blank verse; and next, that those literal imitations of the ancient simplicity of description, which Trissino had laboured to introduce, in which a blank negation of all modern ideas was attempted, must necessarily be unsuccessful; simply because, as the production of a modern mind, they were thoroughly unnatural.

But this poetical interregnum was fortunately of short duration; and we enter on a new field with Torquato Tasso. Enthusiastic and irritable by nature; inclined to love, to melancholy, to religious mysticism; averse to the study of law, for which indeed

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* Barotti Memoriæ, p. 177, vol. i.

† Girone il Cortese, and Amadigi.

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the wandering course of life which he had led under his father's auspices was a bad preparation, he seems at a very early period to have perceived that poetry was destined to be his vocation—that element 'where either he must live or have no life.' Nor was it long before he decided on the subject which afterwards constituted the business of his life. After a few slight attempts, as if to try his powers for a higher and longer flight, he selected the conquest of Jerusalem in the first crusade as the subject of a heroic poem.

Ranke remarks, that Tasso is one of the few productive spirits who have set out with a theory of criticism before reducing it to practice, in poetry. In his twenty-first year, he composed a treatise of some length on the heroic poem,*—a very remarkable work, which shows how correctly he had appreciated the wants of his time, the way in which they were to be supplied, and his own powers of ministering what was wanted. In this contest between the romance and the epic, in which the former seemed worn out, the latter incapable of being revived into poetical life, the possibility of their harmonious union suggested itself to him, and forms the main idea of his essay. 'The mass of the public,' he observes, 'despise 'unity of fable, but only because in those poems where they have 'seen it employed, it is associated with unsuitable manners and 'unfortunate inventions. On the other hand, the multiplicity of 'chivalrous adventures is distasteful to the learned, because in 'the works where they occur they see the examples and rules 'of antiquity violated. If I am asked which we ought to imitate, the epic poets of antiquity, or the modern romancers—I 'answer, we must approximate to both.' The unity, the dignity, the probability of the antique, he thinks, may be perfectly reconciled with modern usages and romantic poems. 'The world 'is many-sided,' says he, 'and yet a single knot in the hand of 'the Deity unites all its threads in harmonious divergence. 'The poet is called divine, because in this he approaches to the 'Omnipotent Workman. Doubtless he can create a poem, in 'which, as in a microcosm, we find on the one hand warlike 'preparations, battles by land or sea, conquests, combats, tournaments, assaults and conflagrations, hunger and thirst; and in 'the other, assemblages in heaven and hell, quarrels, pilgrimages, 'adventures, enchantments, brave or terrible deeds, courtesy and 'nobleness, fortunate or hapless love; and yet all united in such 'a manner, that one depends on the other by necessity or probability, and all form one unity.'

* Discorsi del Poema Heroico.

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In this sentence we read the condensed argument of the *Jerusalem Delivered.* For the task which he had thus early undertaken, Tasso prepared himself with all the resources which an earnest study of philosophy, poetry, and criticism could supply. He had Milton's feeling of the sacredness of the task wherewith all 'Europe was to ring from side to side.' He had *his* conviction, too, 'that by labour and intense study, joined with the 'strong propensity of nature, he might leave something so 'written to after times that they should not willingly let it die.' With such views and feelings, Tasso proceeded, in 1565, to the composition of his work, on which ten years of labour were bestowed.

It is a remarkable proof of Tasso's poetical insight, that while the subject of his poem is historical—more so, indeed, than the Trojan War or the arrival of Æneas in Italy—it is so closely allied, at the same time, to the very theme which had been the favourite subject of the romancers—the Conquest of Jerusalem;—that event, from the influence of which those romantic poems had chiefly arisen, and with which even the fable of Orlando is connected. A renewed impulse had recently been given to such recollections by the appearance of the Turks in arms under the walls of Vienna; by the expedition of Charles V. against Barbarossa, and the liberation of more than twenty thousand Christian slaves from the prisons of the Goletta or the galleys of Algiers. Tasso's object (and a most judicious one) seems to have been to vary no further from the romantic than was absolutely necessary for its combination with the classic taste. While he gives up the fables of chivalry, therefore, he reverts to that event which has given to these fables their first significance and importance, and he retains their essential elements—the propagation of Christianity by the sword, and its contest with Mahometanism. His poem is at once historical, romantic, and Christian.

Nay, in one point, the closeness with which he has adhered to the romantic model, has perhaps been carried too far; we mean in the prodigal use of his fairy machinery, and in the repetition of the old part of Angelica—the enchantress by whose wiles division is to be spread among the chiefs of the Christian camp—in that of Armida.

It was perhaps fortunate for Tasso, that the recollections of the age of chivalry still ministered to visible representation in his time. Public displays of knightly exercises were not uncommon. 'In '1562, for example, a bridge was erected on the Largo de S. Do-'minico, in imitation of the bridge of Rodomont in Ariosto, on 'which Vincenzo and Carlo Spinello maintained a combat against 'fifty Neapolitan and Spanish cavaliers. When Tasso arrived at

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'Ferrara, in 1562, he found the court and city busied with prepara-
'tions for the reception of the new duchess, Barbara of Austria:
'the most splendid knightly pageants took place; a tournament
'was held in the palace-court, in which a hundred knights took a
'part. It is true, these were not the natural outpouring of senti-
'ment, or the immediate expression of real life; they were rather
'the poetical reflexes of a time gone by: but the public mind
'still found a gratification in them; and they must have had the
'liveliest attraction for a young poet, who had here encountered
'in actual life the very objects with the description of which he
'was to adorn his poem.' Thus, perhaps, a liveliness and graphic accuracy was imparted to Tasso's chivalrous pictures, which, but for these representations from actual life, his own mind, inclined to reflection rather than picturesque delineation, might have but imperfectly afforded.

Thus selecting a Christian and romantic subject, and interweaving into it the fictions of the middle ages and usages of modern Italy, he endeavoured to apply to it, in regard to form, the strict rules of Aristotelian criticism. He parcels it out with technical accuracy and forecast, according to his own division, into four parts: the first expository of the situation of affairs; the next, in which the action becomes complicated and unfortunate; the third, in which the confusion begins to be cleared up; the fourth, in which the whole is brought to a satisfactory solution. And he is, perhaps, the only poet who ever wrote an epic with such predetermined adherence to a theoretical rule—and succeeded.

The enumeration given by Ranke of Tasso's obligations to the ancients, appears at first sight startling. Characters, incidents, similes, passages of description without number, he is content to translate from Homer, Virgil, Lucretius, or even Lucan, into Italian. As the Venetians are said to have built St Mark's with marbles and mosaics stolen both from the east and west, so Tasso lays the domain of Greek and Latin poetry under contribution both for incidents and imagery, wherewith to inlay the romantic groundwork of his poem; and often appears prouder of a dexterous application of such materials than of an original creation. Formidable, however, as the long list of parallelisms from the classics looks, Ranke does justice to the plastic skill and admirable judgment with which Tasso treats the materials thus accumulated.

'Tasso had other works before his eyes—he imitates them: But of what injustice should we not be guilty, if we should suppose that he blindly followed his prototypes! How widely, in this respect, is the difference between him and his father! Tasso, like him, imitates a portion

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of the Amadis, (the Feliciano de Silva:) but he extracts from it only the leading outlines of the fable, the name and idea of the heroine, (Armida.) If the old writer introduces hundreds of knights beating their breasts, and uttering cries of lamentation in the enchanted castle of Armida, Tasso is too well educated in the school of the ancients to take pleasure in so strange an exhibition of the pathetic. The enchantments of his Armida are throughout human. It is the nature of Tasso to avoid the monstrous, the shapeless, the widely fantastical. Even in regard to the works of minds more allied to his own, this is obvious. He has made much use, for instance, of the *Christiad* of Vida;—the description of the Infernal Council; the call of the Tartarian trumpets, at which the depths of hell tremble; the assemblage of monsters, compounded of snake and man, of gorgons and centaurs; the speech of their infernal ruler, who reminds them of their former happiness and present condemnation to these realms of darkness—are all taken from Vida.'—'But when he comes to his description of Satan, with a hundred heads wreathed with snakes and fiery dragons, with a hundred hands all armed with torch and trident,' he stops short. These extravagant conceptions, he thinks, overpass the bounds of legitimate representation; he omits them. He paints his Satan after the description which Claudian gives of Pluto as the monarch of the subterranean world. Even antiquity itself he does not always follow. Much as he admired Virgil, he does not implicitly adopt his descriptions. He applies the incidents of Camilla's life, as we have seen, to his heroine Clarinda; he follows Virgil in the flight of the attendant with the child; but when it is bound to a lance, and flung across the river, this appears to him too violent, too improbable. He seeks another mode of deliverance. The attendant plunges with the child into the stream, swimming with one arm, with the other supporting it; but the current is too violent for him, and his charge is swept away. Through the aid of St George, the protector of the child, it is safely deposited on the bank. While Tasso avoids the violent, he still interweaves religion and miracle into his poem.'

The religious spirit, which indeed in Tasso assumes an air of almost mystical devotion, and delights in the representation of supernatural impulses, has formed the reconciling element between the classic and the romantic portions of his poem. Without this belief in a marvellous supernatural agency guiding, even in a visible form, the affairs of the world, all that fairy machinery which chiefly connects his poem with those of Boiardo and Ariosto, must have been omitted. But believing, as he did, that a thousand spirits, good or bad, might walk the earth, subordinate to an omnipotent and benevolent Intelligence, he found little difficulty in admitting the agency of spells and enchantments even into a Christian and historical epic.

'Closely connected with this visionary feeling of religion is his treatment of the passion of love. Erminia who, in the house of Tancred, had never spoken to him, is suddenly seized with an impulse to seek him in the camp of the Crusaders. Tancred sees Clarinda but an

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instant; but is so fascinated by the sight, that he seeks the field of battle only that he may attain forgetfulness. If the sentimental consists in the union of the spirit of love and pity, this is in Tasso a very important element. Almost all his love resolves into pity;—in Gildippe and Odoardo not less than in Sophronia and Olindo, in Tancred and Clarinda, in Erminia and Tancred, nay, even in Rinaldo and Armida. The complaints of Tancred would have been more suitable in the mouth of Orpheus, to whom such were ascribed by the ancients, than to a warrior such as Tancred.'

Ranke concludes his observations on Tasso with the following judicious remarks, with which we shall close this article:—

'In the main he accomplished the task he had prescribed for himself. He succeeded in uniting the multiplicity which the public mind required, with the unity which was sought after by the learned. He, for the first time, subjected the materials of romance to the classic laws, without destroying their essential character. Tasso had the good sense to write not for the learned alone, the nobles and high priests of literature, but for the people at large—as he says himself, for every man; and he attained his end, *general* approbation and popularity. Perhaps the very faults of the work contributed to this favourable reception; but much more its sustained grace and dignified movement;—the mild, all-beautifying, and never overpowering fancy of the poet; the skill with which a theme, so elevating both to the faith and the imagination, had been treated in a manner at once congenial to the primitive grandeur of the subject, and yet in harmony with the advanced intelligence of the time; above all, the inimitable melody of so many exquisitely constructed stanzas. Foreigners have undoubtedly greater pleasure in the perusal of Ariosto: the Italians will not allow the superiority of Tasso to be contested. We must hear them read and recite his stanzas: they linger on the single verses with a sort of musical voluptuousness; they dwell on the closing rhymes with satisfied delight. The genius of the nation worked unconsciously in Tasso in this particular: he gave perfect pleasure to his countrymen; the pattern which he set is followed now.'

'In the Jerusalem we find a union of many elements;—intelligence and feeling for the materials of romance; seriousness and dignity of representation; a comprehensive acquaintance with and imitation of antiquity according to the Aristotelian rules; the revival of the ideas of Christianity. In depth and majesty it cannot be compared with the work of Dante; nor in life and richness with that of Ariosto; but it is a happy embodiment of the manifold tendencies of the time, conceived and executed at the right moment: not indeed the production of a great genius, full of original and creative power, but the successful labour of a sensitive, active, imaginative, and learned *artist* and *poet*.'

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ART. III.—*A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor*, in 1838. By CHARLES FELLOWES. 8vo. London: 1839.

THE want of a more accurate and extended knowledge of the internal geography of Asia Minor has been long felt among scholars, who, notwithstanding the missions sent forth by the Dilettanti Society, and the voluntary labours of private individuals, remain in complete ignorance as to the real position of many ancient cities of great celebrity. In no country which Englishmen have traversed, does so little attention seem to have been paid to the actual bearings of one place with respect to another; owing partly to the unskilfulness of the traveller to make the requisite chorographical observations, and partly to the rapidity with which his journey has been performed. We are immediately struck with this upon glancing over the various narratives that have been published: we find in them perpetual reason for complaining of the insufficiency of our guides. Allusion is more frequently made to their privations and inconveniences, than a careful description given of the monuments of art that are still preserved. It is much to be lamented that travellers should have visited a region offering so many new and inviting reflections to learning, and so many fresh tokens of civilization in times most remote, in this unsatisfactory way;—that they should have contented themselves by taking merely general views, and giving as little detailed information to their readers as possible. We are not unaware of, neither are we disposed to underrate, the obstacles that exist in travelling through this country. Its deserted state often places the bare necessaries of life out of the traveller's reach; and the ignorance of its inhabitants leads them to watch all his movements with prejudice and suspicion. We know that it is not merely needful to possess a temper imperturbable as that of the Turks—one little liable to be ruffled by accidents—but also to unite with it a constitution that has long been disciplined by temperance, and made capable of bearing excessive fatigue. We are not unaware of the wearisomeness of incessantly riding on wooden saddles, and of the disturbed repose which may be found at nightfall, perhaps, under the black tent of some wandering Turcoman. Yet we have also experienced that these varied difficulties are speedily lightened, if not indeed entirely forgotten, amid the lofty associations which the magnificence of the country arouses. Whether traversing its boundless and fertile plains, or attempting to scale its snow-clad mountains; whether wandering over the parched

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surface of the desert, or burying himself in the profound silence of the abandoned valleys—the traveller discovers in each, new fields for research; and beholds this 'land of lost gods and godlike 'men,' marked by a beauty and grandeur equally novel and sublime. Nor is the natural aspect of the country less attractive to the eye of Science; for whilst the classical reminiscences of youth are, on the one hand, refreshed by the view of the very spots where Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines contended, and successively left vestiges of their sway—Philosophy, in her turn, looks round to contemplate those mysterious operations of nature which have produced the extensive table-lands and agate rocks of Phrygia, the mephitic cavern and petrified cascades of Hierapolis, the extinct volcanoes of Laodicea, the subterranean streams of Lycus, the magnetic influence of Mount Sipylus, and the Chimæra flames of Delictash.

This region is singularly replete with memorials of its early history. The scattered fragments of its temples—its paved thoroughfares, the ruins of its numerous theatres and gymnasia, its marble sepulchres hewn out of the rocks, its Cyclopean fortifications, its extensive moles and artificial harbours—carry back the mind at once to the periods of its prosperity and renown. From the mythic ages that Hesiod and Homer have sung, to the days of the first Orchan, when Islamism set her minarets and crescents upon the basilica of the Greek Emperors—from the time when Alyattes and the Lydian Kings were entombed on the plains of Sardes, to that when the last of the Lusignans was driven from Cyprus—each successive period has left its own monument illustrative of the arts;—evincing the height of perfection to which architecture and sculpture were advanced, and furnishing an undying testimony to the genius that characterised the Asiatic Greek. Where the dark cypress still points out by the wayside the cemetery of the Mussulman, indicating the existence of villages long since depopulated, are found numberless memorials of the first occupiers of the soil. In these forsaken spots, that even fatalism consecrates to the memory of the departed, inscriptions of great interest often cover the grave of the Mahometan; whilst the public fountains, khans, and kaffenés, as frequently contribute fragments of inscribed columns, broken capitals, and portions of friezes. At the town of Vourla, enriched from the neighbouring ruins of Clazomenæ, as one out of many instances which might be noticed, may be seen three or four exquisite bas-reliefs inserted in the external walls of the flat-roofed dwellings.

All these records of past greatness, the hand of time or the influence of climate alone have done but little towards impairing; and we must attribute their destruction in a great measure to

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the ravages committed by the half-civilized barbarians who possess the country; who, with a fanaticism engendered by ignorance, and akin to that of the Iconoclasts of our own, have ever looked upon them with superstition and ill-will, and aided their demolition as far as their natural apathy of character and love of indolence permitted. It is from such causes, rather than from natural decay, that each succeeding traveller has the mortification of finding monuments overthrown and half-obscured by the low brushwood and herbage, that his predecessors saw erect and uninjured. Thus the vast Ionic temple of Cybele on the banks of the Pactolus, which in the days of Smith had five of its columns standing, when visited by Mr Cockerell had only three; two having been thrown down by the Turks for the sake of the gold which they expected to find between the joints; and since his visit the number has been still further reduced. It is true that the low and marshy situations which were chosen by the Greek architects as a means of avoiding the convulsions of the earth, have occasioned great part of this temple, together with those of Samos, Ephesus, and Magnesia, to be buried by a gradual rising of the soil; but the materials themselves have escaped the strife of the elements, and there has been no silent corrosion to wear away—no incrustation of lichens to deform, their fair proportions. There must be something peculiarly conservative in the nature of a climate which thus permits us, after a lapse of more than twenty centuries, to behold the most delicate creations of the sculptor in their very minutest details, as sharp and fresh as when they received the last touch of the chisel; and we cannot restrain the expression of our wonder upon viewing the admirable state of preservation which these monuments so invariably exhibit. The architects employed in the last mission of the Dilettanti, found a Corinthian temple at Cnidus so well preserved, that they declared it might have been easily rebuilt from the fragments that lay on the spot. The temple of Diana Leucophryne at Inekbazar on the Meander, was so little abraded by the action of the atmosphere, that it admitted of measurements being taken in the utmost detail, together with drawings of the frieze representing the battle of the Greeks with the Amazons;—a building peculiarly interesting, from being adduced by Vitruvius as a model for an octostyle pseudodipteral temple. The entablatures at Myra, and those of the temple of Apollo Didymæus at Miletus, the sumptuous sarcophagi at Xanthus, the majestic remains at Azani and Labranda, are astonishingly perfect; while, again, the theatre of Patara, with its proscenium and inscription commemorative of its erection—those of Myra and Side, and Antephellus and Aspendus—furnish us with such com-

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plete insight into the ornaments of the scenes and the dramatic machinery, that posterity will hardly desire additional information.

Asia Minor is distinguished for the excellence and number of its ancient geographers. It has been described by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny: Xenophon has left a narrative of the route of Cyrus from Sardes in Lydia, to Celænæ in Phrygia, from thence to Iconium in Lycaonia, and to Tarsus on the south-east coast. Arrian describes the progress of Alexander the Great, which carries us through the wider range of Lycia and Pamphylia in the south, Gordium in the north of Phrygia, Ancyra and Cappadocia, terminating, like the preceding historians, at Tarsus in Cilicia; whilst Livy, again, has described the marches of Cn. Manlius through parts of the same provinces: so that the amount of materials illustrative of the country when it was in its most flourishing condition, is both ample and satisfactory. It has been frequently visited by different English travellers, some of whose journals are before the world; and it is chiefly from our own countrymen that our acquaintance with its modern aspect is derived; foreigners having hitherto contributed extremely little to augment our scanty knowledge of its geography and physical character. We are not unaware of the exertions of the French Government in this quarter from the year 1833 to 1837, or of the loss of life which befell seven of the distinguished individuals who were employed in furthering the objects of the mission; but the superb work to which these labours have given rise, under M. Texier, is so little advanced, that it is to be feared many years will still elapse before it can be completed. As far as we are capable of judging from the two parts that have appeared, it will leave us little to desiderate. The remarks of a few travellers may perchance yet remain in manuscript; but it is not asserting too much when we express our belief, that every discovery of the least value up to the year 1824, when Col. Leake published his volume on the country, has been incorporated among that gentleman's observations. Rather more recently, the English chaplain at Smyrna, following the example of his predecessors, made a visit to the Seven Churches; and of this he has printed an account. Yet he, like others who have gone over the same ground, used far too great expedition to enable him to make his remarks with the requisite degree of minuteness. We must not expect to find in this work those hydrographical notices, with which members of other professions are of necessity so much better acquainted; but he affords us just reasons for complaining that his book is, in no instance, distinguished by measurements or plans of the remarkable ruins he

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visited. This must be considered as a great defect by all who are solicitous to receive specific instruction—who, knowing the value of facts, depend upon these alone, and wish to draw inferences for themselves. An individual, whether he be artist or amateur, who has once essayed to lay down the ground plan, or delineate with exactitude the details of an ancient and dilapidated structure, from pursuing such methods, will readily acknowledge the real importance, nay, the unavoidable necessity, for this kind of labour. It will enable him, upon coming to a second example, to detect immediately the general principles which influence the mind of the architect; as well as to account for the peculiarities of construction which the building exhibits. Thus will he learn to form such inductions as are best capable of facilitating his further researches; though he will also be taught to regard with reasonable suspicion, conclusions that have not been arrived at by a similar process. It is only by planning, drawing, and measuring, that the traveller, more especially one whose object is the investigation of antiquities and the remains of early art, can obtain any real insight into the object of his enquiries. He should never cease to recollect, amid all the ignorance and incapacity of his conductors, amid all the misrepresentations which the inhabitants may put upon his proceedings, that there exists a talisman in his own keeping that will enable him to wrest knowledge out of confusion—that there is a magical power in his *line*, wheresoever he stretches it, which will restore harmony and beauty to the creations of dishonoured genius, and recall into order and system a mass of shapeless ruins.

There are other omissions in the narratives of those travellers who have gone through this interesting country, that seem to call for notice. In no instance do we find sufficient allusion made to the state or trending of the ancient pavements that intersect it. In no case are we apprised of the original line of road being followed, in preference to the modern track that was pointed out by the attendant Janissary or Surijè. Yet, that these ancient lines of communication laid down from one city to another would, if pursued as far as practicable, be the means of bringing the investigator to positions that have hitherto eluded notice, there is little reason to doubt. We are not yet made acquainted with the nature and formation of those extensive thoroughfares; neither has any journalist told us, that their construction is precisely the same wherever the Roman arms extended;—whether taking their course across the plain of Magnesia in the east, or the Pontine marshes in the west—or whether, again, existing as objects of vulgar tradition and awe in the remote districts of England. Nor may it be undeserving of remark,

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whilst alluding to this subject, that the fragments which lately existed of Norwood Causey in Devonshire, and those still remaining of the Devil's Causey in Shropshire, bear the most exact resemblance to the more important roads which were carried by the Romans throughout other parts of their empire. The immense sums expended, and the numbers of people engaged in constructing these national works, is not their least striking feature. When we learn from Antoninus, that in Italy alone, there were 13,500 miles of systematically formed roads, and in Britain not less than 2650, independently of similar works in the Roman provinces, which according to the same authority would bring up the total length to 38,290 miles;—when we know that they traversed the most western side of Spain and Barbary, and the eastern kingdoms of Media and Assyria, that they were carried entirely through Great Britain in the north, Gaul, Hungary, and Scythia, and even through parts of Arabia, Egypt, and Libya, in the south;—we may justly feel astonishment that such stupendous undertakings could ever have been completed. Yet numerous evidences of these vast labours still exist both on the European and Asiatic continent; the latter, indeed, presents them as fresh and unworn as the first day they were laid. We cannot, then, deem it other than a vain task of the critic, to attempt to reconcile numerical discrepancies that are manifest in Xenophon's 'Retreat of the Ten Thousand,' and in the Antonine and Jerusalem 'Itineraries,' until at least some of the disputed distances from post to post shall have been actually traversed.

We have dwelt thus long upon the omissions conspicuous in the journals of educated travellers, from the fact, that several cities to which they have carried us are peculiarly safe and easy of access. The proximity of Smyrna to Ephesus, to Thyatira, to Sardes, and to Pergamus, readily admits of measurements of detail, and careful plans of these ruins being made. Mr Fellowes cannot altogether be exempted from the same charge; and in his particular case it is the more to be regretted, because the variety of decorations with which his work is embellished, evinces his ability to have furnished this more useful species of illustration. Though we are much disposed to find fault with him for having neglected such important subjects of enquiry, we should, however, do him injustice, if we withheld the expression of our thanks for the agreeable and variously illustrated narrative he has given to the world.

Mr Fellowes commenced his tour at Smyrna, where he experienced, in the novelty of the scene, the same degree of surprise that has usually been felt by others on their first landing.

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Arriving during the time of the Carnival, he must have witnessed some of the senseless mummeries by which it is accompanied even in this distant part of the globe; but of these he makes no mention. Smyrna no longer possesses any of those attractions illustrative of antiquity which can induce the traveller to lie long at anchor in her spacious bay. But the soft and beguiling pleasures of the Casino at this season, where Oriental fashion holds a numerous court, retain him, after the monotony of a sea voyage, no reluctant votary at her shrine. The assemblies held in this public building are numerously attended by residents and strangers. The natives seem to have lost nothing of their taste for delicate and refined accomplishments; and, like the former inhabitants of Ionia, their style of living and their habits are still effeminate, their amusements light and trifling.

Of the multitude of tongues here used the modern Greek predominates; and is spoken with a much higher degree of purity than any other. Few of the Franks are acquainted with Turkish; and the Turks, on the other hand, are ignorant of all languages except their own. There is great diversity of costume in the mixed population, and almost as striking a variety of character and creed. The cadaverous look of the beardless Armenian, and the long attenuated countenance of the Jew, singularly contrast with the ruddy expression of health that marks the physiognomy of the European; while, again, the dignified carriage of the Turk is equally opposed to the light footsteps of the Greek, and the bustling of the British factor. Nor is the contrast confined merely to the deportment of the various classes. The long and flowing robes of the Mussulman, his loose red trousers and vestment of Brusa silk, his yellow papooshes and gloveless hands, distinguishable as they are among the many characteristic dresses of the passengers who are thronging through the narrow bazars, yield, in point of singularity, to the countless coverings for the head that are observable—all seeming to vie with each other for pre-eminence in height and unsightliness. The round calpac of the Armenian commonly rises fifteen inches above the head, and increases in diameter proportionably to its altitude. The women rush into the opposite extreme, and walk through the streets without any covering for the head. Nor is this the only part of European attire of which they are accustomed to divest themselves; as their unwieldy and corpulent appearance indicates the habitual absence of the corset.

After the first impressions have subsided which are created by such a scene, there is nothing to detain the traveller at this outpost of his journey. Mr Fellowes' route lay through that part

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of Asia Minor now called Anadhouly, which includes Lydia, Mysia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria. Our knowledge of the central part of this region is still very defective. Of Phrygia, Bithynia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia, we know comparatively nothing; and consequently that part of Mr Fellowes' journal which relates to these provinces is the most valuable.

Of the spots deserving minute examination in the kingdom of Mysia, Assos must undoubtedly be considered as the chief. Its situation is extremely beautiful; elevated on a rock nearly inaccessible, it commands a view to the west over the Sea of Mitylene, and to the east over a rich plain, bounded by a succession of wooded hills. It is more highly interesting, however, to the antiquarian, who will find among its ruins, extending as they do for miles, a wide field for his labours. It may be termed the Pompeii of Asia Minor; as it serves to convey to the mind a more complete notion of a Grecian city than any other that has hitherto been discovered. Great part of its walls, standing in many places thirty feet high, each stone being beautifully cut and laid without cement—several of its towers, its gates of entrance, (three of which are figured in the journal before us,) and the seats of its theatres, yet remain. The paved way leading out of the city to the Necropolis is unimpaired; whilst several of the tombs which were placed alongst it still stand in their original beauty. The lids have in most instances been displaced by irreverent curiosity, but the other parts of the tombs have been spared desecration. Yet amid so many noble specimens of ancient art that are preserved, it is to be lamented that none of its temples can be included. They are all overthrown and destroyed; and Assos, the once flourishing port from whence the Persian kings were said to have obtained their supply of grain—a city sanctified by the eloquent preaching of an evangelist and Apostle—consists at present of merely a few huts.

'Immediately around me,' says Mr Fellowes, 'were the ruins extending for miles, undisturbed by any living creature except the goats and kids. On every side lay columns, triglyphs, and friezes of beautiful sculpture, every object speaking of the grandeur of this ancient city. In one place I saw thirty Doric capitals placed up in a line for a fence. I descended towards the sea, and found the whole front of the hill a wilderness of mixed temples, baths, and theatres, all of the best workmanship.'

Before we take up our author in Bithynia, we shall say a few words respecting the intervening country: they must necessarily be few, for it has, in as far as we are informed, only been travelled by the courier road from Smyrna to Moucalitza. We have no published route from the western coast into Phrygia; nothing to

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guide us in determining the real positions of the once flourishing cities of Lyrnessus, Scepsis, and Ergasteria. The country is no further known than the eye can stretch from the road-side; which, however, in the dry and rarefied atmosphere of Asia Minor is much further than a native of a northern climate at first imagines; for there is a decision of outline in the distance, occasioned by the tenuity of the air—a distinctness about remote objects, that leads him to suppose them nearer than they actually are. The general features of the country are monotonous and tame. There are no vestiges of antiquity to enliven the journey,—nothing but an unending series of low hills covered with stunted brushwood, until the rugged but majestic chain of Olympus bursts upon the view.

We now enter the province of Bithynia—a land of beauty and enchantment, where the air is always fragrant and the prospects unclouded. Throughout the whole of this productive district, industry has tilled the soil, and cultivation is more generally extended than in any other parts of Anatolia. In approaching the ancient capital, we pass over a region of unrivalled loveliness and fertility. Vineyards and corn-fields, gardens and mulberry-grounds, smile on every side; while from woods of deep evergreens, the daphne, myrtle, laurustinus, and strawberry-tree mingle their odours with those of the hyacinth, cyclamen, and violet. Olympus raises its snowy crest in the distance, and before it are a series of fine mountains, with their feet bathed in the most placid of lakes—the ancient Ascania. The remains of Nicæa are still very considerable. They consist chiefly of the original walls, (similar in construction to those of Constantinople,) several of its gates of entrance and towers, a Roman aqueduct that still serves to supply the town with water from the neighbouring mountain, and the vestiges of a theatre—the subject of two interesting letters between the younger Pliny and Trajan. But

'The points of the greatest interest,' says Mr Fellowes, 'are the relics of its earliest age; little of that date now remains standing in its original form; but the grandeur and peculiar beauty of the arts among the earlier Greeks cannot be concealed even in the broken materials. Three square towers and their connecting walls are evidently built out of the ruins of one magnificent temple, which probably stood on or near their site. The stones, which are of white marble, are so well squared, that, although put together (probably by the Romans) without cement, the joints are generally too close to admit the blade of a knife between them. * * * The cornices are of wreaths of acanthus leaves, with bold dentals, and the usual Corinthian ornaments; but our idea of the whole building can only be formed from the grand scale of the blocks, and the highly-finished

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workmanship of the detached fragments. Other parts of the walls are composed of the relics of apparently an earlier age—immense stones cut to fit into each other, without the attention which was paid in later ages to the horizontal courses; these would rank as Cyclopean. Again, some parts of the walls are entirely Roman, being of brick, and with arches built in the most substantial style; while others are formed of marbles of a much less pure age, in which the cross (always found among the ornaments) and the unproportioned figures and letters in the inscriptions, give them the date of the earlier Christians.'—(Pp. 110, 111, 112.)

Nor amongst such numerous objects deserving attention, is the town of Isnic itself insignificant. It contains several mosques, baths, and other buildings sufficiently interesting to claim the traveller's attention; whether he investigates the marks of its former celebrity, or, descending with successive conquerors, is careful to note the progress of Saracenic art. In the latter instance he cannot fail being struck by the exquisite taste that is displayed in the decorations and architecture of Yechil Djami, or the Green Mosque. Such will be the general impression, and such the chief attraction upon visiting Nicæa. But to the Christian philosopher it exhibits a higher theme for reflection, and calls forth from his bosom a holier sympathy. For whilst the eye is complacently dwelling upon the fallen monuments of its prosperity, and tracing amid the confused mass of its extensive ruins the sites which were devoted to exhibitions of genius and prowess, his heart will inwardly feel pained by the recollection that this fair land, whose possessors are now enslaved by infidelity and uncivilized ignorance, had once a brighter name among the nations; and that here the disciples of a more merciful lawgiver issued that symbol of Catholic faith, which the Universal Church and the voice of Synods and Councils have confirmed throughout the world.

With pleasure we could deviate from the path of our traveller, and continue to wander in a country where the gifts of nature are so profusely bestowed; and we could extend similar descriptions to Nicomedia, placed in its verdant amphitheatre; to Brusa, the Damascus of Anadhouly; and in retrospect we could visit its mineral waters, and, reposing under the ample shade of its walnuts and planes, listen to the fall of the limpid streams that irrigate and refresh its fruitful valleys. But our limits compel us to exchange the brilliancy of this salubrious climate for the colder and more severe air of Phrygia.

The geological formation of the country we are now approaching, is perhaps its most singular characteristic. But we must refer those who are interested in that subject to the journal

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of Mr Fellowes, where they will find a curious description of the extensive table-lands and fields of chalcedony which render this district so remarkable; observing, however, that to ourselves some of his speculations seem somewhat startling. As far as Phrygia Epictetus has hitherto been explored, it has presented very little to the traveller to reward him for his labour. The former inhabitants were almost proverbial for their cowardice and inactivity; their climate was inhospitable, and their soil unpropitious—circumstances which will serve to account in a considerable degree for the scantiness of its population, and the absence of those superb structures and monuments of national taste which are so numerous in the adjacent provinces. Among the few memorials that occur, the great sculptured rock of Yasilichia claims the first attention. From the characters employed in the inscription, it has very reasonably been considered the work of the Phrygians before they lost their independence. Next to this must be ranked the sepulchral caves of Dooaslàn, and the extensive Necropolis that occupies the valley, where for eight miles Mr Fellowes passed through a continuous cemetery, the rocks and ground being perforated by thousands of caves; and, lastly, the city of Azani, with its ruined temples, bridges, theatre, and quay, first visited by Dr Hall—who, as well as our author, has given a plan and view of them. Upon looking at their engraved representations of the exquisite Ionic temple that still exists in fair perfection, and upon comparing numerous vestiges of Grecian with Roman art, we are powerfully impressed with the prodigious and superior height to which the arts were advanced by the former nation. No trivial proof that popular governments, whilst devoting their first energies to extend the liberties of the subject, have ever been found equally favourable to the display and growth of genius.

A journey of three days over a bleak and desolate country, brings Mr Fellowes to Sagalassus, formerly the most important town of Pisidia. Being situated on the side of a craggy mountain, it is extremely difficult of approach; but it sufficiently repays the visiter for the irksomeness of the ascent; as he there finds very considerable remains—seven or eight temples, numerous public buildings, and a most beautiful and perfect theatre. The whole of the town is a pile of superb buildings, arranged in excellent taste both for seeing and being seen, and its tombs, carved in the rocks with much architectural ornament, are to be observed for several miles around.

Hitherto we have accompanied Mr Fellowes to places that have been before visited by various travellers; but upon entering Pamphylia he appears in the character of a discoverer. Amid

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the wilds of Mount Taurus, surrounded by impetuous torrents, and inaccessible on account of the precipitousness of the rocks on which their city was built, dwelt a colony of Lacedæmonians, whom Strabo describes as the bravest and most powerful people of that district. For several centuries the position of their city was unknown; the journal before us has the merit of first making the civilized world acquainted with the existence of a place so remarkable as Selge.

'After passing a rocky plain, we entered a wood or wilderness of shrubs, and suddenly came to a cliff of the greatest perpendicular height I had ever looked over; no description can give an idea of the place. I was at the end of a ridge of mountains of white marble, which terminate abruptly in a deep and rich valley, with villages, of which Dávre appeared the largest, and having only one side accessible; the other three rising perpendicularly, perhaps a thousand feet. Upon this promontory stood one of the finest cities that probably ever existed, now presenting magnificent wrecks of grandeur. I rode for at least three miles through a part of the city, which was one pile of temples, theatres, and buildings, vying with each other in splendour: the elevated site for such a city is quite unaccountable to me. The material of these ruins, like those near Alaysoon, had suffered much from exposure to the elements, being grey with a lichen which was eaten into the marble, and entirely destroyed the surface and inscriptions; but the scale, the simple grandeur, and the uniform beauty of style, bespoke its date to be the early Greek. The sculptural cornices frequently contain groups of figures fighting, wearing helmets and body armour, with shields and long spears: from the ill-proportioned figures and general appearance, they must rank in date with the Ægina marbles now at Munich. The ruins are so thickly strewn that little cultivation is practicable; but in the areas of theatres, cellas of temples, and any space where a plough can be used, the wheat is springing up. The general style of the temples is Corinthian, but not so florid as in less ancient towns. The tombs are scattered for a mile from the town, and are of many kinds, some cut in chambers in the face of the rock, others, sarcophagi of the heaviest form; they have had inscriptions, and the ornaments are almost all martial; several seats remain amongst the tombs. I can scarcely guess the number of temples or columned buildings in the town, but I certainly traced fifty or sixty; and, in places where there were no remains above the surface, I frequently saw vast arched vaults, similar to those forming the foundation of great public buildings. Although apparently unnecessary for defence, the tombs had strong walls, partly built with large stones in the Cyclopean mode. There is no trace of any successors to the earliest occupants. I never conceived so high an idea of the works of the ancients as from my visit to this place, standing as it does in a situation as it were above the world.'

Descending from these mountain ranges our author conducts us through a rich wilderness to Adalia, Perga, Isionda, Penelessus, Syllium, Side, and Aspendus; and scarcely any one of these

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cities yields in magnitude and interest to those hitherto noticed. Out of this number we will merely adduce Perga, which seems to have greater claims to attention than the rest; and also because it serves in some degree to convey to the reader a very natural picture of the present state of all these early Grecian colonies. 'When,' says Monsieur Texier, 'the long girdle of 'walls round Perga are perceived in the distance, flanked by 'elevated towers, and defended by a deep river, the traveller is 'astonished not to hear the noise that announces the approach 'to a great city. All is silent. He advances, he passes through 'the gates, and it is but with difficulty he can dispel the illusion. 'Perga has been deserted more than ten centuries. What power 'has been able to force the inhabitants to quit a city so strong, 'and so magnificently adorned? The theatre, the stadium, the 'forum, watered by a canal whose sides are lined with marble, the 'baths, and the porticoes, are yet standing. It cannot be famine, 'because the plains around are fertile. The Cestrus has not 'turned from its course, and the sources of pure water flow on 'still at the head of the aqueducts. The mind loses itself in 'endeavouring to solve the problem, how so many cities should 'have simultaneously, as it were, shared a common fate, and 'become depopulated and forgotten.'

Mr Fellowes having reached the coast of Karamania, goes by sea to Phaselis, Olympus, and Kakava; proceeding thence by land, he visits Myra, Antephellus, and Patara, and then explores the Valley of the Xanthus. Here he has again added to our geographical knowledge; being the first traveller who has penetrated far enough into the interior of the country to discover the remains of Xanthus and Tlos; two of the chief towns of the Lycian confederacy. But it is not merely for having extended our view over the surface of this hitherto untraversed district that we are indebted to him; as he has also made us acquainted with some of the noblest specimens of sepulchral art that exist in any part of the globe. The ruins of Xanthus are described by Mr Fellowes as being of a very early date; many of the walls are Cyclopean, and the language of the inscriptions is like the Phœnician or Etruscan! In the ruins there are many parallelisms to the Persepolitan, as may be seen from a figured representation in the volume before us.

'The elegant designs evince the talent of the Greeks; and the highly poetical subjects of the bas-reliefs, the temples, friezes, and tombs, some of them blending in one figure the forms of many, probably to describe its attributes, are also of Greek character. The ruins are wholly of temples, triumphal arches, walls, and a theatre. The site is extremely romantic, upon beautiful hills; some crowned with rocks, others rising perpen-

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dicularly from the river, which is seen winding its way down from the woody uplands, while beyond in the extreme distance are the snowy mountains in which it rises. On the west the view is bounded by the picturesquely formed, but bare range of Mount Cragus, and on the east by the mountain chains extending to Patara. A rich plain, with its meandering river, carries the eye to the horizon of the sea towards the south-west. The city has not the appearance of having been very large, but its remains show that it was highly ornamented, particularly the tombs. . . . . There is no trace of the Roman or the Christian age.'—(P. 227.)

Mr Fellowes next enters into a detailed account of the principal tombs still existing, and furnishes us with some well-executed lithographs, that serve to make us better acquainted with their merits as objects of sepulchral art. Among the great number of monuments yet preserved, the most remarkable for design and workmanship is a very lofty sarcophagus of white marble, which owes its excellent condition in great measure to having been finely polished. The top, or *hog's mane*, is decorated with a hunting scene, the figures of which are highly finished and full of spirit. On each side of the sloping roof are figures of warriors and war-horses, characterised by great spirit and heroic beauty; and upon two projecting stones, as found upon all these tombs, are carved lions' heads crouching on their paws. Nearer the base, there are on one side groups of figures three feet six inches high, clothed in gracefully folded draperies, apparently supplicants before a judicial authority; upon the other side is an animated representation of combatants—some of whom are fighting naked, others wearing merely a loose shirt confined by a belt round the waist. It is difficult to convey, by a mere description, an adequate idea of the refined feeling that is stamped on this work of early sculpture, and we must therefore for the present refer our readers to the representations of it in the Journal before us; and we have the less reluctance in making this brief allusion to it now, from the agreeable intimation conveyed in the preface, that Government has given directions for this and other specimens of sepulchral art in the same locality to be added to our national collection. The study of such monuments will always have the effect of giving an impulse to the artists of the country; they will tend to diffuse more correct principles of knowledge and taste; and whilst they elicit the sparks of latent genius, they will equally advance the happiness and the morals of the people.

From Xanthus Mr Fellowes proceeded to Tlos, where he also found very extensive ruins, of the same nature as those at the preceding city. But here the Romans have engrafted much of their own architecture upon the early Greek.

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'The original city must have been demolished in very early times, and the finely-wrought fragments are now seen built into the strong walls which have fortified the town raised upon its ruins. The theatre of the ancient city was large, and the most highly and expensively finished that I have ever seen; the seats not only are of marble, as has been the case in most that I have seen, but the marble is highly wrought, and has been polished, and each seat has an overhanging cornice, often supported by lions' paws. The cornices of wreaths, masks, and other designs, are records of a luxurious city. There are also ruins of several other extensive buildings with columns, but their positions are not so good, and they may probably be of the date of the latter town. The most striking feature in the place, is the perfect honeycomb formed in the sides of the Acropolis by excavated tombs, which are cut out of the rock with architectural ornaments, in the forms of temples, &c., some showing considerable taste. Neither at Patara nor here, is there the least trace of inscriptions similar to those at Xanthus; but there are several in the Greek language, which may assist in deciding the date of the place.'

From hence Mr Fellowes goes to Telmessus, a place remarkable for the number and beauty of its tombs, sculptured in the rocks; representations of which very like those at Kliebse, in Arabia Petræa, are given in his Journal. Travelling northwards, at no great distance from the Gulf of Cos, he visits the ruins of the Corinthian temple at Labranda, and from thence proceeds to Miletus, Ephesus, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Philadelphia, and Sardes, and terminates his journey at Smyrna, from whence he started; having, in the course of three months, made the most complete examination of Anadhouly that has hitherto been laid before the world.

We might easily have drawn more largely than we have done from the narrative of this excursion: we might have quoted descriptions which portray the manners and habits of the people; we might have adduced some curious elucidations of classical authors; and from the Greek inscriptions, which frequently occur, we might have furnished matter for reflection to the critic and the historian. But we shall content ourselves with having recommended to notice a work valuable for its illustrations of the antiquities, the geography, and the physical state of a region of great interest and renown.

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ART. IV.—*The French Revolution. A History.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. Second Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1839.

FEW writers of the present time have risen more rapidly into popularity than Mr Carlyle, after labouring through so long a period of comparative neglect. Whatever judgment critics may be pleased to pass on him, it is certain that his works have attracted of late no common share of attention. His little school of sectaries has expanded into a tolerably wide circle of admirers. His eccentricity of style has become the parent of still greater eccentricities in others, with less genius to recommend them; and his mannerism has already infected, to a certain extent, the fugitive literature of the day. Clever young writers delight in affecting his tone of quaint irony, and indulgent superiority; and many a scribe, whose thoughts have about as much originality as the almanac for the year, fancies that he gives them an air of novelty and impressiveness by clothing them in a barbarous garb, for the fashion of which their prototype must hold himself to a certain extent responsible.

It must be said, in justice to Mr Carlyle, that this unusual success has been bravely achieved by dint of personal energy and merit, and against a host of difficulties. Self-educated, we believe, and nurtured on the very quintessence of German transcendentalism, with little of the ordinary British discipline to counteract it, he could only clothe his own thoughts in the same uncouth foreign livery in which the parent thoughts had been clothed when first his mind received and appropriated them. He seemed a solitary or rare example of one who, in his native country, had unlearned his native language; and was as much a stranger among us as Jean Paul or Ludwig Tieck might have been, if suddenly transferred from their own metaphysical cloud-land to our matter-of-fact atmosphere. His difficulty of expressing his meaning otherwise was palpable and natural; that he was altogether free from affectation, we cannot, in conscience, believe; but the manner had grown very closely to the substance. Accordingly, there were numbers of readers to whom, for a long time, neither wit, nor sense, nor philosophy, could make his lucubrations even tolerable—who were forced to throw them aside almost unattempted, with a pettish *si non vis intelligi.* That many have greatly altered both their estimate of, and feeling towards him, we attribute partly to the gradual change in himself; for extended French and English reading have made a

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different writer of him; and though still dark and rugged enough at times, he is 'daylight and champaign' compared with his former self. But the principal cause is, that he has forced himself, style and all, on public attention. His peculiar vein of philosophy, his mode of judging of things and men with an earnest irony, his tone of thought, sometimes original and always independent, have compelled even those whom his oddities of manner most repulsed to tolerate him; while, to many, they have made the oddities themselves palatable: so that, at the present day, we doubt whether it is the matter or the manner which tells most on his followers and admirers. For our own part, our dislike to his bastard English is unconquered and unconquerable; and this, together with the endless scraps of Schiller, and Goethe, and Richter, which are interwoven (without the trouble of any thing deserving the name of a translation) in his composition—the constant repetition of the same figures and the same jokes—the constant harping upon the same monotonous strain of thought—have made the task of going honestly through these three volumes rather a heavy one;—notwithstanding all the interest of detached scenes, and the vigour of thought and barbarian eloquence of language which often characterise the accompanying reflections. Indeed, we suspect that his firmest adherents are apt rather to dip into him than peruse him; he writes for the desultory readers and thinkers of the day; and has served his apprenticeship, and acquired his peculiarities, in the school of journal and essay writing. And this is one among several reasons which cause us to prefer, as a matter of taste, the biographical sketches which are scattered through his recently published Miscellanies, to these continuous volumes. But though they are written rather in a fragmentary style, and made up of detached scenes and *points*, after the fashion into which writers so educated naturally fall; yet there is a sort of dramatic unity of purpose running through the whole, and so peculiar as amply to repay investigation.

There is one mode of discussing the French Revolution which is very satisfactory from its simplicity, and from the little trouble of thought and discrimination which it gives to the historian adopting it. It is by applying to the consideration of it the ordinary rules of morality, as they are inculcated in national schools, and declared in assize sermons, and judicial charges. Resistance to established authority is a crime—interfering with our neighbour's property a crime—taking his life a crime. Consequently, the whole French Revolution was a great crime; all who engaged in it were criminals—some more, undoubtedly, and some less; and according as the individual writer is more or less atrabilious

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in his temperament, he will be more profuse in excuses for the weaker sinner, or in denunciations of the stronger. But that which points the moral of his narrative, and gives at the same time zest to his labours, is the tracing out the action of the presiding Nemesis of that great drama;—the retribution, national and private, which visited each separate sin on the people at large, and which followed each individual actor into the very recesses of his own home or heart. This is what may be called the orthodox method of writing the history of the French Revolution; it was once exclusively popular in England, and is still not without followers; but, notwithstanding its obvious completeness and rotundity, it does not seem altogether to satisfy the present generation of enquirers.

Another theory, which has also met with no small success, was that which dealt wholly in abstractions — arranged royalty, feudalism, democracy, and so forth, in well-balanced antitheses—and elevated the nature and importance of the final cause of those events, until the moral character of separate acts and actors sank into insignificance. That final cause, in the view of such writers, was the regeneration of France. All who co-operated in that work must answer to their judge, if there be a judge, for their personal thoughts and deeds: in the eyes of the historian, who can look to results only, they stand justified. Given the proposition, that it was necessary the Revolution should succeed—and given also, that a September massacre, and a regicide, and a reign of terror, were necessary to its success; then a Danton, a Robespierre, and a Fouquier-Tinville were necessary parts of the machinery—like the wheels and cylinders of a cotton mill, by which the raw material must be crushed, and pulled, and divided, before the finished fabric can be produced. To quarrel with them as moral agents is therefore simply a loss of time—unphilosophical, absurd, and pedantic. This theory was also very much in favour a few years back: it is that on which the popular histories of Mignet and Thiers are mainly constructed; and its peculiar language might be traced, during the years of the Restoration, among many English writers also.

But its fashion has passed away. It is out of favour, because the democrats of France having, by their own energy, a second time revolutionized the state, and found France almost as far from regeneration as ever, are less satisfied than heretofore with the all-sufficiency of their theories. But there is another and a more general cause for this. Men have become within these few years more searching in their enquiries; their views are not so much bounded by mere politics as heretofore, (which regard

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men in masses only;) they are more accustomed to penetrate below the surface of those conventional ethics on which most social systems are very insecurely founded. It is the struggle of these new speculations for utterance, still confusedly mingled with the relics of the abstract political systems of which we have not yet got rid, which at once produces such writers as Mr Carlyle, and prepares the triumph which he has achieved over prejudice, distrust, and misunderstanding. His is the philosophy of transition, of doubt, and of sanguine expectation; it rejects old 'formulas' as barren; but instead of resting content in scepticism, it endeavours to lead the mind back to certain elemental principles, and to direct it in anticipation to future discoveries, as yet barely descried or dimly imagined;—visionary lands of promise perhaps, but attractive as the fabled Eldorado to youthful enterprise. To him, the mainspring of all speculation concerning the French Revolution, lies in the thought of the five-and-twenty millions of ignorant and poverty-stricken serfs who lay in bondage at its commencement, whom it will need many revolutions, or changes as great as revolutions, wholly to emancipate.

'Masses, indeed: and yet, singular to say, if with an effort of imagination thou follow them, over broad France, into their clay hovels, into their garrets and hutches, the masses consist all of units. Every unit of whom has his own heart and sorrows: stands covered there with his skin, and if you prick him, he will bleed. Dreary, languid, do these struggle in their obscure remoteness: their hearth cheerless, their diet thin. For them, in this world, rises no era of hope: hardly now in the other: if it be not hope in the gloomy rest of death, for their faith too is failing. Untaught, uncomforted, unfed! A dumb generation: their voice only an inarticulate cry: spokesman, in the king's council, in the world's forum, they have none that finds credence.....at rare intervals (as now, in 1775) they will fling down their hoes and hammers: and, to the astonishment of thinking mankind, flash hither and thither, dangerous, aimless: get the length even of Versailles... The chateau-gates must be shut; but the king will appear on the balcony, and speak to them. They have seen the king's face: their petition has been, if not read, looked at. In answer, two of them are hanged on a new gallows forty feet high—and the rest driven back to their dens—for a time.'—(Vol. I. p. 43.)

This is the great hoard of volcanic matter, whose eruptions, when the time for them is arrived, shake, and will continue to shake the states of the world. The French Revolution was but one expression of the inarticulate and confused cry of these millions struggling—not for paper rights of men, not for constitutions *à la Sieyes*, or worship of the Supreme Being *à la Robespierre;* but for what they knew not how to define, except in the

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expression of universal craving and need of physical comfort—of rank as fellow-men and fellow-citizens with the privileged—of religion, consolation, instruction. While these masses exist, and their wants exist, so long are all institutions and 'formulas' in danger; if not precisely from a new inundation of 'Sans Culottism,' certainly from some outbreaking or other of similar tendencies. Woe be to those who withhold from them their due: woe, most of all, to those parties, churches, sects, and individuals, whose scruples and wranglings, dignified with the name of religious objections, continue to obstruct the supply of that which sums up all others—the want of education!

To those who habitually see the French Revolution in this light, special causes sink into insignificance. 'Philosophedom,' spread of infidelity, disordered finances, contagion of English and American ideas—all these become merely circumstances which contributed to modify the course of the great eruption; but the thing itself was inevitable and predestined. If so, the men who took part in it were less agents than patients;—men who may have conceived that they were forwarding or impeding it, but in reality the very sport of the impulses they thought to control.

> And some are great, and some are small,
> Some rise to good, some from good fortune fall:
> Some wise men, and some fools we call:
> Figures, alas, of speech, for Destiny plays all!

The part of each man was marked out for him beforehand. What we are concerned with is, not what that part was, but how he performed it. If he threw his whole heart into it—if he was sincere, earnest, and real—'no hollow formulist,' but a living son of nature—whatever our party bias may be, we must needs respect him: if he was but 'a hollow artifice, and mechanism of 'conventionalities, weak, wavering, thin, and unreal'—he was still our brother man, and as such must have our sympathy too; but in his case it takes the shape of pity.

We have preferred to let Mr Carlyle's views speak for themselves, so far as our prosaic analysis may serve to represent what he has developed in scattered passages, full of fire and eloquence, but with his own characteristic vagueness, diffuseness, and repetition. We feel this to be more for our reader's purpose than to exercise our ingenuity in criticising or combating them. In detail, the temptation to do so would be endless. The great merit of Mr Carlyle as a writer, and the great pleasure which his writings give, arise from their *suggestive* character. He is always furnishing hints for thought; a slight sentence, a passing observation, often seem to open long vistas of reflection; but he rarely thinks out a subject for his reader: he never weighs, and reasons, and arrives at balanced

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conclusions. His brief outlines first arrest the attention, and then provoke objection: we feel tempted to debate and argue every point with him, proposition by proposition; but it is wonderful on how much more cordial terms we part with a companion of this description—angered though we may have felt at times by mutual contradiction—than with one of those formal and useful guides who fall under the general denomination of historian—to which, in plain truth, Mr Carlyle has no title whatever.

On one point, however, we cannot refrain from a few words of protest. We mean the theory implied throughout his pages, which makes hunger the one great mover of revolution, *de facto* and *de jure*—the conclusive test of misgovernment—the black spot in the heart of all states. This is a question which it is in some respects painful to confront; but it is necessary to speak plainly on it.

That hunger has existed and does exist in old communities, under every variety of government, must at least be conceded as a fact. Its wan and menacing face scowls on us every where from the background—in history and in actual observation. That political systems may have much influence in increasing or diminishing its intensity, we do not wish to deny; but there is a law of human nature at the bottom, far more powerful than these, of which the terrible strength is tacitly admitted even by those who have inveighed most loudly against its expounders. Take the state of society immediately before the French Revolution, for instance: how absurd it is to hold up to public ignominy (as Mr Carlyle, somewhat inconsistently, has done) the vices and follies of a worn-out dynasty and aristocracy, when it is evident, that if hunger causes and justifies revolution, their guilt is comparatively small? Had Louis the Well-beloved been as pious as Louis the Saint, as popular as the Good, as chaste as the Thirteenth of his name, and as powerful as the Fourteenth, would the condition of the rye-bread and chestnut consuming multitudes of central France have been much better? Somewhat improved it doubtless is at present; but is there not still hunger enough to justify blowing both Chambers, and the citizen-King along with them, into the air? Or, let Mr Carlyle examine the state of the people in some of the densely peopled Swiss Cantons, where almost every male citizen has a share in the government. He will find sufficient distress to account on his own principles for any revolution, and yet nothing whatever (except a little property) for revolution to fasten upon.

It is impossible to say how extensively the prevalent dread of the multitude, stimulated by doctrines such as these, tends to produce a selfish political adherence, and hopelessness of ameliora-

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tion. It is with little heart, if at all, that men are induced to take a share in practical reforms—in curtailing this or that excrescence, and in suppressing this or that abuse—whose minds are overpowered by a sense of that fundamental deficiency under which they conceive all society to labour. Mr Carlyle's own conclusions from his theories may be very different; but these are the more ordinary and natural. He seems to believe in the power of government to raise the poorer class altogether out of its present position by legislation. When asked, what are the remedies which he proposes—he answers, very much in the tone of a man forced to say *something*—emigration—and education. The first, in the sense of a general measure, the merest of all delusions. The second, doubtless in its ultimate effects, a lightener of many of the evils which afflict humanity; but even were it attainable, which our wretched jealousies place out of the question, still of very indirect and distant influence upon this particular disorder;—especially in a country of which the population gains at the rate of half a million a-year, and depends for subsistence mainly on the power of underselling foreigners by a fraction per cent. To say that the evil is imminent and enormous, and to point out these as the only means of averting it, is to bid society despair. The logic of Fear is different. The timid and selfish are apt to conclude, that as the lower classes have been kept down hitherto, so they may be kept down a little longer. It may last our time. But in order that it should, it is absolutely necessary to lay aside small political differences, and unite against the common enemy. This is no time for framing constitutions with nice checks and jealous contrivances: in such a crisis, the best government is the simplest and strongest. We appeal confidently to our readers, whether this is not, in the present day, the most popular argument in favour of despotism, and whether such views as Mr Carlyle's do not inevitably tend to strengthen it.

It would be a worthier task for the historian to disabuse the public mind of those gloomy speculations and unmanly alarms. The every day utility of free institutions is, not that they guarantee the toiler against hunger—would that it were otherwise!—but that they create a vast and powerful class interested in the maintenance of order; and infuse into that class a spirit and intelligence which render it adequate to the task. They cannot ensure the labourer against want; but they give scope to his energy, if he has any; they cannot heal the evils of competition, but they secure to the competitors fair play. We say nothing here of their civilizing and ennobling effects upon the nature of man, although these, too, indirectly contribute to the spread of physical welfare. If along with these advantages they *had* also

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the inconvenience attributed to them of encouraging discontent and turbulence, and rendering poverty dangerous, these mischiefs would be abundantly compensated. But the French Revolution, whatever else it may prove, proves the contrary of this: it shows that tyranny produces a more desperate population than the most licentious freedom.

With views such as these, and with a genius altogether averse from the ordinary 'pragmatical' method of history, we shall not be surprised at finding that this work turns out rather to resemble a set of lectures, very loosely collected, on striking personages and striking events, just as these may happen to seize the writer's fancy. The *men* of the Revolution are the prominent objects in his portraiture. And in this respect his subject is an unfortunate one; partly because Mr Carlyle, with all his reading, has acquired no clearer conception of the French character than philosophers of thorough Teutonic breed usually do; (and for this reason, among others, we long to see him engaged in the more congenial occupation of delineating the sterling characters of our own civil wars;) partly because the 'men of the Revolution' are, after all, so extremely uninteresting a race, and it is so impossible to make heroes of them, whether for purposes of history or romance. Surely never was so great a drama transacted by personages so utterly destitute, in his own language, 'of what one can call 'originality, invention, natural stuff, and character.' It seemed as if it was a part of the original purpose of its management, that the intellectual growth of France should be dwarfed for a season, in order that the work might develop itself without the agency of superior talent to forward or counteract it; for if we compare the leaders of parties during the struggle not only with the great men of former days, but even with the *élite* of the generation which has succeeded, their extreme inferiority seems manifest at once. Mr Carlyle, therefore, assuredly deserves some honour as an artist, if not as a faithful interpreter of the past, for having contrived to make something of such unpromising materials: by grouping his figures well, and by clothing them all in the livery of his own speculative destiny, he has contrived to throw a sort of lustre even over the shallow Girondins and worthless Jacobins, with whom his history chiefly deals.

And what personage is there, in fact, who may not be invested with some interest, when he is brought before us, not as a dry name which is to occur occasionally through a certain number of pages, but as a human being, a creature of like passions with ourselves, an agent with ourselves in the great work of Providence or Fate; whom we are commanded to take by the hand, to address as a brother, to see him act what he was destined to per-

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form, to hear him account in his own way for his actions, and explain the obscure purpose and meaning of his short historical existence? This is Mr Carlyle's peculiar manner, and it is the manner belonging to no common order of genius. The mortals with whom he has to do are not described—their actions are not related—but they are called up, like *phantasmagoric* figures, one after the other, and spoken of, or spoken to, as living and answering men. The historical life of any character once named in history, whether for good or for evil, is treated by him as a kind of type of the natural life of man—the short transit of an object over an illuminated surface, in its passage from one dark somewhere to another. For a few years, or weeks, or days, as the case may be, he is called out from the many millions of his like who passed by unknown and unnoticed; among whom he lived, and in whose ways he walked; for that short space he is a reality to us; but we question him in vain *whither* and *whence:*

> Ὁ δ' αρ' ουδεν αμειβετο, βη δε κατ' αλλας
> Ψυχας εις Ερεβος νεκυων κατατεθνειωτων.

As Jeremy Taylor might phrase it, 'His light burns awhile, 'and then it turns blue and faint, and man goes to converse with 'spirits; and then he hands the taper to another.'

We do not by any means feel satisfied that we have made this peculiar mode of thought intelligible to readers to whom the original is unknown; perhaps no one would enter into it at all, to whom it has not already suggested itself in the course of his own meditations; in which case he would conceive it at once, by a species of freemasonry with the writer. There is a strange passage somewhere in Mr Carlyle's Miscellaneous Writings, in which this feeling is not indeed analyzed, but very vividly exemplified. It is where he has occasion to speak of the Staffordshire peasant, the events of whose dull round of life happen to be involved, for a single day, in the narrative of Charles the Second's escape from Worcester. That single day of one labourer's existence, in the year 1651, is as it were realized to us, and become an imperishable thing: the life of the rest of the peasantry of England—of the five hundred thousand similar clodhoppers who on that day put on and off their hobnailed shoes, and went to and from their daily labour, and dined, like him, on brown bread and buttermilk, if the 'good old times' could not afford them bacon and ale—is separated from us by the very blackness of darkness. Such is the theme of the passage to which we allude;—the Rembrandt-like effect of the description we cannot give;—but it contains the germ of much of the very peculiar style and manner which pervades this History of the French Revolution.

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It would perhaps not be very difficult to show how this mode of viewing historical reality, as to individual men, is connected with that sort of indulgent fatalism which we have mentioned as the characteristic of the moral views of Mr Carlyle. Men are treated as agents who had a part to perform—a work to do—until we almost cease for a time to regard them as any thing else. There is no such thing as accident in Mr Carlyle's phraseology, any more than in Duke Wallenstein's. A worthy major in the British army, who has lately published an account of Ceylon, where he had the management of a district for several years, being impressed, like most Englishmen, with the importance of transplanting the laws of Alfred into every possible society, impanelled a Mohammedan jury on the body of one of their countrymen who was found drowned. According to proper English precedent, he suggested a verdict of 'accidental death;' but the twelve honest Mussulmen preferred to find 'that the time of the 'deceased was come, and his fate accomplished!' This is precisely Mr Carlyle's historical verdict on all personages whatever; and he extends it to cases of murder and suicide. Its uniform application has a strange effect in levelling the inequalities of character—in dignifying the burlesque at which we were wont to laugh, and softening the guilt at which we once shuddered. Poor Mademoiselle Théroigne de Mericourt, one of the farcical figures of the Revolution, stands forth sublimed into a creature of destiny in the following passage:—'Such brownlocked figure did 'flutter, and inarticulately jabber and gesticulate, little able to 'speak the obscure meaning it had, through some segment of 'that eighteenth century of time. She disappears here from the 'Revolution and public history for evermore!' On the other hand, if there be one of whom we had been accustomed to read with shrinking disgust and horror, it is the miserable man Maillard, who presided as 'judge' at the Abbay prison, in the massacres of September 1792. For days and nights he coldly directed the butchery of one helpless creature after another; he could see through the door the hideous execution done on each of his victims, as he ordered his fellow-murderers to 'pass on to 'the next'—and he was well paid by the Commune of Paris for his trouble. His shade is thus dismissed,—'O Stanislas! one 'hoped to meet thee elsewhere than here: thou shifty riding-'usher,* with an inkling of law! This work also thou hadst 'to do, and then to depart for ever from our eyes!'

Something of this peculiarity seems owing also to the *bon-*

* One of Mr Carlyle's strange literal translations—'huissier à cheval.'

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hommie with which the writer appears to make personal acquaintance with all the individuals whose fortunes he relates. There are many persons who can work themselves into a tolerable degree of virtuous indignation against criminals whose atrocious actions they hear or read of, but are not proof against the softening influence of personal communication. If they have once been brought face to face, though it be with a murderer on the eve of his execution, have heard him express his wants and feelings, and, as it were, realized him as a fellow-creature—they cannot find it in their heart to abjure all common humanity with him. So it is with Mr Carlyle, and his evoked spirits of the Revolution. Merely reading of the sayings and deeds of Marat, we shrink from him as something loathsome and polluting. But call him up, with our author, and address him as a brother man—a man who eat, drank, slept, loved, feared, and hated like other mortals, but vexed all the time with a 'fixed idea,' (a phrase borrowed from Mignet)—apostrophize him as 'remarkable horse-leech' or 'dog-leech,'*—'Cassandra Marat,'—'hapless, squalid, Marat,'—and the monster vanishes by degrees; and we have before us instead, only one among the most remarkable of the many bewildered creatures who were playing at cross-purposes through the strange and crowded show called the French Revolution.

But Mr Carlyle is a hero-worshipper, and energy is with him the indispensable, nay the exclusive, quality of heroism. In a world of formulas, to use his own favourite expression, his delight is to fix on men or women in whom there was *reality*, whether for good or for ill. Mirabeau and Danton, Madam Roland and Charlotte Corday, are almost the only four, of all the personages of his history, to whom this eminence is assigned. 'He had many sins,' he says of the second, 'but one sin he had 'not: that of cant. No hollow formalist, deceptive and self-'deceptive, ghastly to the natural sense, was this: but a very 'man: with all his dross he was a man: fiery-real, from the 'great fire-bosom of nature herself.' But Mirabeau is his especial favourite. There is something in the 'grandiosity' of the man, affected though it often was, still more, perhaps, in his contemptuous hostility to the forms and laws of a world with which he had been at war from his youth upwards, in which

* This, we suppose, is the Carlylian equivalent to 'veterinary surgeon,' which Marat is commonly but wrongly reported to have been. He was 'médecin aux écuries de S. A. R. le Comte d'Artois;' an office which involved attendance on the biped, not the quadruped, inhabitants of his royal highness's mews. It was a 'charge,' and bought and sold like other places. A sister of Marat is, or was lately, living in Paris.

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his spirit particularly rejoices. The philosopher's imagination is captivated by the figure of the adventurous demagogue, just as a quiet citizen, of a romantic turn of mind, sometimes is by those of the ferocious and sarcastic brigands who figure in Turpin novels, and Jack Sheppard dramas. Thus he has been seduced, we think, into ascribing to him even more importance than he really possessed as an actor; and far more of sincerity and depth than existed in his character. Mr Carlyle was evidently much impressed, as he well might have been, by the oddity and spirit of the letters of the 'crabbed old Friend of Man,' Mirabeau's father, recently published in the memoirs of the 'Fils Adoptif;' and with Mirabeau's own narrative of his family history—a remarkable fragment, which our author has translated, piecemeal, in various places; but without catching that which is most characteristic in it, and most foreign to his own nature—the tone of self-possession and knowledge of the world, and the epigrammatic turn of the language. Altogether, this reading has had a strong effect upon him. He repeats, over and over again, even to the reader's satiety, some pet phrases which he has culled from the barbarous vocabulary of the old economist; not always, we suspect, rightly understanding them. We could almost conjecture, without any knowledge of the circumstances, that it was the accident of meeting with these memoirs which first set his brain to work on the characters and events of the Revolution.

There was doubtless greatness enough in Mirabeau, if mere blind power were greatness, to furnish out a dozen ordinary tribunes of the people. And though the mind shrinks from attributing even the elements of moral grandeur to a creature at once so wilful and so sordid as this 'spoilt child of the Revolution 'which he spoilt'—to parody a well-known saying—we fully agree with Mr Carlyle in despising the unprofitable task of balancing vices and virtues, and judging of one so strangely nurtured and cast into such strange vicissitudes by the ordinary rules of ethics. But his chief virtue, in Mr Carlyle's view, is originality; and here we are at a loss to understand him. As a thinker, any thing less original than Mirabeau we can scarcely conceive. From all his voluminous pamphlets (and he never spoke or wrote any thing else) it is not easy to collect an idea worth preserving, until the period when he had, as we know, the assistance of able heads and ready hands about him. His details of facts are not unfrequently well-collected and tolerably developed; but when he endeavours to think upon them, little is brought forth except a chaos of hasty and most trivial notions—'barren as the east wind,' to use another of Mr Carlyle's choice expressions. There is absolutely nothing to be made of them.

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But in the later period of his labours in the National Assembly, when his thoughts were often valuable, and his propositions showed statesmanlike vigour and comprehension, were or were not these thoughts and propositions his own? Mr Carlyle has a strange idea of this part of his history. He seems to fancy that Dumont, in his *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*—where, as he expresses himself, 'the good author accurately records what ingenious 'journeywork and fetching and carrying he did for his Mirabeau' —had, long after the hero's death, assumed to himself something, while his critics unanimously ascribed to him a great deal more, of that hero's deeds and deservings. And thus, he adds, 'it 'seemed settled on all sides that here again a pretender had been 'stripped, and the great made as little as the rest of us, much to 'our comfort.' And he proceeds to exult over the monstrous supposition, that the little Genevese had thus really pulled the wires which moved the great Frenchman, much in the same tone which French writers, not unnaturally, are apt to assume on the subject. Now, so far is this from being the case, that Dumont, in the work above mentioned, says nothing more, nay much less, than was perfectly notorious at the time to all who were intimate with Mirabeau and with him. Of all men in the world, Dumont was perhaps the very last to assert for himself any greater participation in Mirabeau's achievements than was really his due; but the thing does not rest in the slightest degree on his assertions. Compare them with what is said by Romilly, writing at the time of Mirabeau's death;—one who had been thoroughly and intimately conversant with both; one whose partiality for Mirabeau would be surprising, when the characters of the two men are considered, were it not accounted for by the youth and enthusiasm of the one, and the fascinating manners of the other:—

'I believe,' says Romilly, 'that it is no exaggeration to say, that all the good which Mirabeau has done was suggested to him by Dumont and Duroveray, and that they have prevented him from doing nothing but what was mischievous. It is hardly necessary to say, that Dumont has acted with the purest disinterestedness, and that he has never had any other object in view than that of being useful. He has done what few people would have had magnanimity enough to do; he has seen his compositions universally extolled as master-pieces of eloquence, and all the merit of them ascribed to persons who had not written a single word of them; and he has never discovered that he was the author of them, but to those from whom it was impossible to conceal it. Of every thing that he has written the advantages have been shared between Mirabeau and his bookseller; the one taking the glory, and the other the emolument.'—(*Romilly's Memoirs*, i. 386.)

Once, if not oftener, Mirabeau saved the Revolution; but his

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was not the heart to embrace its principles with an honest fervour; and assuredly not the head, whatever our author may think, to assemble into any thing like order, the elements which he had assisted in disengaging from their ancient combinations.

And, after all, the reader is tempted to enquire, are the Mirabeaus and Dantons, and such as they, the products of the Revolution with which we are most concerned at the present day? Surely its essence was not in the exploits of soldiers, the eloquence of tribunes, or the explosions of popular madness. Its chief historical value to us is not in the saws and axioms which historians may deduce from it; as they may equally well from the revolutions of Athens and Rome. We of this generation have its actual results under our eyes. When the brief confusion of those years had passed away, an altered world was revealed. That which we deemed mere anarchy had moulded itself into strange completeness and order. Caste was destroyed; the very notion of hereditary distinction had become abominable; corporations were dissolved; the Church herself, the greatest of all, levelled almost to the ground; sixty-four separate monarchies, each once so proud of its separate laws and privileges, had melted into an empire; aristocracy was disarmed, and a nation enrolled into a voluntary army; property itself was subjected to a course of law and custom, combating, by its constant and regular pressure, the various tendencies to inequality which must arise in a prosperous community. Society, under its new usages, is steadily moulding itself into the most simple and most durable of forms —that form which presents the least prospect and probability of change; for so far we agree with M. de Tocqueville, one of the profoundest of modern political writers. Changes of government there may be—despotism, constitutional monarchy, democracy—each of these may in turn preponderate, but the system of Equality may prosper equally well under all; it has its foundations in the very heart of man. We have no desire to discuss the gloomy views of the same author as to the effects of that system on civilization and intellect; enough for us, that such was the main product of the French Revolution, and the newest offspring of time; for nowhere in Europe, nor, properly speaking, in America herself, does a parallel to the modern French form of society exist, or has ever existed.

Who are to be regarded as the agents in the execution of this vast scheme? Not the popular champions and heroes who impelled, or kept in action, or threw into confusion, the external machinery of the Revolution. Their work was only in and about the preliminary or destructive process: that ended, their achievements remain but matter of curiosity and example. The work of

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reconstruction was going on in obscurity, in the assemblies, in committees, in the administrative measures of practical men, while the tumult was roaring without; and here and there some louder or more fortunate voice making itself heard above it. It is there that historical enquirers, who seek for something beyond mere excitement, are to look for the Revolution. Now, these are the men whom Mr Carlyle treats throughout with heroic contempt, as empty, sounding wind-bags, or mere laborious hammerers of new formulas out of old. He has no sympathy with them, or interest in their work. 'Consciously they did some-'what; unconsciously they did much:' is nearly all that he has to say, by way of epitaph, of the departing National Assembly. Because their constitutions 'would not march;' because the superstructure of their successive edifices was fantastic and unsound, and fell with a breath; he overlooks the fact, that they were all the while laying foundations, strong and deep, under the earth, which will not decay until many generations have piled on them many buildings, each after the fashion of its day. But then they were for the most part lawyers, mere 'formalists,' 'makers of paper theorems,' 'constitution-builders by trade.' Such ignoble toilers have no lustre of popularity with mankind in general. When their work is accomplished, they are commonly dismissed into nothing with indifference, or rather contempt. The Revolutionary legislators had laboured for ten years in constructing modern France. 'Jetez moi ce tas-là d'avocats 'à la rivière,' was Augereau's word of command to his soldiers on the 18th Brumaire; and the 'Avocats' were dispersed, with ignoble prick of bayonet from behind, amidst the sneers and exultation of the populace. But their monument remains. The military pageant which succeeded their dismissal went out, as it came in, amidst smoke and confusion: the paper formulas, in the mean time, had become most substantial and durable realities.

It should, perhaps, rather be said, that all formulas are in themselves realities, so long as men consent to abide by them. It is surely a very poor philosophy which disregards the power of forms on human character, and fancies that the greatest exercise of manly free will and independence consists in dashing them aside. The shallowest, as well as the deepest, can do that. Forms will often yield, in times of crisis, like water, to any impulse which breaks through them; but the water will assuredly close again, and present the same smooth surface as before. Nay, what appear to us, from long habit, fundamental notions of right and wrong, frequently rest, as far as the multitude is concerned, on forms only; whatever philosophy may conjecture as to their principles. What is the real difference between

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destroying a national enemy in battle, and a private enemy in his bed? or, what was the difference between Alexander and the pirate captain? We defy the moralist to draw such an ethical distinction as shall be plain to ordinary intelligence. The Roman esteemed it *sacrilege* to slay the citizen of a foreign commonwealth, before the Fecial had performed the symbolic acts which dissolved the relation of peace. He had the strong feeling of a present Deity, ready to avenge the infraction of that particular observance. In after times, the superstition decayed into a form; the sacrilege ceased; yet the sentiment lostscarcely anything of its power. The common soldier will scarcely account for the emotion which makes him shudder to-day at the mere thought of that which, when a few polite documents have passed between men whom he never saw or will see, he will regard with perfect indifference to-morrow. Yet that emotion is as strong as if the distinction had actually formed a part of that from which fine-spun reasoning makes it a deduction — the original command against the shedding of blood. Had Mr Carlyle sufficiently remembered what these feelings are, and whence they arise, he would hardly have insulted them by borrowing such passages as the following from the hollow speculations of a school which certainly is not his:—

'It was the frightfulest thing ever born of time! One of the frightfulest. This convention, now grown Anti-Jacobin, did, with an eye to justify and fortify itself, publish lists of what the reign of terror had perpetrated: lists of persons guillotined....They contain the names of, how many persons thinks the reader? Two thousand all but a few. There were above four thousand, cries Montgaillard: so many were guillotined, fusilladed, noyaded, done to dire death: of whom nine hundred were women. It is a horrible sum of human lives, M. l'Abbé: some ten times as many shot rightly on a field of battle, and one might have had his glorious victory with Te Deum. It is not far from the two hundredth part of what perished in the entire Seven Years' war. By which Seven Years' war did not the great Fritz wrench Silesia from the great Theresa; and a Pompadour, stung by epigrams, satisfy herself that she could not be an Agnes Sorel? The head of man is a strange vacant sounding-shell, M. l'Abbé: and studies Cocker to small purpose.'

The heart of man will have become sorely perverted, we suspect, before it is persuaded by the sentimentalism of peace societies, or sophistry of would-be philosophers, into abandoning the sound and healthy feeling which regards a single life destroyed in cold blood as a more grievous outrage to humanity than ten thousand slaughtered on the field of battle. We do not suspect Mr Carlisle of penning such passages as this in serious earnest—but he is playing with a firebrand paradox, of very dangerous brilliancy.

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But as Mirabeau is Mr Carlyle's hero, and Danton a kind of agreeable roué for whom he has a kindness, so Robespierre, as might be expected, is the favourite object of his contempt and aversion—the Joseph Surface of his revolutionary drama. A man of cant, formalities, and 'formulas'—wholly without the *truth* and *energy* which are the highest, or rather the only proper attributes of manhood; nay, odious even in his little paltry virtues; the 'sea-green incorruptible,' as he is fond of styling him, by an atrocious parody of Mad. de Staël's phrase—'ses 'veines était d'une couleur verte.' 'A poor atrabiliar *formula* of 'a man; meant by nature for a methodist of the stricter sort, to 'doom men who departed from the written profession.' 'A 'strict-minded strait-laced man—of a small soul, transparent-'looking as small ale.'

All this follows naturally enough on Mr Carlyle's axioms respecting man and his destiny. But he should nevertheless have cautioned his readers against the common error, into which such views would naturally lead them, of considering Robespierre as a man without importance or influence, lifted suddenly by some unnoticed and casual process into gigantic popularity. Contemporaries had their own reasons for so representing him. Madame de Staël and the constitutionalists were far too conscious of their own superior refinement and statesmanship, to admit that a vulgar provincial advocate ever entered into competition with them for the government of the public mind. Louvet, Madame Roland, Mercier, and the other Girondins, endeavoured to keep as much as possible in the background, in their narratives, the adversary whom they felt and knew to have been their most successful opponent. And the fashionable historians of the liberal school, such as MM. Thiers and Mignet, have chiefly adopted Girondin views. The fact is, that Robespierre's rise into popularity, and the concomitant hatred of him by the anti-popular party, were of more early date in the Revolution than these writers choose to allow. Poor Abbé Lenfant, who was always looking out for signs of a counter-revolution (*le commencement de la fin*, as he calls it; one of the innumerable bon-mots which have been attributed by wholesale to Talleyrand) takes comfort as early as October 1790, in the 'report that the mob at Versailles have hanged M. Robes-'pierre.' He was important enough, at the close of the first Assembly, to be named public accuser;—in April 1792, to govern the Jacobin club, and make it an effectual rival to the Legislative Assembly itself; being at that particular period, strange to say, rather the less democratic of the two. From that time, with a little attention to facts and dates, we trace him throughout as a

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power in the Revolution; as a man upon whom thousands were leaning for support, and to whom they looked for guidance; the representative of patriotism in the abstract—not that shade of it which prevailed in the Commune, or on the upper benches of the Mountain, but as it existed in the *soi-disant* patriotic part of the nation; and yet not a representative only—no mere mouthpiece, but one who chose his own part, and whose choice determined that of others. To what did a man, to whom all are pleased to ascribe a character so wholly unprepossessing and unattractive, owe this singular power?

Partly, it must be confessed, to a combination of paltry qualities; to one of the most intimate compounds of self-esteem and circumspection that ever met in the same character. Egotist to excess, his excessive caution not to commit himself made him the safest guide and model for all that multitude of cautious egotists which form so large a portion of human society. All who were afraid of great reputations and daring leaders—who felt oppressed by the grandeur of Mirabeau, cowed by the boldness of Danton, frightened by the atrocity of Marat, or the disgusting blasphemy of the Hebertists, rallied, one by one, round a personage who neither kept them at a distance, nor terrified them by his familiarity. In all times of crisis, such men as this, with business-like habits and plausible eloquence, are sure to meet with admirers and patrons.

But Robespierre had another great source of strength (and here it appears to us that Mr Carlyle has most misconceived his character,) as being, throughout, the very apostle and prolocutor, for the populace, of that vague and indefinite religion which Rousseau had created, and which then enjoyed so immense a popularity—a religion of sentiment without belief. Hollow and inadequate to human necessities as this shadowy system may appear, nothing is more certain than that it did, for a short time, supply thousands with *something* to still that craving after objects of faith, which the negation of definite creeds seems rather to irritate than to still. That Robespierre was sincere in his way it is impossible to doubt; the cant of the school to which he belonged is odious to the educated mind; but so is that of Cromwell, which was still more powerful in its way; and it was in this sense of reality that Robespierre stood so far above the *mere* infidel leaders of his time: it was this that rallied round him those very hearts which in other ages would have responded to the calling of the Hugonot or the Puritan preachers. Mirabeau believed in nothing at all; the idols of Danton's worship were merely the ordinary political abstractions of the day: Robespierre's was a religion. The proclamation of its creed—the

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'Fête de l'Etre Suprême,' was, says Mr Carlyle, the 'shabbiest 'page in human annals,' So it might well be described by one who considered merely its accessaries—the skyblue silk coat of the poor pontiff Maximilian, and the pasteboard goddess who came forth, a little singed, from the conflagration of Vice and Atheism. But with all its absurdity, it was an act of faith notwithstanding.

Lastly, Robespierre was a moral man—a strict observer of the ordinary homespun *formulas* of honesty and decency which custom has framed for mankind. It is very strange that a man of Mr Carlyle's insight into human nature should fail to perceive how strong a hold these minute observances, since he is pleased to think them so, retain over the heart of man. According to Romilly, it was a favourite phrase of Mirabeau, that, in many cases, *la petite morale était ennemie de la grande;*—a maxim which demagogues often follow, but seldom profess; a coarse and audacious *fanfaronade*, in the mouth of the man who uttered it. *La grande morale* is that which subordinates means to end, and consequently has abundance of admirers in times of eagerness and violence. Its results display themselves in brilliant *coups d'état*, and striking passages in history; sometimes in St Bartholomews, September massacres, regicides, reigns of terror, and the like; often highly applauded, always justified by many at the time, but with respect to which, and the actors in them, men's views are apt to alter, and their sympathies to change sides. But these paltry moralities are strangely tenacious of life. Popularity may be attained in defiance of them; it cannot be long retained without them; and every man who abides by them has security against utter contempt in the after-world. Madame de Staël says of Danton, 'on le soup-'çonnoit avec raison de pouvoir être corrompu par l'argent; et 'cette faiblesse finit toujours par perdre les démagogues; car le 'peuple ne peut pas souffrir ceux qui s'enrichissent: c'est un 'genre d'austerité dont rien ne sauroit l'engager à se départir.' This fact is true: the reason is given with all those airs of superiority, and that want of appreciation of the genuine feelings which govern our common kind, which such writers as this eloquent lady—most superficial as soon as they get out of the sphere of their own class and clique—are apt to evince on such subjects. Mr Carlyle, of all men in the world, we should consider as the most utterly removed from this aristocratic coxcombry. Yet he too insists slightly on the notorious venality of Danton. Mirabeau he boldly pronounces *paid, but not sold*, in the midst of the most degrading corruption by which a man of genius ever defiled his name. On the other hand, the 'incorruptibility' of Robes-

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pierre is the subject of his constant sneers. If he is right, we must reform many of our views, and correct many old-fashioned prejudices. Plutarch would have treated the matter otherwise. Antiquity would have found something to respect in the man who had governed a kingdom at a period when the ransom and the spoils of half the nation were poured forth in daily tribute at the feet of the powerful; who saw his inferiors gorge themselves with rapine, setting the feeble restraints of the distracted time at defiance; and perished worth just fifty francs, which were found in his lodgings at his death, having been supported during his dictatorship in part by the sacrifice of his sister's little fortune!

For, after all, are not these matters of everyday observance among the very few substantial things to which we can cling, in a world of shows and delusions? 'As for me,' says Algernon Sydney, justifying his conduct in days of political difficulty, when those of his own household shrank from him, 'I walk in the 'light which God hath given me; if it be dim or uncertain, I 'must bear the penalty of my errors; I hope to do it with pa- 'tience, and that no burden shall be very grievous to me except 'sin and shame. God keep me from those evils, and in every 'thing else dispose of me according to his pleasure!' Who does not feel that principles like these inspire more confidence than all the vigour, and talent, and daring that ever commanded parties and swayed senates? In such times as those, men wander indeed in a dim and uncertain light, when they carry their speculations into the distance; millions may shout at the rising of a star, which shall turn out only a meteor; but the light which every man carries with him, narrow as may be the limits to which its rays extend, cannot mislead. Therefore it is that the most commonplace token of self-denial, or disinterestedness;—of superiority to any temptation to which the many succumb,—Scipio's forbearance with his captive, or Andrew Marvel's honesty over his shoulder of mutton,—give a greater sense of confidence and security than the most brilliant display of greatness, unaccompanied by self-mastery. And the truth is, that the more ignoble and trivial the temptation, the more genuine, because less brilliant, may be the heroism of resistance. Mr Carlyle's own predilections may be for audacious and eccentric energy, rather than the mechanical virtue of uprightness. But he seems bound, on his own principles, to explain why the great Mirabeau, making his exit amidst the loudest *plaudite* that ever rang in the ears of expiring mortal, left behind him scarcely a real friend except his Swiss valet; why Danton, although a genial and open-hearted man, was accompanied to the scaffold

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only by political associates, enveloped in his fall much to their own surprise, and very much against their will; while the companions of Robespierre died with him, and for him, in the midst of national execration, with all the enthusiasm of fellow-martyrs?

We might show with equal truth, that while most of the celebrated party leaders of the revolution have fallen into oblivion or discredit, even with the most fiery partisans of revolutionary doctrines, Robespierre finds his defenders, almost his canonizers, even at this day; and that the cause which Cambacères termed a *procès jugé et non plaidé*, still has advocates abundantly zealous, if not successful: We have, indeed, but little sympathy with their efforts. It is repulsive enough to toil through the dreary chapters of MM. Buchez and Roux, the republican editors of the *Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution*, following their endeavours to rescue the memory of their hero from obloquy. Still, allowing for something which yet remains of mysterious and ill-understood in Robespierre's history and character, we have surely now arrived at a period when he may be judged in a manly and reasonable tone, and not as a hobgoblin or a vampire. He began his revolutionary course pure in morals, with a character deservedly high, with plausible manners, and considerable talents; though obscured, in the eyes of observers of better *ton*, by the pedantic philosophical puritanism of the day. But he carried into it a boundless, though concealed ambition, continually prompting him to court public notice; while his habitual timidity made him dread it when fixed too exclusively or ardently upon him. He and Mirabeau were, each in his way, the very incarnations of egotism; but in the latter it was expansive, obtrusive, loud, and contemptuous: in the former, concentrated, perhaps envious. His vanity was fed by a popularity remarkable for its steadiness as well as its extent, until it brought him to destruction; when, had he possessed strength of mind to subdue it, he might, perhaps, have procured a dictatorship. He was not sanguinary by nature, but there was a total absence of generous feeling towards others: he seems to have taken such share as was really his in the atrocities of his time, partly through calculation, but much more through fear. There is no authenticated instance of his abusing his power against a private enemy: the story which assigns his personal enmity as the cause of the destruction of the Sainte Amaranthe family seems altogether fabulous. But neither is there a single case which proves that his heart was accessible to the desire of rescuing and protecting. He is said to have *wished* to save his old fellow-collegian, Camille Desmoulins—it is certain that he did not dare to attempt it; and by no means clear that he did not first employ him to *sound* the revolutionary torrent, in order to try whether it

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was abating, and then suffered him to be hurried by it to perdition. MM. Buchez and Roux have limited the period of his omnipotence in the executive government to the space between the beginning of May 1794, and the latter end of June, when he left the committees; and they endeavour to show, that less blood was shed during that interval than either before or after—a futile attempt, as any one who will examine the records of the revolutionary tribunal may satisfy himself. They have succeded somewhat better in exculpating him from personal responsibility for the crimes of the bloody proconsuls, Carrier, Lebon, Fréron, Tallien, and the like: none of the more notorious ones appear to have been creatures of his, except that precious pair of citizens, Brutus Maignet, and Agricola Moureau, the tyrants of Vaucluse.

On these facts the man himself must be estimated, when he has ceased to be named as a mere bugbear. His own outward manifestations are of little assistance. Unlike other revolutionary orators, he never wore his heart upon his sleeve, or opened himself sincerely to his audience. He resembled Cromwell, as Madame de Staël has observed, in no respect so much as in this. Filled as his speeches are with cant, jargon, and egotism the most intolerable, there are two characteristics which can hardly fail to strike the reader;—the one, the most jealous art in avoiding any precise definition of the speaker's meaning on the immediate question; the other, an intimate belief at the bottom in the reality of his own mission, in the greatness of the objects which he conceived himself called to accomplish, in the heroism of self-sacrifice, in the prevailing and final victory of virtue. Our sense of eloquence is not unfrequently heightened by accessaries; and the voice of a man who is actually struggling in the death-grapple for life itself, with resolute and ferocious adversaries,—crowns beneath his feet, the ruins of an empire around him, the consciousness of an imperishable fame or infamy present to his memory, the sceptre almost within his grasp, the flash from the steel of the guillotine almost dazzling his eyes,—possibly acquires in our ears an impressiveness which, in the cold judgment of criticism, does not belong to it. At all events, we confess that there is some sound of eloquence, to our perception, in that last speech of Robespierre, which Mr Carlyle calls his 'screech-owl oration,' delivered first at the Convention and then at the Jacobins; of which the original, corrected and interlined with almost convulsive eagerness, is still in existence.

The next characteristic of Mr Carlyle's historical style, and that which after all proves its greatest attraction to the majority of readers, is its picturesqueness. Detached scenes are often admirably drawn, and always with spirit and vivacity,

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rather to the prejudice of the connecting parts. It is this which renders it so agreeable a book to read in fragments, and so difficult to read through. Truth, that is, accuracy of detail, is hardly to be looked for in them. Verisimilitude his recitals frequently have; and it is surprising to perceive the life-like reality which is communicated to stories so familiar as those of the chief events of the Revolution, by the mere art of the word-painter. The insurrection of the 5th October 1789, the flight to Varennes, the mutiny at Nancy, are admirable specimens of almost epic energy. Others, and among the most elaborate of these pictures, please us less—probably from the sense of exaggeration which they convey.

Mr Carlyle has attained his success in this particular (his own peculiar genius apart,) in some measure through his method of taking his colours and perspectives invariably from cotemporary narratives analysed by himself, and never at second-hand. The advantage which such a process gives, in point of fire and force, may easily be conjectured: whether it is equally advantageous for the purpose of truth, admits of some doubt. Cotemporary relations of occurrences so strange and so rapidly following each other as the principal events of the Revolution, are useful in one respect; they give us the immediate view of them, before the partisans of opposite leaders and opposite principles have made up their mind in what way to manufacture them for their own several purposes. As corrections of received stories, therefore, no historian will deny their importance; but they will seldom afford sufficiently solid footing for independent narratives; not even when we have the advantage of comparing the impressions made on several observers by the very same incident. Each sees rarely more than a part; and each combines the impressions of the little he has actually seen with the vague notions he has collected at second-hand; or from preconceived opinions only, as to the greater portion which he did not see. The result is a confused grouping of objects, which it requires a clear head and, if we may use the expression, something of a military eye to disentangle; and these are no qualities of Mr Carlyle. His account of the Bastile affair, for example, abstracted as it is from the pages of Besenval, Dussaulx, Fauchet, and we know not how many pamphleteers and news-writers more, is full of warlike clamour and riotous hubbub, just about as like the real event as the sieges in 'Ivanhoe' and 'Old Mortality.' After reading it through, the student would be quite as much puzzled as at the beginning, to know who took the Bastile, and why it surrendered; for the eloquent narrator has all but missed the one military point of the story, namely, that

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after several hours of ineffectual shouting and musket-firing on the part of the mob, the arrival of a piece or two of cannon belonging to the *Gardes Françaises* decided the event. And what unparalleled bathos, when, after page upon page of 'fire-'deluge,' 'fire-Maelstrom,' and fustian enough to furnish out a German ode on the battle of Leipzig or Borodino, the list of casualties is summed up at last at eighty-three besiegers, and *one* of the besieged!

The egotism of eye-witnesses, French eye-witnesses above all, is another serious difficulty to the historian who depends upon them; and it is the more apt to lead Mr Carlyle out of his way, because his observation is peculiarly individualizing; he loves to single out a particular figure from the aggregate, to trace its movements, and to adopt its perceptions. Now it is scarcely possible to open the works of any of the *genuine* memoir and anecdote writers of the revolution, without discovering that he, or she, considered that there was at least one very important personage in each momentous crisis, whose merits were too generally overlooked, and required a separate narrative to vindicate them. We were reminded of many a passage in well-known works of the kind, by the quiet simplicity of an observation of Sir Samuel Romilly in the Memoir already cited. 'The man 'who kept the hotel at which I stopped at Paris (in 1789), a 'certain M. Villars, was a private in the National Guard. Upon 'my returning home on the day of the benediction of their col-'ours at Notre Dame, and telling him that I had been present 'at the ceremony, he said, "You saw me, Sir?" I was obliged 'to say, that I really had not. He said, "Is that possible, 'Sir? you did not see *me?* why, I was in the first ranks! all 'Paris saw me." I have often since thought of my host's 'childish vanity. What he spoke was felt by thousands. The 'most important transactions were as nothing, but as they had 'relation to the figure which each little self-conceited hero acted 'in them.'

And even men who were too high-minded or too earnest for vanity, or whose part in the terrible events which they recount was too serious for such childish display, were too much preoccupied, to use an expression of MM. Buchez and Roux, to see the very phenomena around them, much more to estimate manners or character, with much clearness of insight. It was a consequence of the frightful rapidity with which the events of the Revolution succeeded each other, that no man had time to become really acquainted with his opponents. Each created an imaginary antagonist, and against this his attacks were directed: journalists, orators, statesmen, seem never to have listened or read;

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their whole thoughts were expended on speaking and writing. The historians whom we have just cited, descending perhaps into rather too curious an observation of particulars, remark that partizan writers never learned how to spell the names of their opponents; that Marat, after having devoted several 'bottles of ink' to the daily abuse of the Girondin minister of the interior, calls him 'Rolland' to the last; that Péthion is constantly written for Pétion, Roberspierre for Robespierre, and so forth. Life, in fact, was to most of such men nothing but the delirious dream of a monomaniac; and Mr Carlyle's peculiar success is rather in reproducing the wild phantoms such as they appeared to each, than the realities which they were unable to see and estimate. Thus, in describing the massacres of September 1792, he has simply taken the three well-known narratives of Jourgniac de St Méard, the Abbé Sicard, and Maton de la Varenne, just as they are printed, one after the other, by the editors of the *Histoire Parlementaire.* If his only object was to produce a dramatic effect, this was right enough; for neither Æschylus nor Dante could have added a shade to the horrors of those revelations of living men escaped from the slaughter-house. But in a history we surely require something more; something that will give us an idea of the *ensemble* of that tragical catastrophe;—its connexion with the movement then in progress, and with the plans and views of the men who then governed the nation at the point of the pike. As it is, these mangled excerpts of separate stories leave nothing but a dull impression of horror;—confused noise, and garments rolled in blood. And the inaccuracies of these hasty fragments are left uncorrected; in some instances, even rendered more erroneous in the transcription. The priests massacred on their way to the Abbaye on the 2d, were not thirty in number; nor was Sicard the only one saved; three were rescued out of twenty-one. The man whom Jourgniac de St Méard saw dragged out to massacre from the tribunal at the Abbaye, 'was,' says Mr Carlyle, 'old 'Marshal *Maillé* of the Tuileries and August tenth.' It could not have been *Mailly,* whom we presume Mr Carlyle to mean, for he escaped the massacre, and was guillotined long afterwards at Arras. St Méard may be excused for such a mistake as this, made when his own turn was coming next. But his whole narrative bears marks of exaggeration. There scarcely could have been that prolonged three-days' massacre at the Abbaye, which he describes. The register of that prison still exists, spotted with the stains of wine, and with some, it is thought, of a darker hue, just as it lay open before Maillard and his fellow-murderers. It shows, after the execution of the priests and Swiss, who were

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slaughtered *en masse*, the names of no more than thirty-two put to death, and about forty released; a few of whom, it is thought, were afterwards slain in the street. It is also merely a dramatic artifice in Mr Carlyle, to preserve the mysterious fashion in which the actors in these massacres were spoken of in the contemporary narratives, when their persons were not as yet publicly known. There is no obscurity about them now. The 'Man in grey,' thus vaguely spoken of, was no other than the wretch Maillard himself, who is mentioned just before. The names of the very executioners are preserved; and, strange to say, they seem chiefly to have belonged not quite to the lowest class, but to that of the smaller tradesmen and their apprentices.

An odd instance of recantation on the part of a historian, deceived by similar cotemporary rubbish, occurs in the narrative of the famous destruction of the *Vengeur*, in Lord Howe's battle of the first of June. Mr Carlyle, in his first edition, copied Barrère's report, in which her crew are described as sinking amidst shouts of *Vive la République*—which, to do him justice, most other historians have done with as little scruple; and being an incident after his own heart, he has made the most of it. Unluckily, these pages happened to meet the eyes of a gallant British admiral, who, according to his own account, having done his duty for the day, was quietly eating his mutton-chop in his cabin, when the *Vengeur* went down right opposite; and after forty years' repetition of the old romance, he comes forward to assure the public that the crew of the *Vengeur* behaved neither better nor worse than other crews in similar circumstances—that, instead of perishing amidst shouts of defiance, they called lustily for assistance, and escaped, as many as could, in British boats. Mr Carlyle, despite of much criticism in the French journals, subjoins, in his second edition, a most characteristic palinode, in which he styles the whole story 'Barrère's masterpiece; the 'largest, most inspiring piece of *blague* manufactured, for some 'centuries, by any man or nation.'—(Vol. iii. p. 301.)

Much of Mr Carlyle's history, and other histories, requires to be re-written upon similar principles. What, for instance, if the whole memorable campaign of September 1792, such as it has been described and sung a thousand times in history and poetry, were to turn out a mere *blague* or *yarn*, as palpable as the triumphal exit of the *Vengeur*? The reader will seek in vain, we need scarcely say, for any elucidation of the mystery which hangs over this event in the pages of Mr Carlyle. He has dashed at this part of his history with the same gallantry with which he has solved various other knotty historical points;—with utter disregard of all insinuations of plots and

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underhand transactions, and the thousand ingenious conjectures with which the brains of his predecessors have teemed. Destiny is his great solvent of all difficulties: the energy of 'Sans-Culot-'tism' his agent in all miracles. This bold incredulity is sometimes a safer guide than caution; but not always:—

> 'Succeeding times must equal folly call,
> Believing nothing, and believing all.'

The simplest reader, who has not quite attained to Mr Carlyle's pitch of sincerity and chivalrous credulity, must be startled at some of the phenomena which this campaign presents. Dumouriez's famous boast about Thermopylæ seems to have passed current for want of reflection upon the simple fact—that his Thermopylæ was never attacked, and *was* turned. His pass of the Argonne was left fairly in the rear of the Prussians. So far is plain; but the common notion is, that this success was attained at an enormous sacrifice, owing to Dumouriez's admirable strategic dispositions: for instance,

'Through the woods, volleying War reverberates, like huge gong-music, or Moloch's kettledrum, borne by the echoes; swoln torrents boil angrily round the foot of rocks, floating pale carcasses of men. In vain! Islettes village, with its church steeple, rises intact in the mountain-pass, between the embosoming heights: your forced marchings and climbings have become forced slidings, and tumblings back. From the hill-tops thou seest nothing but dumb crags, and endless wet moaning woods.... Four days! days of a rain as of Noah, without fire, without food.'—Vol. iii. 63.

Alas! that picturesque history should be brought to the vulgar tests of geography and meteorology! The 'mountains' and 'torrents' of the Argonne are altogether as fabulous as the Noachian deluge with which he has vexed the invaders. The Prussian retreat had not even the excuse of bad weather. All historians without exception, and Dumouriez himself among the number, speak of the inclemency of the season; and yet M. Michaud, in his recent memoir of that general, proves the contrary.* Such is the value of loose assertion. September 1792 was what it usually is in that part of Europe—one of the finest portions of the year. No rain fell (except on one day, the 8th) from the first to the 20th, the date of the affair at Valmy. Then there were three or four showery days; and again, fine weather to the end of the month. The equinoctial rains did not set in until the beginning of the next, when the invaders were already

* *Biographie Universelle*, Supplement.

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in full retreat. The Prussians turned the Argonne, not in discouragement and disorder, but in full force and good disposition. On the 20th they had cut off the French from the road to Paris, and confronted Kellermann at Valmy, with 50,000 to 25,000—the latter in a position utterly indefensible. Dumouriez, effectually separated from his lieutenant, was watched by a superior force in his insulated camp at St Ménéhould—a still worse position; so bad, that Napoleon, who had examined the field of these operations with peculiar attention, said that nothing whatever could have induced *him* to remain in it in Dumouriez's place, '*unless there were some secret negotiations, of which we know no-thing.*' A few days before, ten thousand of his men had run from fifteen hundred Prussian hussars. Such was the army *behind* Brunswick; Paris was *before* him;—*Gironde* and *Mountain* holding each other by the throat in the expiring Assembly; the Convention not yet met, and the vast city one scene of terror and disorder. In this state of things, Dumouriez writes to the Assembly in the well-known and enigmatical words, *Tout est réparé et je réponds de tout;* and with reason. After a few hours' ineffectual cannonading, leaving some two or three hundred men *hors de combat* on both sides, Brunswick retires in perfect order; commences a retrograde movement to the frontier; and thereby decides the fate of France, of her king, kingdom, and many millions of men, the victims of three-and-twenty years of bloodshed. And we are to content ourselves for this strange solution of the greatest crisis in the history of modern Europe by the notion that Brunswick was frightened by the bravery of the Sans-Culotte invincibles;—in Mr Carlyle's harmonious language, by 'rock-ranks,' and shouts of *Vive la Patrie!*

That 'secret negotiations' were the cause of all this was shrewdly suspected long ago; but historians have wavered between ascribing the result of the campaign to intrigue, and to French bravery and Prussian mismanagement; until their narratives present a most confused and unmeaning jumble. The truth is, that much of this obscurity seems to have arisen out of the narrative of Dumouriez himself, who tries to engross the double credit of first out-manœuvring Brunswick in the field, and then baffling him by diplomacy. But evidence, both internal and external, presses strongly against him. That interviews and messages were carrying on continually from the beginning of the campaign, is well known as a matter of fact. What was their purport? In the beginning of the year, Brunswick had been sounded as to the chimerical project of making him king of France. Was this offer repeated? Probably not. But the advantages held out may have been of a more tangible character.

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Had they any connexion with the suspicious robbery of the *Garde-Meuble* by the Commune? Rumour says, that Carra and Tallien were actually dispatched to the Prussian headquarters on the Rhine with certain royal diamonds of France,—which diamonds found their way back again to Paris in 1806, with the exception of one—the celebrated *Régent*. *French* rumour also speaks of heavy debts contracted by the little state of Brunswick, which, after 1792, were liquidated in a sudden and suspicious manner. But we would not willingly, on mere hostile report, impute personal corruption to the enthusiastic leader who expiated either grievous folly or grievous treachery by his gallant death on the field of Jena. Whatever his individual share in the transaction may have been, it is enough that the Prussians must have been fairly bought, or bewildered, into retreat—and that the whole campaign, after the sieges of the first fortnight, was, in pugilistic language, simply a 'cross.'

Whatever also may have been the exact character of these negotiations, over which, says M. Michaud, 'tous les partis et 'tous les gouvernemens se sont efforçés de jeter un voile impé-'nétrable,' one thing appears plain, that the Gironde and the majority of the Assembly knew nothing of them; that the leaders of the Mountain had but a confused suspicion; and that the secret rested with three persons on the side of France—Danton, Dumouriez, and the minister Lebrun. When the Titan of the Revolution uttered his famous exclamation—'What do we want 'to repel the enemy?'—'De l'audace, et encore de l'audace, et 'toujours de l'audace,'—he spoke as a wise man, who keeps a better bolt in his quiver than that which he makes display of on a day of parade. When he resisted the proposal of the Girondists to retire behind the Loire, he did so with full consciousness that the measure which would have destroyed his power at home was also quite unnecessary for the Republic. And poor Lebrun, though Madame Roland, in her high contempt for all non-Girondist statesmen, pronounced him only fit for a desk, and though he did christen his daughter *Civilis-Victoria-Jemmape-Dumouriez Lebrun*, had at least wit enough to keep the secret of the means by which France was saved. For it is strange that, in the long trial of Danton and his friends, which was in fact a two days' word-combat between him and his enemies of the Committees, of which any momentary change of sentiment, or plucking up of courage on the part of the mob out of doors, might twenty times have turned the issue—not a syllable was dropped of the secret transactions, either in prosecution or defence.

It must also be said, that whatever treachery there may have

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been, the King of Prussia was no party to it. If he had formed no very definite plan of action, he appears, at all events, to have been actuated throughout by the sincere and loyal desire of saving the royal family of France from the horrors with which they were menaced. It is said that at Valmy he insisted on taking the command, in the earlier part of the day, into his own hands; and that he made such dispositions as must inevitably have secured the easy object which he had in view, of dislodging Kellerman's mob from the heights which it occupied; but that the Duke of Brunswick, on finding that victory was unavoidable in spite of all his precautions, persuaded the monarch to let him resume the command, and changed the order of things at the very moment of success. The toils which surrounded the monarch were already too artificially laid to permit of his extricating himself; and shortly afterwards, the French Government, having effected the important purchase of his mistress, Madame de Lichtenau, controlled the last remnant of his feeble free-will. Such was the commencement of that line of policy, on the part of Prussia, of which the downfal of 1806 was at once the consequence, and the just retribution.

Such, we fear, is the only rational account of—

> 'Ces jours de liberté, de gloire,
> Où la France abreuvait ses sillons altérés
> Du sang dont Kellermann arrosait sa victoire!'

Nor does it reflect any real discredit on Sans-Culotte heroism. Never was the maxim *possunt quia posse videntur* more truly exemplified, than in the early exploits of the Republican soldiery. These half-disciplined volunteers, Parisian kennel-scrapers and others, really believed that they had beaten off the Prussians; and it was in the strength of that belief that they reaped at Jemmapes, only a few weeks later, the laurels of no sham victory, but one of the most desperate of modern battles.

The trial of Louis XVI. is a tolerably fair specimen of Mr Carlyle's descriptive taste and style;—though the details are mainly copied from Mercier's account, heightened, as usual, by some touches of Germanism.

'And so, finally, at eight in the evening this third stupendous voting, by roll-call or *appel nominal*, does begin. What punishment? Girondins undecided, patriots decided, men afraid of royalty, men afraid of anarchy, must answer here and now. Infinite Patriotism, dusky in the lamp-light, floods all corridors, crowds all galleries, sternly waiting to hear. Shrill-sounding ushers summon you by name and department; you must rise to the tribune, and say.

'Eye-witnesses have represented this [illegible] the third votin[g] of the votings that grew out of it—a s[illegible]d, like to'

lasting, with few brief intervals, from Wednesday till Sunday morning—as one of the strangest seen in the Revolution. Long night wears itself into day, morning's paleness is spread over all faces: and again the wintry shadows sink, and the dim lamps are lit: but through day and night and the vicissitudes of hours, member after member is mounting continually those tribune-steps; pausing aloft there, in the clearer upper light, to speak his fate-word: then diving down into the dusk and throng again. Like phantoms in the hour of midnight: most spectral, pandemonial! Never did President Vergniaud, or any terrestrial president, superintend the like. A king's life, and so much else that depends thereon, hangs trembling in the balance. Man after man mounts: the buzz hushes itself until he have spoken: Death: Banishment: Imprisonment till the Peace. Many say, Death: with what cautious well-studied plans and paragraphs they could devise, of explanation, of enforcement, of faint recommendation to mercy. Many too say, Banishment: something short of death. The balance trembles, none can yet guess whitherward. Whereat anxious Patriotism bellows: irrepressible by ushers.

'The poor Girondins, many of them, under such fierce bellowing of patriotism, say Death: justifying, *motivant*, that most miserable word of theirs, by some brief casuistry and jesuitry. Vergniaud himself says, Death: justifying by jesuitry. . . Manuel did surely rank with the decided in August last: but he has been sinking and backsliding ever since September, and the scenes of September. In this convention, above all, no word he could speak would find favour: he says now, Banishment: and in mute wrath quits the place for ever—much hustled in the corridors.' [This is inaccurate: Manuel was one of the secretaries who scrutinized the votes, and, leaving the chamber while this process was going on, he was mobbed by divers Jacobin members under a notion that he was going to communicate the result out of doors. But he returned to his place, and it was not until the following day that he sent his demission.] 'Philippe Egalité votes, in his soul and conscience, Death: at the sound of which, and of whom, even Patriotism shakes its head; and there runs a groan and a shudder through this Hall of Doom.' [Philippe did not utter these famous, or infamous, words; those which he did use in giving the *motif* of his vote will be found in the *Histoire Parlementaire.*] 'Robespierre's vote cannot be doubtful: his speech is long. Men see the figure of shrill Sieyes ascend: hardly pausing, passing merely, this figure says, La mort sans phrase, Death without phrases: and fares onward and downward. Most spectral, pandemonial!

'And yet if the reader fancy it of a funereal, sorrowful, or even grave character, he is far mistaken. "The ushers in the Mountain quarter," says Mercier, "had become as box-openers at the opera:" opening and shutting of galleries for privileged persons, for D'Orleans Egalité's mistresses, or other high-dizened women of condition, rustling with laces and tricolor. Gallant deputies pass and repass thitherward, treating them with ices, refreshments, and small-talk: the high-dizened heads beck responsive: some have their card and pin, pricking down the ayes and noes, as at a game of *rouge et noir.* Further aloft reigns Mère

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Duchesse, with her unrouged amazons: she cannot be prevented making long Habas, when the vote is not *La Mort.* In these galleries there is refection, drinking of wine and brandy as in open tavern, 'en pleine tabagie!' Betting goes on in all the coffeehouses of the neighbourhood. But within doors, fatigue, impatience, uttermost weariness, sits now on all visages: lighted up only from time to time, by turns of the game. Members have fallen asleep: ushers come and awaken them to vote: other members calculate whether they shall not have time to run and dine. Figures rise, like phantoms, pale in the dusky lamp-light: utter from the tribune only one word—Death. "Tout est optique," says Mercier: the world is all an optical shadow.* Deep in the Thursday night, when the voting is done, and secretaries are summing it up, sick Duchâtel, more spectral than another, comes borne on a chair, wrapt in blankets, in nightgown and nightcap, to vote for mercy: one vote it is thought may turn the scale.

'Ah no! In profoundest silence, President Vergniaud, with a voice full of sorrow, has to say, "I declare, in the name of the Convention, that the punishment it pronounces on Louis Capet is that of death." Death by a small majority of fifty-three. Nay, if we deduct from the one side, and add to the other, a certain twenty-six, who said Death, but coupled some faintest ineffectual surmise of mercy with it, the majority will be but one.

'Death is the sentence: but its execution? It is not executed yet! Scarcely is the vote declared when Louis's three advocates enter, with Protest in his name, with demand for delay, for appeal to the people. For this do Desèze and Tronchet plead, with brief eloquence: brave old Malesherbes pleads for it with eloquent want of eloquence: that brave time-honoured face, with its grey strength, its broad sagacity and honesty, is mastered with emotion, melts into dumb tears. They reject the appeal to the people: that having been already settled. But as to the delay, what they call sursis, that *shall* be considered: shall be voted for to-morrow; for the present we adjourn. Whereupon Patriotism hisses from the "mountain:" but a "tyrannical majority" has so decided, and adjourns.

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* What Mr Carlyle means by this we do not comprehend: what Mercier means is plain enough. Every thing visible, he says, is great or small, according to the point of view from which it is seen. He is remarking on the singularly slight impression which extraordinary scenes produce on the observer's mind at the time, compared with the trace which they leave on the memory;—the indifference with which we often regard their most important features, while the imagination clings indolently to any trifling detail. Any one who happens to have witnessed the acting of a great event, and can remember his own sensations on the occasion, finds it difficult to understand how little his mind was alive to its greatness at the time. This is among the striking remarks scattered here and there in the pages of that coarse and tasteless, but sometimes impressive writer.

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'There is still this fourth vote then, growls indignant Patriotism: and who knows what other votes and adjournments of voting: and the whole matter still hovering hypothetical! And at every new vote those Jesuit Girondins, even they who voted for death, would so fain find a loop-hole! Patriotism must watch and rage. Tyrannical adjournments there have been: one, and now another at midnight on plea of fatigue: all Friday wasted in hesitation and higgling,—in recounting the votes, which are found correct as they stood. Patriotism bays fiercer than ever: Patriotism, by long watching, has become red-eyed, almost rabid.

'Delay? yes or no? Men do vote it finally, all Saturday, day and night. Men's nerves are worn out, men's hearts are desperate: now it shall end. Vergniaud, spite of the baying, ventures to say Yes, delay: though he had voted death.' [We are sorry to say, for we have some tenderness for the most eloquent, though one of the weakest, sons of the Revolution, that this is incorrect: it appears that he voted against delay; more consistent in his cowardice than most of the Girondin leaders.] 'Philippe Egalité says, in his soul and conscience, No. The next member mounting, "Since Philippe says No, I for my part say Yes, *Moi je dis Oui.*" [This cannot be literally true, if the voting was according to the course of the *appel nominal*, as it is said to have been.] 'The balance still trembles. Till finally, at three o'clock on Sunday morning, we have—No delay, by a majority of seventy. Death within four-and-twenty hours.

'Garat, Minister of Justice, has to go to the Temple with this stern message: he ejaculates repeatedly, *Quelle commission affreuse*, what a frightful function! Louis begs for a confessor: for yet three days of life, to prepare him to die. The confessor is granted: the three days and all respite are refused.

'To this conclusion, then, hast thou come, oh hapless Louis! The son of sixty kings is to die on the scaffold by form of law. Under sixty kings this same form of law, form of society, has been fashioning itself together these thousand years; and has become one way and another, a most strange machine. Surely, if needful, it is also frightful this machine; dead, blind; not what it should be; which with swift stroke, or by cold slow torture, has wasted the lives and souls of innumerable men. And behold now a king himself, or say rather kinghood in his person, is to expire here in cruel tortures;—like a Phalaris shut in the belly of his own red-heated brazen bull! It is ever so, and thou shouldst know it, haughty tyrannous man: injustice breeds injustice; curses and falsehoods do verily return "always *home*," "wide" as they may wander. Innocent Louis bears the sins of many generations; he too experiences that man's tribunal is not on this earth; that if he had no higher one, it were not well with him.

'A king dying by such violence, appeals impressively to the imagination; as the like must do, and ought to do. And yet at the bottom, it is not the king dying, but the man! Kingship is a coat; the grand loss is of the skin. The man from whom you take his life, to him can the whole combined world do *more?* Lally went on his hurdle; his mouth filled with a gag. Miserablest mortals, doomed for picking pockets,

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have a whole five-act tragedy in them, in that dumb pain, as they go to the gallows, unregarded; they consume the cup of trembling down to the lees. For kings, and for beggars, for the justly-doomed, and the unjustly, it is a hard thing to die. Pity them all; thy utmost pity, with all aids and appliances, and throne-and-scaffold contrasts, how far short is it of the thing pitied!'—(Vol. iii. pp. 125—132.)

We shall conclude with one extract more, and it shall be the closing scene of the Revolution itself, strictly so called—the last struggle of Jacobinism in the days of *Vendémiaire*.

'Some call for Barras to be made commandant; he conquered in Thermidor. Some, what is more to the purpose, bethink them of the citizen Buonaparte, unemployed artillery officer, who took Toulon. A man of head, a man of action. Barras is named commandant's clerk; this young artillery officer is named commandant. He was in the Gallery at the moment and heard it; he withdrew some half hour to consider with himself; after a half hour of grim compressed considering, to be or not to be, he answers yea.

'And now a man of head being at the centre of it, the whole matter gets vital. Swift, to Camp of Sablons, to secure the artillery, there are not twenty men guarding it! a swift adjutant, Murat is the name of him, gallops; gets thither some minutes within time, for Lepelletier was also on march that way: the cannon are ours.' And now beset this post, and beset that; rapid and firm; at Wicket of the Louvre, in Cul de sac Dauphin, in Rue Saint Honoré, from Pont Neuf all along the north quays, southward to Pont *ci-devant* Royal,—rank round the sanctuary of the Tuileries, a ring of steel discipline; let every gunner have his match burning, and all men stand to their arms!

'Thus there is permanent session through the night; and thus at sunrise of the morrow there is seen sacred Insurrection once again: vessel of state labouring on the bar; and tumultuous sea all round her, beating *générale*, arming and sounding—not ringing tocsin, for we have left no tocsin but our own in the Pavilion of Unity. It is an imminence of shipwreck for the whole world to gaze at. Frightfully she labours, that poor ship, within cable length of port; huge peril for her. However, she has a man at the helm. Insurgent messages, received and not received; messenger admitted blindfolded; counsel and counter-counsel: the poor ship labours! Vendémiaire 13th, year 4: curious enough, of all days it is the fifth day of October, anniversary of that Menad march, six years ago; by sacred right of insurrection we are got thus far.

'Lepelletier has seized the church of Saint-Roch; has seized the Pont Neuf, our piquet there retreating without fire. Stray shots fall from Lepelletier; rattle down on the very Tuileries' staircase. On the other hand, women advance dishevelled, shrieking; Peace; Lepelletier behind them waving his hat in sign that we shall fraternize. Steady! The artillery officer is steady as bronze; can, if need were, be quick as lightening. He sends eight hundred muskets with ball-cartridges to the Convention itself; honourable members shall act with these in cases of

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extremity; whereat they look grave enough. Four of the afternoon is struck. Lepelletier, making nothing by messengers, by fraternity, or hat-waving, bursts out, along the southern Quai Voltaire, along streets and passages, treble-quick, in huge veritable onslaught! Whereupon, thou bronze artillery officer? "Fire!" say the bronze lips. And roar and thunder, roar and again roar, continual, volcano-like, goes his great gun, in the Cul-de-sac Dauphin against the church of Saint-Roch; go his great guns on the Pont Royal; go all his great guns;—blow to air some two hundred men; mainly about the Church of Saint-Roch! Lepelletier cannot stand such horse-play; no Sectioner can stand it; the forty thousand yield on all sides, scour towards covert. Some hundred or so of them gathered about the Théatre de la République; "but," says he, "a few shells dislodged them. It was all finished at six."

'The ship is over the bar, then; free she bounds shoreward amid shoutings and riots! Citoyen Buonaparte is named general of the Interior by acclamation; quelled sections have to disarm in such humour as they may; sacred right of Insurrection is gone for ever! The Sieyes' Constitution can disembark itself, and begin marching. The miraculous convention ship has got to land;—and is, shall we figuratively say, changed, as epic ships are wont, into a kind of *sea nymph*, never to sail more; to roam the wäste azure, a miracle in history!

'"It is false," says Napoleon, "that we fired first with blank charge; it had been a waste of life to do that." Most false; the firing was with sharp and sharpest shot; to all men it was plain that here was no sport; the rabbets and plinths of Saint-Roch Church show splintered by it to this hour.—Singular; in old Broglie's time, six years ago, this whiff of grapeshot was promised; but it could not have been given then; could not have profited then. Now, however, the time is come for it, and the man; and behold you have it; and the thing we specifically call *French Revolution* is blown into space by it, and become a thing that was!'* —(Vol. iii. pp. 394—396.)

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* The history of the days of Vendémiaire affords a remarkable instance of the worthlessness of official documents, as independent sources of history. Two elaborate reports of these events were presented to the Convention—one by Merlin of Thionville, the other by Barras. The first never mentions Napoleon at all; the other, once only, merely announcing his appointment as second in command. Barras takes all the credit of the military operations to himself; and if the career of Napoleon had ended there, Barras would certainly have kept it.

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ART. V.—1. COLLIER'S *New Facts regarding the Life of Shakspeare*, 1835; *and New Anecdotes regarding the Works of Shakspeare*, 1836.
2. BOADEN *on the Sonnets of Shakspeare*, 1837.
3. BROWN *on the Autobiographical Poems of Shakspeare*, 1838.
4. DE QUINCEY'S *Life of Shakspeare*: (Encyclopædia Britannica, 1840.)

1. COLLIER'S *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, 1831.
2. DYCE'S *Editions of the Dramatic Works of George Peele*, 1829; *and of Robert Greene*, 1831.
3. COURTENAY'S *Commentaries on the Historical Plays of Shakspeare*, 1840.
4. *The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakspeare; edited by* CHARLES KNIGHT. (*Uncompleted.*)

1. MRS JAMESON'S *Characteristics of Women*, 1832.
2. COLERIDGE'S *Literary Remains*, (vol. ii.) 1836.
3. HALLAM'S *Literature of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*, (vols. ii. and iii.) 1839.

1. TIECK'S *Dramaturgische Blätter: Breslau*, 1826.
2. HORN'S *Shakspeare's Schauspiele Erläutert: Leipzig*, 1823-1831.
3. ULRICI *Ueber Shakspeare's dramatische Kunst, und sein Verhältniss zu Calderon und Goethe: Halle*, 1839.

IN no way, perhaps, could one be enabled to comprehend so readily the revolutions of English literature since the end of the sixteenth century, as by examining the amount, and method, and spirit of the study, which, in each of the principal stages of the period, has been bestowed upon the works of Shakspeare. Not only in the drama, but in every other walk of poetical art, the degree of genuine excellence has always been exactly proportional to the closeness of the approach towards a just appreciation of those masterpieces. In criticism again, ever since the first feeble beginnings of that science among us, the writings of the great dramatist have been a text on which no one has refrained from commenting; and the very names of the books which have been devoted exclusively to their elucidation form a considerable volume. But, in regard to the poet's critics, that is true which some of them have rashly said regarding himself. They have written both much better and much worse than any others of their class. In their ranks are enrolled

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many men of genius as well as learning, who, attracted towards the greatest of modern poets by the same irresistible fascination which assembled the philosophers and scholars of ancient Greece in homage around the throne of Homer, are fair representatives of the literature of their times, in its strength not less than in its weakness. But others there are, lower than helots in the republic of letters, who have attached themselves to the triumphal car as their only means of reaching notoriety; and these men, resembling in their intrusion lazy schoolboys who cling to the back of a stage-coach, resemble them also in the chance they have of obtaining conveyance to their destination, at the expense of certain contempt and probable punishment from the rightful occupants of the vehicle.

It has always seemed to us, that the strongest of testimonies to the majesty of Shakspeare's genius, is to be gathered from what has been said of him in times when he was most depreciated because least understood. No one endowed with even a glimmering of poetical feeling has ever studied the poet, and attempted to enunciate his own impressions, without betraying the operation of the spell which the great magician had worked. Let his philosophy have been the shallowest possible—his theories of dramatic art the most thoroughly erroneous—his purpose in commenting the most decidedly hostile,—the mind of the critic is overborne by an influence not to be resisted. He who came to scoff or cavil remains to admire and reverence; and his words are like those of a false prophet, compelled, in spite of himself, to utter truth. We cannot pause to indicate how this incongruity appears, amidst the indifference of the period between the breaking out of the civil war, and the end of the seventeenth century. The light of nature often shone through during the revolutionary age, when political emancipation was purchased at the expense of gloomy puritanism, and when stern realities chased the illusions of imagination; and not less frequently did it emerge in the yet darker time that followed, when the restored monarchy, like a ship infected with the plague, brought with it a corruption that degraded equally literature, morality, and religion.

But our purpose invites us to bestow more particular notice on the same phenomenon, as it presented itself during the eighteenth century. In science and letters, not less than in political enquiry, the spirit of the time was that of negation. The institutions of states, the opinions of philosophers, the monuments of literature and art—all things, in short, that advanced a claim to reverence—were brought to the bar of the understanding, and required to prove the grounds of the demand

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they made. The task allotted to those generations was that of pioneers employed in removing—slowly, silently, and in part unconsciously—the rubbish which choked up the path of mankind; and it was unavoidable, especially in the departments of thought most alien to such a cold and practical temper, that nothing new could be built up, if, indeed, much that was old and good did not perish by violence or neglect. In the belles-lettres, the character of the original works to which the times gave birth, was reproduced in the opinions and feelings entertained in regard to masterpieces already existing. Pope attempted to judge Shakspeare by the rules of didactic poetry; Warburton was satisfied that the player of Elizabeth's court must have been familiar with the Exercitations of Julius Cæsar Scaliger; and Johnson never read Othello till he had written Irene. All the leading commentators on the poet's works in those days, presented, in their views regarding him, contradictions that are curiously amusing; and it is to these that we wish to call attention. As long as their eye is on the book, they perceive peculiarities not justifiable by any rules which they were accustomed to recognise as binding; when they attempt to bring each drama as a whole to the test which they conceived to be applicable, they discover things not dreamt of in their philosophy; and almost every opinion of theirs, which either involves a critical analysis, or appeals to general principles of composition, is a censure on the poet—often severe, and sometimes even compassionately contemptuous. But, amidst all this dogmatical self-sufficiency, the heart is in rebellion. Even in the midst of what is intended for reproof, an admiration breaks out to confute the censurer; and if a temptation ever occurs to desert analytical enquiries, and to speak of Shakspeare simply in reference to the impression which his works leave on the mind, the triumph of natural feeling over artificial training is instantaneous and complete. The secret influence, warming to an eloquence beyond itself the sparkling imagination of Pope, breathes soul into the dull brain of Theobald; it makes Johnson sometimes descend from his pedagogic chair, and reverently stoop to acknowledge himself the pupil; and on a few memorable occasions it dictates intelligible words to the pen of Capell, the impotent organ of a sensitive and discerning mind. Two other circumstances must be remarked in regard to the estimation in which Shakspeare was held among us during the last century. However far he may have seemed to his critics to fall short of their standard of absolute perfection, they are unanimous in assigning to him the first place relatively to all other dramatic poets; and farther, the judgment thus formally pronounced was

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not merely confirmed by the public voice, but was assented to with a warmth of enthusiasm which probably surprised the very originators of it. That feeling, though its symptoms were sometimes a little ludicrous, was the most encouraging phenomenon of the literature of the age.

Since the beginning of the present century, Shakspeare's influence on our literature has been very great; and the recognition of his supremacy not only more unqualified, but more intelligent than ever. In many instances, indeed, and particularly by reason of the exaggerated emphasis which is so apt to infect periodical writing, the veneration for the greatest of all poets has risen to a height which amounts literally to idolatry. But the error is the safest which can be committed in judging the works of genius; and the risk of any evil consequences is excluded by that inquiring temper, which is as characteristic of literature in our times, as is its appearance of comparative animation.

The growth of that philosophical spirit, which seeks to gain the proper point of view for contemplating a literary monument as a whole, instead of poring microscopically over the details of parts, has led by necessity to the most important of all advances which have been made towards a full appreciation of Shakspeare. It is now a rare thing to hear him spoken of in the tone which was once so commonly adopted towards him;—as being one whose genius was accompanied by the most lamentable deficiency both in taste and judgment, and whose works owed their excellence to a felicitous chance, which the design of the writer had little, if any, share in modifying. Opinions like this were quite consistent in such men as were blind to all merit in him, except those overwhelming bursts of strength which made Diderot give to him the nickname of Saint Christopher, and suggested to Voltaire his description of the drunken savage. But to those who made a nearer approach to thinking and feeling justly, the assumptions involved in the opinions must have sometimes appeared to contain very strange self-contradictions. It was, in truth, very marvellous that he, whose imagination poured forth at one moment strains of the sweetest and richest poetry, should in the next instant mar their effect by transgressing the most authoritatively fixed boundaries of his art; it was very marvellous that he, who knew how to paint human passions with a vigour and animation never previously reached, should often throw over the pictures thus admirably outlined, the chilling curtain of quibbles or antitheses; it was very marvellous that he, who sometimes showed himself capable of sustaining emotion at its utmost height through whole scenes, should immediately endeavour to make us forget

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the impression by gross buffoonery: but marvellous above all marvels was it, that he, whose distinguishing excellence was the dramatic faculty of comprehending and representing human character in all its varieties—a faculty implying reflection, and patience, and design, as well as imaginative activity—should in devising and arranging the works where his personages were to find their field of action, lose all these powers of mind, and allow himself to be guided by mere chance, or indiscriminate imitation. All these things, and many others of the same sort, were very mysterious; and our forefathers, whatever difficulties may have precluded them from the solution, were not always blind to the desirableness of attaining it. In regard to all the main difficulties, excepting the last, one or more among the commentators and critics of last century might be cited, who defended the poet on the ground, that the qualities on which the charges were founded did not constitute the faults to which they were said to amount. Indeed, upon several of the points,—especially the imaginative tone of so many flights in the passionate dialogue, and the mixture of seriousness with what is, or seems to be, mirth,—the vindication was theoretically so complete that our own times have added to it nothing material. But no one took up this most important enquiry unless accidentally and by piecemeal; and as to the plan of Shakspeare's dramas, it was either positively asserted or silently admitted that he had showed himself to be, with one or two exceptions, quite unskilful and unsatisfactory. Even here, however, we must not suppose that nothing was done. Pope himself, one of those who insisted most strongly on the irregularity of the poet's dramatic forms, expressed the relation betwixt them and what he and his contemporaries were pleased to call the *regular* drama, by the very same similitude which has been so often used in our own time;—comparing the one class of works to modern buildings imitative of the antique, and the other to Gothic piles, incongruously, yet solemnly grand. The prejudice in favour of strict regularity hardly survived his generation. Of the three unities of the French stage, the two elder, those of time and place, were in the last stage of sickliness, when a blow from the club of Samuel Johnson dispatched both of them outright; although the youngest monster, misnamed unity of action, was not suspected by Lexiphanes of being merely a mischievous pretender; and was therefore left by him alive, to gnaw a little longer at the vitals of dramatic poetry. After all the admissions that were made, (and some of them were very broad ones,) as to the degree of license in plan which was consistent with the essence of the modern drama, it was still confessed that Shakspeare had

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transgressed even the widest of all allowable limits; and, excepting some strong positions laid down generally by Johnson, to be contradicted by himself in detail, we recollect nothing that goes farther towards a defence of the poet on this ground, than the assertion of Lord Kames, made peremptorily, but not followed out to its consequences, that in all his works there is not to be found a single barren scene,—not a single scene which does not serve a purpose.

In the course of our own age the conviction has gradually forced its way, from the closets of a few philosophical critics, to the minds of all enlightened students of literature, that the dramas of Shakspeare not only belong to a class which is in itself legitimate, but are in that class the highest of all models either existing or possible. It is a necessary consequence both of this belief, and of that improvement in the philosophy of criticism to which we owe it, that the admirable result thus admitted to have been produced, should be referred not to chance, or blind instinct, but to intelligent and self-conscious design. The greatest of all poets is reverently acknowledged to have been also a consummate artist; and any cavils which have been raised against this conclusion, affect merely the manner in which the theory has been stated, —falling innocuous on the theory itself. In the special application of the general proposition there is more room for difference. Still, however, of all those peculiarities which excited the surprise or disapprobation of older times, there is perhaps none which is now considered as really faulty, by any one entitled to be heard in the matter; except those conceits and plays upon words which are so frequent in most of the poet's works, and are entirely excluded from none of them but Macbeth. The spirit of the best criticism on Shakspeare to which the present century has given birth, is well exemplified in two of the works which now lie before us; proceeding from writers who may be considered, perhaps, to have, amidst all dissimilarities, understood him more adequately than any others of our time. Mr Coleridge, the earliest of those who preached systematically among us the sound doctrine, belongs essentially to the age in which he lived, in its strength as well as its weakness—in that which is permanent and universal, as well as in that which is but evanescent and accidental. He is the most renowned representative of the school which professes for the 'star of poets' a reverence all but unconditional;—fixing its glance eagerly on his excellencies, and adverting to any possible defects not only rarely and reluctantly, but with a self-distrust which feels, as this writer has more than once expressed it, that what now seems a fault may upon more mature study appear to be a beauty. A tone of criticism,

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equally cheerful in its acknowledgment of excellence, and really not less warm in its admiration, but considerably more discriminative in its judgments, and more willing to allow weight to considerations derived from historical views of literature, pervades those strongly conceived and finely expressed observations by Mr Hallam, whose value is impaired by nothing save the conciseness forced on the writer by the objects and plan of his work.

'Let me now,' says the former, 'proceed to destroy, as far as may be in my power, the popular notion that Shakspeare was a great dramatist by mere instinct; that he grew immortal in his own despite, and sank below men of second or third-rate power when he attempted aught beside the drama—even as bees construct their cells and manufacture their honey to admirable perfection, but would in vain attempt to build a nest. * * * * * * * * * However inferior in ability I may be to some who have followed me, I own I am proud that I was the first in time who publicly demonstrated, to the full extent of the position, that the supposed irregularity and extravagances of Shakspeare were the mere dreams of a pedantry that arraigned the eagle because it had not the dimensions of the swan. In all the successive courses of lectures delivered by me since my first attempt at the Royal Institution, it has been, and it still remains, my object to prove, that in all points, from the most important to the most minute, the judgment of Shakspeare is commensurate with his genius; nay, that his genius reveals itself in his judgment as in its most exalted form. And the more gladly do I recur to this subject, from the clear conviction that to judge aright, and with distinct consciousness of the grounds of our judgment, concerning the works of Shakspeare, implies the power and the means of judging rightly of all other works of intellect, those of abstract science alone excepted. * * * * The true ground of the mistake lies in the confounding mechanical regularity with organic form. The form is mechanic, when on any given material we impress a predetermined form, not necessarily arising out of the properties of the material; as when to a mass of wet clay we give whatever shape we wish it to retain when hardened. The organic form on the other hand is innate: it shapes, as it develops itself, from within; and the fulness of its development is one and the same with the perfection of its outward form. Such as the life is, such is the form. Nature, the prime genial artist, inexhaustible in diverse powers, is equally inexhaustible in forms; each exterior is the physiognomy of the being within, its true image reflected and thrown out from the concave mirror; and even such is the appropriate excellence of her chosen poet, of our own Shakspeare, himself a nature humanized, a genial understanding directing, self-consciously, a power and an implicit wisdom deeper even than our consciousness. I greatly dislike beauties and selections in general; but, as proof positive of his unrivalled excellence, I should like to try Shakspeare by this criterion. Make out your amplest catalogue of all the human faculties, as reason or the moral law, the will, the feeling of the coincidence of the two called

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the conscience, the understanding or prudence, wit, fancy, imagination, judgment—and then of the objects on which these are to be employed, as the beauties, the terrors, and the seeming caprices of nature, the realities and the capabilities, that is, the actual and the ideal, of the human mind, conceived as an individual, or as a social being, as in innocence or in guilt, in a play-paradise or in a war-field of temptation—and then compare with Shakspeare, under each of these heads, all or any of the writers in prose or verse that have ever lived! Who that is competent to judge, doubts the result? And ask your own hearts—ask your own common sense—to conceive the possibility of this man being—I say not the drunken savage of that wretched sciolist whom Frenchmen, to their shame, have honoured before their elder and better worthies—but the anomalous, the wild, the irregular genius of our daily criticism! What! Are we to have miracles in sport? Or, I speak reverently, does God choose idiots by whom to convey divine truths to man? * * * * That law of unity which has its foundations, not in the factitious necessity of custom, but in nature itself, the unity of feeling, is every where and at all times observed by Shakspeare in his plays. Read Romeo and Juliet—all is youth and spring; youth with its follies, its virtues, its precipitancies; spring with its odours, its flowers, and its transiency; it is one and the same feeling that commences, goes through, and ends the play. * * * * I have previously had occasion to speak at large on the subject of the three unities of time, place, and action, as applied to the drama in the abstract, and to the particular stage for which Shakspeare wrote, as far as he can be said to have written for any stage but that of the universal mind. I hope I have in some measure succeeded in demonstrating, that the former two, instead of being rules, were mere inconveniences attached to the local peculiarities of the Athenian drama; that the last alone deserved the name of a principle; and that in the preservation of this unity Shakspeare stood pre-eminent. Yet, instead of unity of action, I should greatly prefer the more appropriate, though scholastic and uncouth words, homogeneity, proportionateness, and totality of interest—expressions which involve the distinction, or rather the essential difference, betwixt the shaping skill of mechanical talent and the creative, productive, life-power of inspired genius. In the former, each part is separately conceived, and then, by a succeeding act, put together, not as watches are made for wholesale, (for there each part supposes a preconception of the whole in some mind,) but more like pictures on a motley screen. Whence arises the harmony that strikes us in the wildest natural landscapes—in the relative shapes of rocks—the harmony of colours in the heaths, ferns, and lichens, the leaves of the beech and the oak, the stems and rich brown branches of the birch and other mountain trees, varying from verging autumn to returning spring—compared with the visual effect from the greater number of artificial plantations? From this;—that the natural landscape is effected, as it were, by a single energy modified *ab intra* in each component part.'—(COLERIDGE'S *Literary Remains*, vol. ii.)

'The name of Shakspeare,' says Mr Hallam, 'is the greatest in our literature—it is the greatest in all literature. No man ever came near

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to him in the creative powers of the mind; no man had ever such strength at once, and such variety of imagination. Coleridge has most felicitously applied to him a Greek epithet, given before to I know not whom, certainly none so deserving of it, μυριόνους, the thousand-souled Shakspeare. The number of characters in his plays is astonishingly great, without reckoning those who, although transient, have often their individuality, all distinct, all types of human life in well-defined differences. Yet he never takes an abstract quality to embody it, scarcely perhaps a definite condition of manners, as Jonson does; nor did he draw much, as I conceive, from living models; there is no manifest appearance of personal caricature in his comedies, though in some slight traits of character this may not improbably have been the case. Above all, neither he nor his contemporaries wrote for the stage, in the worst though most literal, and of late years the most usual sense: making the servants and handmaids of dramatic invention to lord over it, and limiting the capacities of the poet's mind to those of the performers. If this poverty of the representative department of the drama had hung like an incumbent fiend on the creative power of Shakspeare, how would he have poured forth with such inexhaustible prodigality, the vast diversity of characters that we find in some of his plays? This it is in which he leaves far behind, not the dramatists alone, but all writers of fiction. Compare with him Homer, the tragedians of Greece, the poets of Italy, Plautus, Cervantes, Moliere, Addison, Le Sage, Fielding, Richardson, Scott, the romancers of the elder or later schools,—one man has far more than surpassed them all. Others may have been as sublime, others may have been more pathetic, others may have equalled him in grace and purity of language, and have shunned some of his faults: but the philosophy of Shakspeare, his intimate searching out of the human heart, whether in the gnomic form of sentence, or in the dramatic exhibition of character, is a gift peculiarly his own. It is, if not entirely wanting, very little manifested, in comparison with him, by the English dramatists of his own and the subsequent period whom we are about to approach. —These dramatists, as we shall speedily perceive, are hardly less inferior to Shakspeare in judgment. To this quality I particularly advert, because foreign writers, and sometimes our own, have imputed an extraordinary barbarism and rudeness to his works. They belong, indeed, to an age sufficiently rude and barbarous in its entertainments, and are of course to be classed with what is called the romantic school, which has hardly yet shaken off that reproach. But no one who has perused the plays anterior to those of Shakspeare, or contemporary with them, or subsequent to them, down to the closing of the theatres in the civil war, will pretend to deny that there is far less regularity, in regard to every thing where regularity can be desired, in a large proportion of these, (perhaps in all the tragedies,) than in his own. We need only repeat the names of The Merchant of Venice, Romeo and Juliet, Macbeth, Othello, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Measure for Measure. The plots in these are excellently constructed, and in some with uncommon artifice. But even where an analysis of the story might excite criticism, there is generally a unity of interest which tones the whole. The Winter's Tale is not a

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model to follow, but we feel that the Winter's Tale is a single story: it is even managed as such with consummate skill. It is another proof of Shakspeare's judgment, that he has given action enough to his comedies without the bustling intricacy of the Spanish stage. If his plots have any little obscurity in some parts, it is from copying his novel or history too minutely. The idolatry of Shakspeare has been carried so far of late years, that Drake, and perhaps greater authorities, have been unwilling to acknowledge any faults in his plays. This, however, is an extravagance, rather derogatory to the critic than honourable to the poet. Besides the blemishes of construction in some of his plots, which are pardonable, but still blemishes, there are too many in his style. His conceits and quibbles often spoil the effect of his scenes, and take off from the passion he would excite.'—(HALLAM'S *History of Literature*, vol. iii.)

While the opinions of Shakspeare's own countrymen, regarding him, were undergoing the progress which has been thus hastily sketched, his works had found their way both into the saloons of Paris, and the closets of the students of Germany.

But between the criticism of France and that of England, in the matter of dramatic poetry, there has taken place, down to our own times, neither action nor reaction to any extent at all material; and it would be a task not less unpleasant than unprofitable, to expose the alternate insolence, timidity, and coldness, which characterise every thing that was said of our great poet in that country, during the eighteenth century. We may, therefore, be allowed to pass over in equal silence, the attacks of Voltaire and the defence by La Place—the translations and analyses of Le Tourneur, and the showy imitations of Ducis. We have greater reluctance in avowing our conviction, which nothing recently presented to our notice has been able to shake, that even in our own day, the views of our continental neighbours regarding Shakspeare are eminently partial and unsatisfactory. We will not, indeed, do the French the injustice to suppose that the opinion of their intelligent students of literature is fitly represented by the latest work on the subject, which we have happened to see—the *Essais Littéraires* of an impertinently clever gentleman, calling himself Monsieur Paul Duport; and from the tone which now prevails in much of their periodical criticism, as well as from the state of their national stage, (unpromising as in most respects it is,) we are not unwilling to believe that the public mind is somewhat in advance of the creed entertained by those who are regarded as the authoritative expounders of the laws of literary composition. But still, when we glance downwards along the list of eminent names which have, there, as elsewhere, ranged themselves around Shakspeare as a centre, during the last thirty or forty years, we are unable to discover any decided symptoms of an approach to philosophical appreciation. Madame de Staël,

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at the beginning of the period, and M. Villemain, not far from its close, satisfy us quite as little as M. Charles Dupin, in the interval between the two. Much strength of thought there is, much acuteness of analysis, much warmth of admiration, and much brilliant eloquence of style, and from such writers as these or M. Guizot, nothing less could have been expected; but the point at which all of them seem to stand is very little removed from that which was occupied by the best of our own critics, towards the end of the eighteenth century. Both classes of writers admire, but both admire in spite of themselves: both are irresistibly hurried along by the power of the poet, but both avow that the feeling contradicts the conclusions of their deliberate judgment.

In Germany, the reception of Shakspeare has been remarkably different. At the present day, in fact, our Teutonic kinsmen are firmly convinced of the truth of two assertions, which are to be found in almost every æsthetical work entered in the catalogues of the fair at Leipzig:—First, that the Germans understand Shakspeare infinitely better than his own countrymen do; secondly, that so far as the English do understand him, the Germans are the teachers to whom they owe their knowledge. The latter allegation is nearer to the truth than the former; but neither is true in the sense intended by most of those who make them.

The leading purpose of these remarks forbids us to enter on such a retrospect as would be necessary, for setting in a clear light the state of opinions on Shakspeare, in Germany, during the eighteenth century. We will not quote, as fair specimens, the stupid carelessness of Benthem in the beginning of that age; nor, from the middle of it, the pedantic condescension of Jöcher, nor the avowed contempt expressed by no less learned a man than Gottsched; but we would remind our foreign friends, that, if they disavow dicta which those writers were able to impose on the public of their own nation as sound criticism, the English both disclaim now, and treated with utter disregard at the time, not only all that was said by the Rymers and Gildons, and others of the same species, but much also that was farthest wrong in the speculations of the better commentators. In that age, however, there appeared in Germany two thinkers entitled to rank far above any other critics whom Europe had then to show—thinkers, indeed, who are the founders of all that philosophy which the art of criticism in their nation has since so strongly displayed. The extraordinary mind of Lessing, equally clear, acute, profound, and sensitive, scattered the exotic prejudices that deformed the literature of his time, into a thousand fragments, which, as they fell, arranged themselves, as if by chance, into the elements of a novel system. The intellect of Herder, less analytical but more originally creative, at the

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same time completed the work of demolition, and commenced with forethought that of reconstruction. Both attached themselves enthusiastically to the examination of the laws of dramatic poetry, and to the study of Shakspeare, as the highest model in the art; and while Lessing's labours in this department are, with incidental exceptions, purely polemical, much of Herder's is of a more positive cast. In truth, one essay of the latter, published in 1773, contains the whole substance of those theories which were afterwards promulgated, in an extended form, by the Schlegels. But the voices of those great men sounded in a wilderness. Wieland, who had begun to aid them, deserted the cause in despair; and Eschenburg, who completed and continued Wieland's translation of Shakspeare, and also published a separate work on the poet, was, though no weakling, yet unequal to the contest. Meanwhile, however, under such auspices, arose that national school of poetry, of which Goethe and Schiller were the heads. Shakspeare's genius was the sun that developed the germs of *The Robbers*, of *Wallenstein*, and of *Götz of Berlichingen*; and a whole people, proud of possessing at length a poetical literature of their own, hailed with an enthusiasm which was but increased by imperfection of knowledge, him whom their own admired poets thankfully acknowledged to have been their teacher and example. This progression of events was closed by William Schlegel's works. His translation of most of Shakspeare's plays, perhaps the very best poetical version ever executed, was accompanied by his celebrated *Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, and by those other critical treatises, of which the lectures were the completion.

Of that which has been done for Shakspeare, in the present century, both among ourselves and in Germany, a notion, though not a complete one, may be derived from the list of works prefixed to this article. The catalogue is of course a mere selection, even for the comparatively recent period it embraces; and in both countries the preceding twenty-five years of the age produced much that exercised a powerful influence. With us, indeed, as well as abroad, the increasing admiration for Shakspeare has been not so properly a lesson taught directly by formal dissertations, as a result insinuated by the nature of the prevailing classes of poetry, and gaining strength as the influence of that poetry diffused itself. But with us, not only in the inventive literature of the period which has just closed, but in its incidental criticisms, there was much that formed a necessary disqualification for direct or instant action on the public mind. Wordsworth and Coleridge, whose opinions regarding Shakspeare had assumed a philosophical consistency before the German critics became at all

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known among us, were the very men whose lessons were least intelligible and least acceptable; and while the Schlegels and their friends were able to form a school which was extensively popular, early in the century, it would be difficult to trace any very strong impression made in our own literature at large till the appearance of Hazlitt's dramatic criticisms. With eccentricities in thinking which sometimes led him aside from the goal, while meaner men reached it by plodding on blindfold—with a want of perfect harmony in feeling, which made not a little in the world of poetry an absolute blank to his intellect—this writer yet possessed, in his clear appreciation of the essential elements of dramatic and poetical art, and in the eloquence and moral vigour with which all his views were stated, such qualifications for expounding the works of Shakspeare, as no one in Britain had previously exhibited in combination.

Every thing, in the mean time, concurred in forwarding the result. The minds of our most eminent literary men became imbued with just notions of dramatic theory; our ancient stage was the avowed model on which were founded dramatic works of high genius; the dramatic monuments of our golden age were zealously studied, and the most important of them edited with learning and talent. The *bibliomania* of the day made a vast mass of our older literature generally accessible, and thus opened the way for remedying that which was the real defect of the older commentators. The ground thus long and anxiously prepared cannot yet be said to have produced more than its first-fruits; but these are both valuable in themselves, and present a cheering promise of future harvests.

Among the recent works which have chiefly aimed at a general critical view, the first place unquestionably belongs to those of Coleridge, Hallam, and Mrs Jameson. Of the two latter, it is needless to say more than that those sections of Mr Hallam's late work which treat of Shakspeare are worthy of his name, and that Mrs Jameson's sketches of the poet's female characters are, in the narrower path in which they move, equally deserving of the popularity they have attained. Coleridge's speculations come before us in the same fragmentary shape which so sadly characterised all the efforts of his remarkable but anomalous mind. We have extracts from lectures of all dates since 1802, partly in the words of the critic's own manuscripts, partly the mere notes of his hearers; we have isolated memoranda, of which most are the writer's own, but some are only quotations; we have changes of opinion stated without being accounted for, and hints of other opinions insufficiently explained. And yet, for such readers as will be neither repelled

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nor seduced by certain of Coleridge's peculiarities both in style and matter, nothing that has ever been said of Shakspeare will suggest so much valuable thought as the criticisms contained in the *Remains*, and scattered through one or two of the other volumes which, since his death, have attempted to preserve the substance of his conversations.

In the antiquarian department, though too remote from the present date to require minute notice, we find Dr Drake's *Shakspeare and His Times;*—a work very meritorious in its collection of facts, and written with a sincere admiration for the poet; but advancing pretensions to critical authority, which it does not justify either by originality or discrimination. Nearer to our own day stands Skottowe's *Life of Shakspeare*, dull but industrious, and useful for its enquiries into the sources of the poet's dramas. To Mr Courtenay's recent volumes on the historical plays, we cannot conscientiously give even this qualified commendation. Their design, indeed, though it were adequately fulfilled, would add nothing of real value to our knowledge of Shakspeare; since it appears a matter of equally little moment whether the poet receives, or whether he deserves, or does not deserve, that credit for minute adherence to his historical authorities, of which Mr Courtenay insists on depriving him. But, in the captious and microscopic spirit in which the book is composed, we cannot recognise even the merit which might belong to the proper execution of such a plan; and we fear the writer must rest contented with the praise of having amassed an unwieldy heap of materials, out of which others may, perhaps, be able to gather something capable of being applied to better uses. We have much more pleasure in adverting to the works of two other recent labourers in the antiquarian field.

The sagacity and unconquerable industry of Mr Collier have added wonderfully to the stock of facts regarding our early stage and dramatic literature, and even regarding the life of Shakspeare himself; and both he and Mr Dyce deserve unqualified commendation for one important principle, of which they have been the first among us to perceive the full value. They have insisted on the necessity of a familiar knowledge and just estimate of Shakspeare's immediate predecessors and early contemporaries, as a step towards the comprehension of his own works, far more important than the study of the later dramatists in the times of Elizabeth and James. And, whatever dissent we might be obliged to enter against some of their critical conclusions, we think that no materials ever laid before the public are so well calculated to advance the intelligent study of our immortal poet, as Mr Dyce's unpretending and excellent editions

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of Peele and Greene; and those less important plays of the same time, which have been incorporated by Mr Collier in his improved reprint of Dodsley's collection.

In the course of the last twenty years, we have had two editions of Shakspeare's works laying claim to critical worth, and furnished with an apparatus of annotations. That of 1821, in twenty-one volumes, edited by James Boswell the younger, from the materials left by Malone, is just what might have been expected from him who was the principal compiler. In its principles it does not advance a single step beyond those which had been established previously by Malone himself; but it has merit in its correction of the text; and its elaborate *spicilegium* from the commentators possesses both curiosity and importance for the systematic student. Mr Knight's Pictorial Shakspeare, of which we have yet seen but a part, is edited upon a system quite dissimilar. Indeed the only serious faults we should be disposed to censure in it, are—the excessive facility it sometimes exhibits in stating views which, however fashionable, cannot be considered as deserving to be permanently recorded—and an occasional inconsistency of opinions on minor points, which, if it does not proceed from the same temper as the other peculiarity, looks like an indication of the interference of more than one mind in the composition of the critical dissertations. But, taken as a whole, this edition promises to be the best we have yet received; and, as a popular one, intended not for those who wish to be acquainted with the commentators, but for those who simply desire to be aided in their study of the poet himself, it is equally judicious in its plan, and in most parts of the execution. With the principles which Mr Knight has followed as to the state of the text, we cordially and unreservedly agree.

Besides periodical essays, which we cannot here take into account either at home or abroad, Germany has produced in the course of the present generation a large number of works either devoted exclusively to Shakspeare, or connected more or less closely with him. The names which are best known, and best deserve to be so, are those of Ludwig Tieck, the late Franz Horn, and, more recent than either, Hermann Ulrici.

Horn, a man of eccentric habits in thought and life, was an industrious writer of poetry, prose fiction, and criticism. His work, in five volumes, called 'Shakspeare's Plays Illustrated,' bears in plan a considerable resemblance to the less elaborate essay of Hazlitt. A minute analysis of every character is the groundwork of the general views which are suggested as to each drama; and, although many of these broader speculations are both ingenious and valuable, the clue is too

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often lost in the anxious examination of details. The book is more seriously injured by a prevalent strangeness, which is neither mysticism nor, strictly speaking, even paradox, but rather an unpractical and fantastical view of life, not unnatural in a sickly, studious, and imaginative man. Horn's admiration for the poet is boundless.

But the work which we should have most pleasure in believing to represent the state of German opinions, is Dr Ulrici's essay 'On Shakspeare's Dramatic Art, and his Relation to Calderon 'and Goethe.' The book seems to us to be not only one of the most solidly philosophical pieces of criticism which have issued from the Teutonic school, but, on its own absolute merits, an unusually valuable contribution to the literature of Shakspeare's works. The theory upon which the treatise rests is assuredly partial and imperfect; and also, so far as it goes beyond opinions already received, palpably unsound; but the aspect in which it presents the poet of all nations, is one which has been too often overlooked among ourselves, and grossly misunderstood by some of the most celebrated among Ulrici's countrymen. The general discussions, which make up a considerable part of the volume, we must be allowed to waive. We cannot, especially in the way of commentary on a German text-book, attempt to investigate either the essence of the drama in general, or the essential differences between the views of life suggested respectively by Christianity and Grecian Paganism. The religious test thus indicated, is that to which the critic subjects both Shakspeare and the poets with whom he compares him. 'Shakspeare's peculiar character,' says he, 'consists in the greater purity and clearness, decision and 'completeness, with which the Christian view of life is repre-'sented in his dramas. It consists specially in this, that every 'where the two great elements of human life and of the his-'tory of the world—the divine guidance and the freedom of 'man—stand out in their legitimate authority, in organic connex-'ion and reciprocal action, and thus in the whole fulness of their 'truth and reality.' He insists emphatically that he recognises in Shakspeare's dramas, not indeed formally taught either theologically or ethically, but embodied in the genuine form of poetical representation, the doctrines of the universal sinfulness of man, and of the divine grace in his salvation;—doctrines which, as he truly adds, are altogether left out of sight in Goethe's view of life, and by Calderon either misunderstood or unpoetically used. All this must be to many of us not a little startling; but there lies at the bottom of it a mighty truth, not merely important in itself, but bearing a close relation to the great dramatist's cast of thought; a truth which, in one sense or another, does

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furnish the clue to some of the most perplexing riddles in the poet's works. In following out his own system, Ulrici, as was to have been expected from its one-sidedness, has been led to many conclusions which cannot possibly be admitted; but fewer of these are to be attributed to the essential parts of his theory, than to the peculiar way in which he has worked it out. In several instances, he has literally resolved the leading idea in which he represents the unity of each drama to consist, into a substantive enunciation of a moral precept—an error against which he himself protests. He has erred still further in acknowledging, as he seems to do almost invariably, the principle of what has been called poetical justice—a principle not involved in his own system upon any right interpretation of it, and assuredly quite alien to the far-reaching speculations of Shakspeare. But a man who thinks of poetry as Ulrici thinks, can never write of it altogether unworthily: one who is willing to consider Shakspeare as coming up to so lofty a standard, cannot fail to entertain that reverence for genius, and truth, and goodness, which is the source of all pleasure as well as all soundness in criticism; and the admirable analyses of the poet's works which constitute the latter half of the volume, show the writer to be fully qualified for expounding such a creed.

We honestly confess that we have less pleasure in turning to Tieck, by far the most celebrated among the recent critics of Shakspeare in Germany. Of the inventive works which Tieck produced during his earlier days, we can express sincere and hearty admiration; and in regard to our old dramatic literature to which he has devoted years of study, he possesses merits of most rare attainment among foreigners. His 'Old English 'Theatre,' his 'School of Shakspeare,' his 'Four Plays of 'Shakspeare,' and the versions contributed by him to a lately completed translation of the poet's dramas, which bears Schlegel's name and his, place him very high as a translator—not very far indeed beneath his coadjutor. In the critical matter, likewise, which is interspersed in those works, and is the staple of his *Dramaturgic Journal*, while it is the best part of his Novels founded on our poet's life—he exhibits not only a remarkable amount of the knowledge most useful for a commentator on Shakspeare, but other qualifications too rare even among those who have best discharged that office. His acquaintance with our tongue is surprisingly great—minute enough to have prompted a few happy corrections of the text—though not sufficiently so to have guarded him against some suggestions nearly as ludicrous as the Frenchman's epitaph on Shenstone. His views as to Shakspeare's diction, especially in reference to its success-

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ive periods, are indeed hypothetical to excess, but full of discrimination and usefulness; and in all matters connected with the criticism of style and language, his observations deserve very great weight. But here, or at a point very little farther advanced, we are compelled to stop. We are—and it is with all composure that we listen to the charge—'shallow,' 'uncritical,' 'unphiloso-'phical Englishmen.' We are all, in short, that Tieck in every book he writes is pleased to call our countrymen generally; and therefore presumeably it is from our own blindness, not from his demerits, that we are unable to discover in what particulars his profundity, or philosophy, or critical soundness, either in the analysis of characters, or in the attempt to seize the prominent aspect of Shakspeare's pieces as organic wholes, is entitled to be considered as an improvement on the lessons he learned from Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, and Schlegel; or from those luckless and nameless English upon whom he looks down with such measured contempt. Assuredly we have no wish to depreciate the criticism of Germany. In what we have now said of Tieck, we consider ourselves as doing no more than justice to such men as Horn and Ulrici; and as performing a duty towards our own countrymen in warning them that, if they shall ever enjoy an opportunity of becoming familiarly acquainted with the writings of this favourite critic, they are likely to find their expectations of instruction not a little disappointed. But Tieck has not given fair play to his own opinions: his fragmentary notices are nearly as tantalizing as Coleridge's; and, when the great work on Shakspeare promised for the last five-and-thirty years shall at length come forth, it will give us pleasure to perceive that those conclusions of his from which we dissent have been misunderstood by us, because imperfectly expounded; and that there are good grounds for the many opinions which he has stated, (as some of his own countrymen complain,) without condescending to assign any grounds at all. We may then, perhaps, learn how Tieck's strange explanation of the charge against Cassio of being a Florentine, is reconcilable with Shakspeare's tone of moral thought. We may then learn that there is a philosophical propriety in his theory, which accounts for Hamlet's behaviour towards Ophelia by supposing that he had previously seduced her. We may then be convinced that the poet, when he makes Timon bitterly say, in the end of the fourth act, that he had met one honest man, 'and he's a *Steward*,' intended a punning compliment to his patron King James; and we may then also discover that there is no reason for the surprise we feel, (probably our readers will feel it also,) on being told that the words 'and the great globe itself,' in the

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solemnly magnificent passage of the 'Tempest,' contain another pun, manifestly alluding to the burning of the Globe Theatre! Till we shall have been enlightened on such points, and on many others, we must be excused for saying, that the critic, of whose comments these are fair and adequate specimens, is not a guide whom we can desire to see followed by the students of Shakspeare.

The general view which we have taken of the state of recent Shakspearian Literature, with the retrospects which were necessary for attaining the proper position, has detained us long at a considerable distance from Shakspeare himself. It is time to attempt gathering some of the special results to which we are led by the works that have been brought under notice. And, first, as to the poet's life.

To the history of his youth little has been added. Malone had completed our acquaintance with his family, so far as it is at all likely to be ever recoverable; and the farrago of traditions regarding his early employments had been too carefully sifted by that writer and others, to leave much to reward the industry of after generations. But the scepticism on this head was at one time carried too far; especially since, by a kind of logical process not uncommon in any class of inquiries, its results were both stated as causes accounting for the poet's supposed want of learning, and effects flowing from it. For our own part, while we devoutly disbelieve the story of the butcher's boy, and have little faith in any part of the adventure of the deer-stealing, we look with a more favourable eye on the supposition that Shakspeare in his youth must have acted for some time as an attorney's clerk; nor can we regard old Aubrey's tale of his having been a country-schoolmaster, as one that might not have been founded on some circumstance bearing a resemblance to it. The known facts regarding the worldly affairs of Shakspeare's father, the glover and alderman, present him to us as at one time a prosperous man, whose decay had not proceeded far till the earlier years of his son's boyhood were completed. The story of the boy's having spent some time at the free school of Stratford is probable in itself; and if his father's poverty afterwards compelled him to labour for his own subsistence, there is no sound reason why he might not have found opportunities for doing so in some inferior department of the law or its local courts. And that this was really the case, is made highly probable, not only by his legal phraseology, (which is nearly as characteristic as Sir Walter Scott's,) but by the sneer of Lodge on the Hamlet, of the application of which to Shakspeare there can now be little doubt. That he had little Greek, very little, if any, we willingly believe,—

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few men in England in his time had much, and his position gave him slight chance of being in the number. That he had 'small Latin,' as Ben Jonson tells us, we also believe; but we do not believe that he had none; and we are satisfied that he must have had more than what merely enabled him to spell Sir Hugh Evans' Hig, hag, hog. The Latin lines in some of his earlier works, (the 'Second Part of Henry VI.' for example, where the verses appear for the first time in the altered form of the play,) and things of the same kind, are proofs of one sort; the classicism of his poems, and not a little imagery interspersed through many of his dramas, are proofs of another kind, not decisive in themselves, yet calculated to aid other evidence; but a much stronger proof than any other is his frequent Latinism of diction—the use of Latin words, in Latin and peculiar senses, for many of which no precedent has ever been discovered. All this leaves untouched the really valuable part of Farmer's spirited essay, with its fundamental proposition, that Shakspeare's studies lay demonstrably not in Latin—an assertion which we do not feel disposed to subject to any material modification, although the poet was assuredly capable of reading Latin, and did read it. On the modern languages, Farmer's proof of the poet's ignorance is quite futile; and his acquaintance with French and Italian, though probably very superficial, may be reasonably supposed to have proceeded to such an extent as might have allowed him occasionally to add a new novel, untranslated, to his stock of materials.

On the latest authentic fact of Shakspeare's youth, his early and probably unfortunate marriage, a paper published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1836, and apparently genuine, has thrown a light confirmatory of previous suspicions. It is the marriage-license of 'William Shagspere' with 'Anne 'Hathwey,'—a document bearing haste and irregularity on the face of it, and leading to inferences that become certainty from the known date of the eldest child's birth.

We next find Shakspeare in London. The foolish legend of his having long held horses at the door of the theatre, and those kindred tales which concurred in representing him as having toiled upwards from a menial situation of one kind or another, had always been generally disbelieved; but of his pecuniary affairs nothing could be traced till about the end of the century; and the earliest record of his connexion with the theatre was the patent of 1603. The renewed grant of arms, indeed, to his father in 1596, raised an inference in favour of the son's advancing fortunes, but this was all. We can now trace Shakspeare's interest in the theatre from a much earlier date, and have materials

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for estimating its value after his fame had been secured. Besides having learned some additional circumstances that must have facilitated his introduction to the stage, we know that, in November 1589, a few months after he had completed his twenty-fifth year, he was one of the Queen's players at the Blackfriars—possessing a share in the establishment as a proprietor, and ranking twelfth in a list of sixteen. In 1596 he appears as one of eight sharers who petitioned the Privy-Council for leave to repair the same building; and the order of the names, among which his stands fifth, is again an index to his comparative station, which the patent of 1603 indicates to have been then among the first. Accordingly, for the year 1608, we ascertain that the profits of the theatre were divided into twenty shares, of which Shakspeare and Burbadge, the largest proprietors, each possessed four, while to the poet belonged also the wardrobe and properties. A value was then set upon these interests, which, as the purpose was a claim of compensation for a proposed removal of the players by the Corporation, was probably not under the truth. Shakspeare estimates his interest as worth in all above £1400; or between £6000 and £7000 of our modern money. All these 'New Facts' of Mr Collier, are interesting; but for the criticism of the poet's works the first of them possesses peculiar importance.

Another section of Shakspeare's history in the metropolis, is composed by that romantic chain of adventures which is supposed to be hidden beneath the obscure allusions of the sonnets. There was, we are told, a friend and patron of the poet—a youth of high birth and distinguished personal accomplishments; there was also a dark-haired lady whom the poet loved, but over whose relations towards him there is thrown a veil of mystery, allowing us to see little except the feeling of the parties—that their love was guilt. The female, introduced to the youthful friend, transferred her passion to him. The poet, at first shaken to his inmost soul, recognised at length, in the double treachery, a judicial visitation punishing his own offence: he cast off the faithless woman for ever, but received the repenting friend again to his heart. That something not very unlike this did really happen, we firmly believe: the supposition that the most specific of the sonnets were written by Shakspeare for a friend or friends, is too absurd to be listened to for a moment. Dr Drake's attempt to make Lord Southampton the hero of the romance was a failure; and Mr Boaden seems to have proved satisfactorily that he for whom the eye of Shakspeare 'played the painter,' was William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke. Mr Brown's lively volume, though chiefly designed for establishing, in relation to the structure of those interesting and picturesque poems, a theory

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fancifully paradoxical, but calculated to aid materially in the comprehension of them, contains much that is happily illustrative of this singular story. We cannot enter further on its details; but much that is most unpleasing in the circumstances connected with those magnificent lyrics, is removed by the air of despondency and remorse which breathes through those that come most closely on the facts; and there is no good reason for believing that Shakspeare himself voluntarily gave to the world those beautiful records of the errors of a great man. As to Shakspeare's alleged visit to Italy, which of late has been more than once asserted, we are quite incredulous. Nor do we speak on the subject without possessing some knowledge of that country, nor without having carefully considered the passages in the poet's works which are said to show his acquaintance with local peculiarities.

In the attempt to trace the chronology of Shakspeare's dramas, most of the English commentators have insisted on our starting with the assumption, that he composed no original plays till about his twenty-sixth, or twenty-seventh year. The numerous improbabilities involved in this hypothesis, which were seen very clearly by some of the older annotators themselves, have been more energetically exposed by our German friends. It is contradicted by the nature of things, by the facts formerly suspected and now known as to the poet's early station in the theatre, and by the very circumstance to which the supporters of the theory appealed in proof of it—namely, the probability or certainty of his having been, before the date they fix on, engaged in altering for the purposes of the improved stage, plays previously written by others. But we are by no means prepared to enter so positive a dissent to a second proposition, which the editors deduce from their first. There is, say they, no good reason for admitting as Shakspeare's any plays older than those which appear in the common editions. This assertion may be true, even though that on which it is built by those writers should be groundless. But the German critics, from Schlegel downwards, are unanimous in denying the justice of the rejection; and the path of inquiry into which their denial has led, is so full of matter illustrating the progress of Shakspeare's early works, that we cannot regret the steps which have been taken, however unwilling we may be to follow far in the wake. No doubt, in any argument of literary genuineness, —to be solved, exclusively or almost wholly so, upon evidence derived from a comparison of internal peculiarities in the works themselves, with other monuments of the times, all belonging to an age far remote—it may be suspected that those who belong to the same nation, and speak the same language with the author whose supposed works they examine, thereby possess advantages

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over foreigners, adequate to counterbalance very heavy deficiencies in philosophy, if such really exist. But the Germans are not for a moment appalled by any difficulties of the sort.

The title-pages of old editions, the catalogues of booksellers in the seventeenth century, and, in one or two instances, the suggestions of modern scholars, have contributed to rear up a formidable list of plays laying claim to rank as Shakspeare's works, but not received in the common editions. Of all these pieces there does not seem to be any that has not found some one in Germany to advocate its genuineness. Tieck proposes to admit no fewer than eleven, if not more, all being plays on subjects different from those of Shakspeare's acknowledged works; but to these would have to be added the existing skeletons or rough draughts of several other dramas, which, according to some critics, we must believe the poet to have written originally, and not to have merely altered, as it is commonly supposed, from older writers.

These inquiries have too much interest, as well as importance, to be altogether overlooked. But in the first place, we must be allowed to throw aside eight of the disputed plays, as neither aiding our purpose of illustration, nor solving the difficulty which they are brought forward to remove. These are, 'The London 'Prodigal,' 'Sir John Oldcastle,' 'Lord Cromwell,' 'The Puri-'tan,' 'The Yorkshire Tragedy,' 'The Merry Devil of Ed-'monton,' 'The Birth of Merlin,' and 'The Two Noble 'Kinsmen.' We entertain an utter disbelief in Shakspeare's concern with any of these, excepting only the last, as to which also, our opinion is not now so decided as it once was. There is no truth, as regards those who have pronounced in England the most authoritative judgments on this question, in the assertion of Tieck and others, that these dramas have been rejected merely from being thought too bad for Shakspeare. They are rejected because, except Fletcher's play, they are unlike him, not only in style, but in subjects, and in the manner in which the subjects are conceived; and because they were written in a period when his own peculiarities of character had been fully developed, and when he was engaged in producing other works, which fully account for his time. Tieck admits six at least of these plays, and has translated five of them; but his conclusion has not been by any means universally acquiesced in, even in his own country. 'I am very curious,' says Ulrici, 'to know Tieck's grounds for 'receiving as Shakspeare's "The London Prodigal."' We share in the curiosity; and we are curious likewise to know Tieck's grounds for receiving as Shakspeare's the 'Sir John 'Oldcastle;' because Henslowe's Diary, a contemporary document beyond all suspicion, has proved that that play was written

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in 1599 by no fewer than four authors, Drayton, Munday, Wilson, and Hathway; and that in 1602 it received additions from Dekker.

But any dramas which, advancing similar claims, can be referred to the time between the poet's earliest manhood and his twenty-eighth or thirtieth year, introduce themselves to our notice under more favourable auspices. It is all but incredible, perhaps wholly incredible, that even the least finished of those plays that are commonly received, were Shakspeare's first attempts in his art. As to some of these, indeed, including more than one of the very earliest, we know that the shape in which we now possess them is not that which they originally wore; and this circumstance aids, not immaterially, in diminishing the necessity for supposing the young poet to have produced other works. Still the necessity is not by any means wholly removed; for it is very difficult indeed to suppose, that he whose genius afterwards (prompted by indefatigable activity) poured out its treasures like the fountains of a mighty river, should have been for years, in the warmest flow of youth, content to write two or three plays and two poems. But we despair of being ever able to identify, with any thing approaching to probability, the fragments which his careless hand thus cast upon the waters, and which his maturer judgment was probably noway eager to gather up again. The difficulty of any such attempt at recognising the authorship of a youthful effort from materials given to us by the later works of the writer, is increased into downright impracticability by the circumstances in which the stage was then placed.

From the commencement of Shakspeare's boyhood till about the earliest date at which his removal to London can be possibly fixed, the drama lingered in the last stage of a semi-barbarism. Perhaps we do not possess any monument of the time except Whetstone's 'Promos and Cassandra;' but neither that play, nor any details that can be gathered respecting others, indicate the slightest advance beyond a point of development which had been reached many years before, by such writers as Edwards and Gascoyne. About 1585, or Shakspeare's twenty-first year, there opened a new era, which, before the same decad was closed, had given birth to a large number of dramas, many of them wonderful for the circumstances in which they arose; and several possessing real and absolute excellence. The greatest of the dramatists in that short but interesting era was the unfortunate Christopher Marlowe, whose improvements in dramatic versification had not less influence than his singular combination of

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powers — of magnificence with sweetness, of his own stern and labouring strength with wailings of passionate sorrow. On the other side stood Robert Greene, infinitely weaker in all qualifications for the highest walks of art; but endowed with an overflowing imagination, half natural and half scholastic, and with a far keener perception than Marlowe had of the relations of ordinary life and character. Around Greene clustered the writers of romantic plays; while most of those who dramatized histories were divided, often in the very same works, between their imitation of his liveliness and ornament, and the imposing grandeur of imagery and feeling prompted by Marlowe. Peele, more skilled in the mechanism of dramatic dialogue than either, belonged essentially to the school of 'Edward II.;' and Kyd, in his two parts of 'Jeronymo,' works of surprising vigour, debased by much absurdity, out-heroded the attractive extravagances of 'Tamburlaine.' But from the time intervening between Marlowe's earliest blank verse and his death, in 1593, there exist several dramas, not written by those leaders of the stage, which, amidst palpable imperfection and rudeness, possess such merit as might tempt us to ask, regarding them, the same question which the German critics, in meeting denials of Shakspeare's authorship, put with such an air of triumph. If Shakspeare did not write the 'Collier of Croydon,' who else about 1590 was capable of writing it? It bears no name, and is quite as like Shakspeare's works as some plays which have been called his, by fanciful critics, or knavish booksellers. If Shakspeare did not write the energetic drama called the 'Misfortunes of Arthur,' who else in 1587 was capable of writing it? No doubt it is asserted to have been composed by one Hughes, assisted by some other templars; but is it incredible that those gentlemen should have taken the merit of a work which they had engaged the young Warwickshire player to write for them? Our readers, it is hoped, will not suspect us of putting such questions in earnest. Amidst the enthusiastic inspiration which marked the rise of this new school, whose reign he was to destroy in less than ten years, Shakspeare came to London; and it is pleasing to believe that he contributed more to the advance of infant art than we are accustomed to believe. But, in examining plays like those which are now to be enumerated, bearing on them the broad stamp of the time, (although some of them may have been really produced somewhat later,) and exhibiting in any individuality they possess no influence beyond that of Peele, or Greene, or Marlowe, how are we to discover the youthful hand of our great poet?

The first group of plays in this class assigned to Shakspeare,

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consists of five, altogether foreign to the received list. Of 'Fair 'Em' and 'Mucedorus,' it is unnecessary to say much until better grounds shall be given for allotting them to Shakspeare than those on which the claim has been as yet rested. For the former, Tieck's reason is assigned literally thus:—That it was too bad to be attributed to Greene or Marlowe, and (we translate the very words) 'might very well pass for the work of a youth without 'study or learning, and apparently without vocation to the 'task of a poet.' We will give up all faith in the promise of youthful genius, if this be a fair representation of Shakspeare's youth; and we will do so with equal resolution if he, at any stage of that time, could have compounded so bare, so feeble, so unpoetical, so undramatic a piece of manufacture as the 'Mucedorus,' with its wild man of the woods, its bear and bottle of hay, its wretched clown, and the exquisite silliness of its serious personages. The third play, 'Arden of Feversham,' a domestic tragedy, would, in point of absolute merit, have done no discredit to the early manhood of Shakspeare himself; but, both in conception and execution, it is quite unlike even his earliest manner; while, on the other hand, its date cannot possibly be removed so far back as the time before which his own style had demonstrably been formed. The 'Locrine,' the language of which, as Farmer long ago remarked, is exceedingly like that of 'Titus Andronicus,' and the speech of 'the rugged Pyrrhus,' is one of the few plays as to which we consider it fairly impossible to come to any decided conclusion. It is a characteristic work of its time, though far inferior to 'Andronicus' as well as to several others. The same character, of appropriateness to its age, but with far greater excellence, belongs to 'The Reign of Edward III.' Capell was the first who directed attention to this play as perhaps Shakspeare's; and it is in every respect one of the best dramas of its time. It is very unequal, and its plot is unskilfully divided into two parts; but through most scenes there reign a pointed strength of thought and expression, a clear richness of imagery, and an apt though rough delineation of character, which entitle it to rank higher than any historical play of the sixteenth century, excepting Shakspeare's admitted works of this class, and Marlowe's 'Edward II.' | One of the strongest reasons for disbelieving it to be our poet's, is the singular resemblance it bears in many features of its story to his Henry V.;—a fact, however, not entitling us to believe what is otherwise extremely improbable, that it was really written after that play.|

The second class of disputed plays embraces those dramas of uncertain authorship on which Shakspeare has, more or less directly, founded some of his works. Of these the 'Histories' are

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the most important; but two or three others must previously be disposed of. That the poet had some share in 'Pericles' is generally admitted; and the same admission should be made likewise as to 'Titus Andronicus;' but whether these two plays, representing most instructively the two extremes of the drama in Shakspeare's early manhood—the tragedy of horrors, and the poetical legendary tale—were his own works in their first shape, or were altered by him from the compositions of others, is one of the many questions connected with this enquiry, as to which no positive certainty can ever be acquired. We incline strongly towards believing him to have been the original author of both. In some other cases the older forms of the plays are still extant. The very worst of these, the 'Chronicle History of King Leir,' from which the new 'Lear' takes hardly any thing, is, we are sorry to say, declared by Franz Horn to be most probably one of Shakspeare's youthful works. There is infinitely greater merit in the old 'Taming of a Shrew'; and of his materials here the poet has made, in his play bearing a similar name, an unsparing use. His original authorship of this old drama rests upon no external evidence whatever; and upon none internal that possesses greater plausibility than an ingenious theory lately started. According to the editor of the Pictorial Shakspeare, the 'Taming of a Shrew' is the work of Greene, or of him and Peele; and its appropriation by Shakspeare for the use of himself and his fellow-players, is the injury of which Greene complained in the well-known passage that occurs in his 'Repentance.'

In regard to the Historical Plays, the facts stand thus. From the old 'Richard III.,' which became accessible for the first time in Boswell's edition of Malone, Shakspeare's later work borrows almost nothing; and we throw it aside at once. Scarcely more use do the Henry IV. and V. make of the 'Famous Victories of Henry V.,' known to have been on the stage before 1588. Shakspeare entirely abandons the plan of this old drama; he differs absolutely in his delineation of the serious characters, while the exquisite comedy of his plays is entirely his own: he has hardly any thing in common with his predecessor, except what both of them owe to the Chronicles. Not a line is borrowed *verbatim*. The 'King John' derives considerably more, not in its language, but in its plot and the conception of its characters, from a drama in two parts, printed in 1591, and called the 'Troublesome Raigne 'of John King of England.' In regard to the series of plays on the life of Henry VI., the case is quite unlike any of the others. Of the First Part no other form is known; but the Second and Third are closely taken from the 'First Part of the Contention of York 'and Lancaster,' and the 'True Tragedy of Richard Duke of

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'York.' These two dramas were printed respectively in 1594 and 1595, but were evidently written considerably earlier. In Shakspeare's two admitted plays, the plan and arrangement, and the conception of characters, are derived from the older ones with no material change; of his dialogue, nearly a third is borrowed *verbatim* from them; rather more than another third consists of mere alterations or amplifications; and the remainder alone is entirely peculiar to his newer works.

The 'Famous Victories' has been left by common consent to its appropriate obscurity. But Shakspeare's authorship of the old 'King John,' strongly maintained by Capell, and at one time by Steevens, seems to be believed by all the leading critics in Germany. The principal difficulties, however,—the intrusion of so much incongruous matter, and the dissimilarity in manner between the two parts,—have led Ulrici to a theory, ingenious, but not sufficient to solve the knot, that the old 'King John' is, in truth, a *rifacimento* by Shakspeare of another play still older. As to 'Henry VI.' we have no hesitation in believing, with Steevens and Tieck, that all the three parts are his, through every one of their changes. We have not yet seen Mr Knight's promised dissertation on this subject; but from the success with which he has illustrated the historical plays he has already published, we have no fear, either as to the value which the treatise will possess, or as to the decision which the writer will pronounce on the question. We feel quite secure in leaving it in his hands. That the three plays, in both their shapes, (for the first part must have been recast as well as the other two, though probably to a less extent,) emanate from one mind, and are designed to form portions of the same whole, appears to be demonstrable from considerations without number. The style of all the three, again—if in many passages not decisively Shakspearian, and in some places exceedingly unlike any thing which we recognise in his later works—is just such as we might expect to see adopted by a young and ardent mind, struggling with its own infant strength, and impressed by the models then in general favour. But the argument for Shakspeare's concern in these plays, which, if not the strongest, is at least the most palpable, rests in the vigour of passion, and force of the characters. Even in the first part there is very much that puts to shame Marlowe's 'Edward II.' and the anonymous 'Edward III.' themselves; but in the second and third parts, that grandeur of conception and evolvement, which shines through all the roughness and technical imperfection, is exclusively the property of the old plays. To say nothing of the death of Clifford, and the awful picture of Beaufort's despair, (both in the 'Contention;') or of the death-scene of York, and the

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sketch of Henry's watching the fate of the battle, (both in the 'True Tragedy;') we cannot deny the authorship of the latter to Shakspeare without taking from him the character of the fiendish Richard, which, in its essential outlines, is drawn vigorously in the old play. We cannot pause to indicate the farther relations which this question bears to the history and origin of the poet's other historical dramas,—a task which, we hope, will be well executed elsewhere. But one objection demands notice from the authoritative quarter in which it originates. 'How can it be doubted,' asks Mr Hallam, 'that Greene was the author of the True Tragedy, when , he claims it, if not in express words, yet so as to leave no doubt , of his meaning?' The passage referred to is one already mentioned, in which Greene charges Shakspeare with plagiarism,—identifying him by a punning nickname, and by a parody from the line, occurring both in the True Tragedy and in the altered play, 'a tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide.' We must take leave to doubt the conclusiveness of the inference. A probability of the writer's intention would, indeed, be raised by the words if they occurred in Shakspeare's admitted work, and were not to be found in the old play; but as the fact really stands on the supposition of Mr Hallam, the lines indicated are not Shakspeare's; they are Greene's own. The quotation of them, therefore, thus wanted the point which he wished to give to his epigrammatic attack; and, besides, self-parody was very unlikely, indeed, to occur to one like him, whose irritable self-love discloses itself in all that he ever wrote; from the pamphlet in which the complaint in question occurs, to the Byronic confessions of the Palmer's Story. But we venture to go somewhat farther. Greene's reference to the 'True Tragedy' is, as we view it, a proof that it was considered as Shakspeare's own; for, here again, the epigram would have wanted its sting if the lines parodied had not been those of the very writer attacked. We do not say that this is by any means decisive; but it is worth something in a question where all proofs of the sort are so very scanty.

In adjusting the chronology of Shakspeare's dramas, it is time all critics should abandon the endeavour to fix down every play to a certain year. When such exactness can be attained, it is highly valuable both for the elucidation of the work affected by it, and for that of the rest; but nothing can be more meagre than most of the proofs upon which all such attempts have been founded, from those of Chalmers and Malone to those of Drake and Tieck. We shall have gained all that is possible, and, indeed, all that is necessary for the main purpose of such investigations, if we have been enabled to classify the works in groups, indicat-

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ing in their diversities the progress of the poet's mental developement and action. Wishing at present merely to survey rapidly a very few of those manifold features which characterize the successive eras of Shakspeare's genius, we obtain an arrangement minute enough for the purpose, though scarcely for more systematic investigations, if we divide his progress into three principal stages. The extremes of each flow naturally into one another; and it is of less consequence here to obtain strict accuracy in dates than to observe essential distinctions in character.

The first stage is that of Shakspeare's early manhood—of the imperfect developement of his powers. It must be supposed to end about or soon after 1593, when Marlowe sank into the grave which had lately received Greene. If we lay aside all the doubtful plays, we can assign to it with certainty no more than three works, all comedies:—'The Two Gentlemen of Verona,' which we do not know to have been ever materially altered from its original shape; 'Love's Labour Lost,' which underwent at a subsequent time many changes, before it assumed the form in which we now possess it; and the 'Comedy of Errors,' which was probably never remodelled. But likewise, either in the latest years of this period, or in the very earliest stage of the next, the young poet produced the first sketches of two of his tragedies. The original 'Romeo and Juliet,' which has been plausibly assigned to the poet's twenty-seventh year, is certainly the old quarto, still extant, which was known and used by the commentators. It is much more doubtful whether the 'Hamlet' printed in 1603, of which an unique copy was lately discovered in the Duke of Devonshire's library, be the first sketch of that play. We do not, indeed, especially since that discovery, entertain any doubt but the Hamlet sneered at by Lodge in 1589 was a play of Shakspeare's: our suspicion is, that the drama which was then on the stage has perished, and that the quarto of 1603 gives us the work in an intermediate state between the rude youthful sketch and the perfected 'Hamlet,' which was published in 1604. We cannot pause either to defend this hypothesis, or to use in any degree the materials for illustration which arise from a comparison of those two older tragedies with their successors; but the field is one which, especially as to 'Hamlet,' has not yet been trodden as it should. The play printed in the Devonshire quarto, whatever its exact date may be, is assuredly several years older than the enlarged 'Hamlet;' and no acquisition of the sort that has been made for a long time possesses so much interest or importance. In quitting the era now before us, ending about the poet's thirtieth year, we must recollect that it embraces, besides the

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plays, the long, elaborate, and interesting poems of 'Venus and Adonis,' and the 'Rape of Lucrece.'

Shakspeare's second stage exhibits him as inspired by that full and passionate, yet thoughtful strength and fire, 'which on the 'ashes of his youth did glow.' It may be fitly closed about 1600, or not far from his thirty-sixth year. It leads him upwards to the very threshold of his perfection. The most elevated works to which it gave birth, were embraced in his magnificient series of Histories, all of which, as they stand in the received list, belong to this period, except 'Henry VIII.' Of Comedies, it produced before 1598 four at least:—the 'Taming of the Shrew,' 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' 'All's Well That Ends Well,' and the 'Merchant of Venice.' But also, in addition to these, and about that year, or very soon after it, were written four others:—'Much Ado About Nothing,' 'As You Like It,' 'Twelfth Night,' and 'The Merry Wives of Windsor.' Towards the end of the time 'Romeo and Juliet' was re-written; and the latest of the Sonnets seem to be referable to the same date.

The last era of the poet's life was that of his confirmed greatness. And here we are able, with greater certainty than in the preceding stages, to gain a chronological order which is highly interesting, as indicating curious changes of thought and feeling. The list opens with the remaining four of the five great tragedies—all of which fall within the first ten years of the seventeenth century. His 'Othello' has been lately proved to have been on the stage in 1602; the new 'Hamlet' must have existed the year after, when the old play was printed; 'Lear' was written within three years after 1603; and of 'Macbeth' it can only be said positively that it existed in 1610. The last historical play, namely 'Henry VIII.,' belongs also to that decad; and, probably to its later years, the three Roman tragedies, with the singular pieces of 'Timon,' and 'Troilus and Cressida.' The comedy of 'Measure for Measure' is probably to be referred to the same time. The Roman plays form a kind of transition from the poetically dramatic grandeur of the tragic masterpieces, to the temper which the poet's genius next assumed; not improbably after he had exchanged the turmoil of the city for the retirement of his early home in the country. That conflict of thought with thought, of emotion with emotion, and of each with the other—that chaotic state of moral feeling which seems to have brooded like a shadow over the dramatist's mind during the days of his loftiest fame and noblest exertions—gave place, amidst the soothing influences of nature and solitude, to a tone of placidly thoughtful imagination, worthy to close the days of the greatest among poets. Legendary subjects of adventure and pathos,

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which, it has been plausibly conjectured, might have been already handled in forgotten works of his youth, assumed, under his guidance, dramatic grace and consistency, and bestowed on the world 'Cymbeline' and 'The Winter's Tale.' And then imagination, passions, observation of life, and majestically philosophical reflection, combined to people the haunted island of 'The Tempest' with the latest forms of beauty that visited his earthly dreams.

Volumes would afford an insufficient canvas for tracing even in outline the manifold impressions which arise in the mind on contemplating, in a general view, that unrivalled series of dramatic pictures. But the works themselves, and some of the critical speculations which have been recently spoken of, suggest subjects for reflection, of which a few may warrantably be allowed to detain us a little longer. We must pass over altogether, not only the Roman plays, but the Histories, in several respects the most interesting members of the series. Some of the comedies from the two earlier stages of the poet's life, with the great tragedies from the later, will present topics for which our space is but too limited.

The imperfections which deform the works of Shakspeare's youthful period are of two kinds; the one personal to the writer, and springing out of inexperience, technical unskilfulness, and unripeness of mind; the other common to him with all his contemporaries, and marking his efforts as phenomena of a transition age—a time during which his intellect was laboriously transforming into a fabric essentially his own, the rude materials furnished by the existing language and the existing dramatic models. Such faults there has been no lack of readiness to censure; but it is better to reflect on the excellences which shine through, undimmed by all that strives to hide them. Take only the two early comedies, the least pleasing of all his works. If, in the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' the distinctive features of character float in hazy distance, while the whole leaves on the mind a moral dissatisfaction,—yet we should recollect that this is not only one of the earliest fruits of its author's mind, but perhaps the very earliest effort in its kind which our language can exhibit,—'the first English comedy in which characters are drawn 'from social life at once ideal and true.' We behold Shakspeare elevating himself, at the first moment of his exertion, into that poetical region below which he never allowed any subsequent work to sink; we behold him at the same time watching and reproducing the phenomena of actual existence, with an accuracy which failed of its effect from no cause but his still imperfectly developed faculty of dramatic generalization; and with a vivid-

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ness which is in no instance more admirable than in Proteus himself, the worst harmonized figure in the composition. For 'Love's Labour Lost,' greatly more may be said. There can be little hesitation in believing it to have been, even in its oldest shape, an attempt subsequent to the other; and it illustrates aptly the way in which genius is instructed by its own failures. The poet had already gathered new stores of observation and thought on human character—he had made rapid approaches towards the conception of a general type—his poetical world was assuming simultaneously strength and beauty; but he felt how, even with his improved skill, it would be unwise as yet to undertake a task like that which had so lately baffled him. That view of the moral relations of life which he had inadequately bodied forth in the portraits of the light-minded and selfish Proteus and the coquettish Silvia, as contrasted with the generous and trustful Valentine and the romantically tender Julia, here gives place to another aspect of society, less ambitious and profound, but better adapted to the powers of an unpractised artist. There enter to the stage a group of personages, fantastical in themselves and in what they do, and equally fantastical in the mark at which they level; their existence, in the section revealed to us, is a sort of morris-dance where each performer in his turn puts on the cap and bells, and capers merrily till the revels are suddenly interrupted. The figure of Death himself joins the ring, to impart a strain of solemn thought to that tantalizing disappointment with which at the close all stand gazing on one another. No longer timid, no longer incongruous, but sketched with animation and obvious delight, the work is admirable in its kind as a comedy of manners; in which, as Coleridge phrases it, 'the characters are impersonated either 'out of Shakspeare's own multiformity by imaginative self-posi-'tion, or out of such as a country-town and a schoolboy's ob-'servation might supply.' If the 'Two Gentlemen of Verona' could be supposed to have left his future success doubtful, 'Love's Labour Lost' set the seal upon him at once.

That middle stage of Shakspeare's life, which we proposed to consider as closing about his thirty-sixth year, is distinguished more than any other of his eras, by variety in its views of life. His tragic greatness was not yet at its full; imagination had not yet become prophetical; and the boundless drama of human existence did not yet stand unveiled before his eyes, in the whole solemnity of its vast significance. But that aspect of the relation of things in which lies the essence of genuine comedy, was now present to his mind, with even a more appropriate distinctness than that which belonged to it in his latest years. While the visions of

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his tragedies successively occupied his soul, they overcame in it that hopeful temper with which the comic muse should always look upon the world: the comic element in his tragic plays is deeply tinged by the magnificent cloud of darkness which rests above it,—the light and the gloom are blended together, and the one is there only to make the strength of the other more perceptible. In his later comedies, like 'Measure for Measure,' we cannot for a moment miss the conviction, that he whose imagination framed those painful pictures, had been conversant of late with themes of higher and sadder meaning—that he turns but aside for a while from a sterner task, to jest bitterly, like his own Danish prince, amidst the opened graves of a churchyard. Only in his latest years did the cheerful fancy of his prime come back to visit him; but never, even in those last hours of life, did it prompt the same purely comic train of thought and invention, at once real and dramatic, poetical and passionate, which flowed and ebbed through his mind like a mighty sea, during the last few years of the sixteenth century; never, even in the ripest harvest of his autumn, did his genius reap so vast, so surprising a variety of forms in conception and representation, as those which were scattered like flowers over the garden where was spent the summer of his mature and active manhood. Upon a very few only of the pictures which his hand then drew, can we pause to cast a rapid glance.

The 'Midsummer Night's Dream' is what its title indicates—a dream over which broods the magical dimness of a summer night, half hiding and half revealing scenes where nature slumbers in her most luxuriant beauty. But it is also the dream of a poet—such a dream as no poet save one ever dreamt. Every thing is visionary, every thing unreal, but unreal and visionary as the shapes are which Sleep brings on its wings from the world of Thought; and visionary and unreal in the sense and manner in which those images are so, which would visit thus the fancy of one, whose waking meditations were equally at home in the turmoil of crowded life and by the solitary edge of the haunted stream. The characters who step forward, the feelings they evince, the acts they do, all partake of the same aërial nature. Four groups of figures, in themselves incongruous, and scarcely by any invention capable of being united in actual life, mingle in the tumult of this witching night of Saint John; and as we gaze on them through the shadowy moonlight, they become harmonized to the mind's eye as completely as the wildest apparitions are harmonized in the fancy of the sleeper. The fairy band who hover half unseen—

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and unsurpassed truth of character, by the most vigorous strokes of passion, and by a temperate judgment which is the most admirable feature of the piece. At length the perplexities and dangers are overcome; love and hatred have both received their reward; and most poets would have dropt the curtain on their characters. But Shakspeare saw that something was still wanting. If the play had closed there, it would have deserved to be called a tragi-comedy, in a reproachful sense of the term: it would have been a play in which it was impossible, either by reflection or by the surer test of feeling, to determine which of the two opposed aspects of life was intended to be exhibited as the prominent one. The main action of the piece, in both its branches, had touched the very frontier of that region, within which it was designed to move. The scenes at Belmont had been prevented from becoming tragic by mere accident; the judgment scene is really and sublimely tragic, in every thing except the artifice which gives the turn to its catastrophe. The feeling which genuine comedy should leave on the mind, the perception of those relations of man to higher powers, which make his very weakness the fountain of happiness and reconciliation, is assuredly not that which rests on the mind, as we retire slowly from the piazza of St Mark, still agitated by the perils of the trial, and perhaps not less moved by the blow which has smitten down, into broken-hearted abasement, Shylock's whole soul, his intellectual strength, his bitterly pregnant humour, his Hebrew devotion, and his hatred for those who have oppressed and insulted his nation and his name. The fifth act, forming what Coleridge, in similar instances, calls 'a lyrical movement,' gradually and gently relieves the heart from its oppression. A sportive love-trick, introduced purposely in the preceding scene, furnishes its materials; the tragic ideas, removed to a distance, serve but to heighten the new impression by contrast, and thus justify for themselves the place they hold; and the drama closes in music by moonlight, amidst the placid gladness of rescued innocence and united love.

Ulrici's theory as to the leading idea of 'Much Ado about Nothing,' is exceedingly ingenious. He considers the play as a representation of the contrast and contradiction between life in its real essence, and the aspect which it presents to those who are engaged in its struggle. And this contradiction, he tells us, is set forth in an acted commentary on the title of the drama;—a series of incidents which, in themselves neither real nor strange nor important, are regarded by the actors as being all these things. The war at the opening, it is said, begins without reason and ends without result; Don Pedro seems to woo Hero for himself, while he gains her for his friend; Benedict and Bea-

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on a merry campaign of words without real
to marriage without real love; the leading
thlessness, and its results are, a seem-
nge which produces no fighting,
is a pretender; and the weak-
es and plans, are exposed
s that bring about the
he unwitting agents,
the idea of the
of the whole
his specu-
of ab-
that, for a
. And it is
et, which Cole-
his general avoid-
ie subservient to the
of Venice,' which has a
in uncertainty by the cur-
he framework is slighter, and
more airy and sportive, we are
urtain, throughout the whole series
n constitute the story of the play. Be-
we know that it is a lie, and we cannot
detected. In the story of the treachery
Hero, the incidents are in their external aspect
nd the characters treat them as such; but we,
ie secret, know that the whole rests within that
nich comedy finds its nurture. We have helped to
puppets, and we help to pull the strings. We have
to the conversation of Don John with Borachio; we
that Hero is innocent; we know, when she leaves the
pel, that her death is to be but a pretence: at the wedding
e have looked behind the veil which covers the face of Antonio's
supposed daughter. Here the catastrophe comes to us after
gradual preparation. No sudden convulsion attends it, and no
softening close is necessary like that which carried us from Shy-
lock's judgment-hall to the lady's villa. Here also we have been
throughout in that mood of interest slightly excited for the inci-
dents, which enabled us to watch with delight some of the most
felicitous of all representations of character, in a type which
Shakspeare, again and again fondly returning to it, here deve-
loped in its utmost possible perfection.

The whole circle of literature, ancient or modern, possesses
nothing comparable to that world of thoughts, feelings, and

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images which is displayed in the five great Tragedies of Shakspeare. In these works, all the powers which his mind had already exhibited separately act in combination; and some, not before perfectly developed, now exert overwhelming force. The variety of views under which human life is portrayed; the variety of action through which those views are made perceptible; the variety of characters, all true and vivid, yet all unlike, who figure in the shifting scene; the variety of grouping with which these characters successively appear; the variety and richness of poetical imagination which throw the features of external nature, like a translucent medium, around the whole composition —all these are qualities which affect us unconsciously and irresistibly, while we study the masterpieces that possess them; but qualities whose union is so extraordinary, that the mind feels it difficult to grasp them even in part.

In three of the tragedies the leading impulse is Passion; in 'Romeo and Juliet,' the love of early youth, panting, glowing, consuming; in 'Lear,' the parental love of old age, too strong an agent for the frail instrument it works with; in 'Othello,' the clear-spirited and placid love of wedded maturity, a fabric in whose foundations the eye discovers no weakness or rent. And the end of all these things is death. In the love-tale of Verona, we see from the beginning that it must be so; the foreboding, which passes like a summer cloud over the hearts of the lovers, weighs on ours like the sinking darkness of night. In the legend of heathen England we possess the same foresight; we feel that the old king swears his gods in vain, and that his weakness can yield no fruit but bitter suffering. But in the Eden of happiness which bloomed around the Venetian Moor, there was no visible canker besides that which is inherent in the general heart of man, and the flowers could not be made to wither till a fiend had intruded to kill them with his poisonous breath.

In the remaining two tragedies a wider grasp of life is taken. In each the object held up to view is the human will at large, the principle of action; in relation to which the desires and affections are here no farther prominent than as sources from which volition derives its prompting. In both, the great truth involved is the insufficiency, the utter nothingness of human will, as a means towards gaining the ends which passion suggests as desirable; and the catastrophe in both is one of absolute destruction to the individuals, as well as to those whose destiny is involved in theirs. But the causes out of which this terrible consummation is educed are quite dissimilar in the two dramas; and, indeed, the two are exact antitheses to each other; embracing together a colossal representation of all those dangers by which, on a smaller scale, the

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happiness and virtue of ordinary life are oftenest sacrificed. In 'Macbeth,' the picture is that of will, which is either strong in itself, or strengthened by foreign aid;—of will to which eager passions furnish food, and vigorous intellect ministers resources;—but of will insufficiently directed by conscience, in its choice either of means or of ends. In 'Hamlet,' under any interpretation that can be put upon this modern riddle of the sphinx, weakness of will is involved as the key to all the mysteries; although no two students of the poet will agree in determining whence that weakness arises;—whether simply from the inequality of the mind to the special task set before it, which is Goethe's solution;—or from the want of 'a due balance between an attention to the objects of 'our senses, and our meditation on the workings of our minds,' which is Coleridge's;—or from an anxious desire to weigh all the possible consequences of action before entering on it, which is the view instituted by Schlegel as a corollary from an opinion not unlike Coleridge's;—or from the cause to which Ulrici attributes it, with a considerable likeness to Richardson, yet in faithful adherence to his system;—namely, if we understand him aright, an inability, founded mainly on scruples moral and religious, to reconcile, with the internal dictates of his own mind, the act to which he is externally prompted. At all events, whatever difficulties may embarrass our progress to the final point, we can perceive clearly that volition is paralysed throughout; and that the distemperature is attended, whether as cause, as concomitant, or as consequence, with symptoms of all the kinds upon which the several theories are founded. Both Macbeth and Hamlet must perish, as certainly as the impetuous lovers of Verona, or the foolish old father who believed that the heart was wedded to the tongue. Macbeth must perish, but not till he has acted as well as suffered: every act he does is sin, after the evil spirits have breathed their nature into him; and his misery, for the poet's purposes, must not only be begun upon earth, but, so far as mortal life allows, consummated there. Hamlet must perish, after suffering which produces no action: he perishes because he cannot act, in a situation where action is the condition of preservation; he perishes like a feeble swimmer in a stormy sea,—or rather as men perish in a deluge, where a narrow ledge alone projects, a refuge for the strong, who mercilessly thrust the infirm and aged into the deep.

The whole structure of each of those dramas harmonizes, like the architecture of a gorgeous pile, with the character thus imprinted respectively on their foundations. 'Romeo and Juliet,' the tale of impassioned love, is in its action at once rapid, crowded, and self-dependent. The masque, the balcony, and the

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bridal-chamber—the sleeping-draught, the funeral, and the tomb—fleet onwards in quick succession, and each new scene is the consequence of the former. Only the very last of the decisive incidents, the chance which prevents the friar from carrying the letter to Mantua, and which thus brings on the catastrophe, is caused by extrinsic influences; and this very circumstance, the interference of the searchers at a time when the plague raged, is just one of those touches by which, throughout the whole, we are kept constantly in mind of the poetical region in which the drama moves;—a clime of the glowing south, with its sensuous imagination, and its precocious life;—a scene of the middle ages, whose monastic devotion and baronial feuds compose an essential part of the action,—lifting the drama, though not lifting it far, into that historical world where the poet's mind delighted most of all to meet its themes for imaginative invention. Of the perfection of structure in 'Othello' it is not necessary to say a word; because even those coldest critics of last century, who could perceive nothing but deformity in most of the other plays, were struck silent by the exquisite mechanism of this. It partakes of the historical character more than 'Romeo and Juliet,' but less than the other tragedies. In 'Lear,' whose canvas is broader than any other on which Shakspeare ever painted, the passions which give the impulse are poured out, like the streams of a volcano, over the whole land, and the historical interest gives breadth and importance to the individual. Nay, the prevailing tendency of the work to call up images of the general relations which belong to mankind in the mass, is increased by those very circumstances which remove the history it describes from the domain of recorded annals into that of remote tradition;—the wild caprice of the old king's device for testing the love of his children—the barbarism of the age, so favourable to freedom of invention—and that heathenism of religion which gives verisimilitude, real as well as poetical, to a picture representing life and society as a moral chaos.

In 'Macbeth' and 'Hamlet,' where man is set up before our eyes as a being destined for action, the subjects are broadly historical; in each there is a murder and a usurpation—to be effected in the one, to be avenged in the other. And, therefore, what was here required was something the opposite of that which was requisite in the other plays; not any thing to elevate the story from interests merely individual, but something to take it out of the sphere of simple history. The main expedients used for effecting this end are two, which are common to both plays. The first respects the mode in which the leading characters are treated. They are not only portrayed with a minuteness, and main-

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tained with a prominence in the action, which make their personal destiny the principal, almost the only, source of sympathy; but they are, moreover, preserved in a kind of isolation from the other personages, and move among them like beings of another world. That both these things are true of Hamlet, every one admits. He is himself the tragedy, and he stands alone in it, with no friend, no adviser, no helper; for Horatio is a cypher in action, and the deepest thoughts and feelings of the prince's shaken mind are uttered only in the ear of heaven. Indeed, through the device of his feigned madness, which enables him to give open vent to many of his most perturbed thoughts, his whole part becomes, in one sense, a continued soliloquy. But the same things are equally true of Macbeth and his wife. They stand together as parts of one being; or rather perhaps, like a mortal and sensitive being, prompted by one of another nature;—now acting like the flood of passion to quench the gnawing fire of conscience, now like a sterner volition to make up for his faltering will; and now like an informing intellect to point out the way to the completion of purposes. The terrible secrets of this guilty pair are breathed to none; their acts, their hopes, their terrors, are their own: alone as conspirators against the king, they sit not less solitary on the blood-stained throne; and alone they meet their awful punishment. The stronger of the two is first overthrown, not by the hand of man, but by the avenging arm of heaven; that conscience which was not dead, which did not even sleep, but which preyed on the heart that scorned to own its bleeding, reveals its internal agonies to us through the betrayal of sleep; and soon the cry of women announces the consummation of a struggle which the body was too weak to bear. Macbeth himself, sinking in resolution before his wife's death, retains, after he has lost her, no hope, no care, hardly even a fear;—nothing but heart-sick weariness of life, and that lingering spark of martial spirit and personal pride, which drives him into the field to meet destruction from the fated hand of his adversary.

The second expedient common to both dramas is the use of the supernatural. Yet nothing can be more characteristic than the distinction between the uses made of this element of poetry in each. In 'Macbeth' the supernatural promptings are absolutely and fiendishly evil, and the creation of evil is the task they have to perform. The imperfect speakers are 'foul anomalies;' 'fates, furies, and materializing witches are their elements;' their words are but answers to the questions which the guilty heart asks itself—answers which encourage sin by falsely seeming to promise impunity. The first sounds which reach our ears in the

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magnificent drama are those of the spectral chant amid the storm on the heath, where the hags mysteriously announce their hellish mission: the last words of their guilty victim contain a scornful and despairing defiance of their lying auguries. The apparition in 'Hamlet,' on the other hand, is neither earthly nor malevolent: it is the spirit of an erring yet wronged mortal, permitted to revisit the glimpses of the moon as a prompter of righteous vengeance. It is a thing apart, revealing itself but so far as is necessary for the mighty purpose of which it is the instrument—silent to the soldiers on guard, invisible to the guilty Queen. The affections of earth cling about it, in harrowing union with the unutterable experiences of the tomb; and religion and filial love, the awe of men and the picturesque presence of night, join in hallowing the scenes across which its shadowy figure stalks.

But nothing can be, at the same time, more dissimilar, and more accurately in unison with the leading conception of each of these two dramas, than the cast of the action which forms the plot of each. 'Macbeth,' says Hazlitt, 'is alike distinguished 'for the lofty imagination it displays, and for the tumultuous 'vehemence of the action; and the one is made the moving 'principle of the other. The overwhelming pressure of preter-'natural agency urges on the tide of human passion with re-'doubled force.' What a contrast exists between this tempestuous action, prompted in every step by an unholy alliance of guilty human will with demoniac agency, and that series of accidents which, in Hamlet, display the impotence of human plans and passions! In the latter, the incidents are numerous and varied; but none of them is brought into existence by the hero of the piece. From the beginning to the end, his resolutions either fail in producing action at all, or produce action of a kind entirely different from that which he intended; and with a beautiful exemplification of that parallelism which Shakspeare's works every where exhibit, a similar result follows from the designs of the other characters.

We would yet linger awhile over those immortal tragedies, to contemplate the general impressions and views of life suggested, especially by the tone and management of their closing scenes.

'I know,' says Lessing, 'but one tragedy which love itself 'helped to elaborate; and that tragedy is "Romeo and Juliet."' In all its wildness, in all its sweetness, in all that sadness which angels banished to earth might feel in dreaming of their native heaven, the spirit of love breathes over this vision of the poet's young imagination. Through a veil whose folds are alternately composed of pictures of earthly passions and entangle-

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ments, and of other elements which criticism has sometimes sought to palliate as faults of an inexperienced artist, and sometimes more boldly to exalt into designed and essential beauties, the form of love gleams over the scene, bearing to the troubled wastes of life peace, and hope, and atonement. By one of the most felicitous of the poet's changes on his models—a change which has been often misunderstood, but is now no longer misapprehended by any one who duly appreciates Shakspeare or the drama—the catastrophe is softened by omitting that harrowing scene produced in the original novel by the awaking of Juliet while Romeo struggles in the last agonies. One after the other the lovers sink into the embrace of death, like infants whom their mother sings to sleep. But not even here, not in the dissolving tenderness of the dying hour, do the banks of the Adige fade from our sight: the fragrance of the flowers so early withered is wafted far from the grave on which they are strewed, and peace and reconcilement shed consolation over a whole city.

More solemnly, more thoughtfully, more philosophically gentle, but not less harmoniously tender, nor less dramatically true, is the scene which closes the agitated life of Lear. We, who have watched the struggle of good with evil through all its revolutions, we who have looked on with unclouded senses, cannot forget the awfulness of the spectacle; we dare not hide from our imagination, we dare not hide from our consciences, the pageant of crime and error, and the solemn lessons it has taught. And full of horror and reflectiveness, shaken to their inmost souls, are those secondary characters who gather round the dying and the dead, witnesses of scenes after which men are grave for years. But there is one who feels nothing of this horror, one over whose intellect the night of lunacy, once already spread, and once for a time lifted, has again been allowed to sink by that merciful interposition which tempers the wind to the shorn lamb. The aged king sits in the midst. Before him lie the corpses of his guilty daughters; but for him it was a needless precaution to cover those faces stiffening from the pangs of violent death; he knows, he recollects, he sees nothing, save the body of Cordelia, which rests upon his knees. He must die; he cannot but die; what should he do longer in a world which has no soul to love him — a world where his own bruised heart can neither act nor feel? But he dies in peace, nay, even happy and consoled. His belief in his daughter's death, the last symptom of his sanity, departs as his mind begins to wander again; he remembers nothing but her gentleness, her love—that love which had blessed him, like the voice of an angel, after all his wrongs and agony.

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Again the doubt comes and swells into choking grief, but again it gives way as he gazes on the face of the dead. The pale lips seem to part as he bends down to kiss them; and an answering smile illumines his aged features as his heart breaks amid the dream of bliss.

In 'Hamlet,' the catastrophe rushes on us by surprise, and with portentous rapidity. At one moment, the kingly assassin, the tool of his vengeance, the paramour of his guilt, and his intended victim—all stand before us, grouped as actors in what seems to be but a scene of sport—another moment, and all lie before us dead. The actively guilty have gone to their long account, and he whose sins were those of weakness has perished with them. It seems as if, after the will of man had been baffled in every attempt to disentangle the tragic knot, the hand of Heaven itself had been suddenly stretched out to assert its own prerogative; and as a divine judgment our feelings teach us to regard the whole piece and its catastrophe. It has been justly observed by more than one critic, that, in the extinction of Hamlet's line, and that substitution of Fontinbras which follows, there is something not unlike those judicial punishments that, in the Greek drama, consign to annihilation princely houses stained with unnatural crime; and this is one feature, though not the leading one, which constitutes the ruling temper. As we look back towards the scene of blood, we see it restored to calmness, and gladdened by the hope of returning innocence and peace: but our own minds brood, as they brooded amid the vicissitudes of the tragedy, over the awful enigma of life, which action but perplexes more, and thought makes more hopelessly dark—the enigma whose solution is found only in death, and in those revelations which partially unveil the world beyond the grave.

We quit the contemplation of 'Macbeth' in a sterner mood. All here is simple, purely tragic, and derived directly from moral and religious reflection. The serious temper is not invaded by a single play upon words, nor by a single jest; for the only comic scene is, in all likelihood, an interpolation. The decree of Heaven seems to have guided every thing, manifestly for good in its issue, through ways mysterious, like those in which real life is made to walk. Supernatural solicitings have been permitted to shake the mind of man, and to aid in generating a time of guilt and trouble—a reign of blood, beneath whose throne the innocent are slain as offerings to the powers of evil. But the punishment has not been delayed for a moment. It has instantly followed the guilt—it has accompanied it—it has even preceded it in the terrors and anticipations of remorse; and through increasing atrocity, which increasing misery tracks as

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the bloodhound tracks its prey, the usurper and his awful accomplice pass to their doom. It is one of the finest thoughts in the whole drama, that Lady Macbeth should die before her husband; for not only does this exhibit him in a new light, equally interesting morally and psychologically; but it prepares a gradual softening of the horror of the catastrophe. Macbeth, left alone, resumes much of that connexion with humanity which he had so long abandoned; his thoughtfulness becomes pathetic—his sickness of heart awakens sympathy; and, when at last he dies the death of a soldier, the stern satisfaction with which we contemplate the act of justice that destroys him, is unalloyed by feelings of personal wrath or hatred. His fall is a sacrifice, not a butchery.

But, of all Shakspeare's tragic dramas, that which most closely resembles the classical models in the simplicity and obviously comprehended perfection of its plan, is also that which, in its catastrophe and its general impression on the mind, approaches most nearly to the spirit of heathen classicism. 'Othello' has in it, not indeed in reality, but in appearance, much of the terrific fatalism which overshadows the beautiful in the Attic tragedy—the idea of power, irresistible, irresponsible, unfathomable, consigning humanity to utter destruction. Almost all votaries of Shakspeare seem to have felt, at one stage or another, in their study of this magnificent and most passionate drama, an abased, passive, hopeless weight upon the heart, which no other of his works leaves behind. The source of this feeling does not lie in the sad fate of Desdemona; for, though that is one of the elements, it is not the principal:—the effect of her touching death-scene is skilfully softened, and kept in strict subordination to the leading purpose; and the eyes that weep for the gentle lady's fate, look up through their tears with reviving hope to heaven. But the terrible force lies in the catastrophe which follows. Othello falls by his own hand—a consummation which Shakspeare has nowhere else given to any of his tragic characters, except in Lear and in two of the Roman plays; all the three having their scene in heathenism. And even the suicide is less harrowing than that utter prostration of soul which has preceded it;—a despair which annihilates every thought and feeling, except the consciousness of unendurable misery. Nor does any after-scene alleviate the gloom—'the object poisons sight'—but it is hid from us only by the dropping of the curtain; the Moor has scarcely expired when the drama closes. When, again, we look back on the causes which have produced this profoundly tragic catastrophe, we seem, at the first glance, to discover nothing that can impart a moral justification to its horror. The bower of wedded happiness seemed guarded

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by love and honour; and its inhabitants, though frail because mortal, seemed to be stained by no such guilt as should have condemned them to an end like this. Yet into such a scene of peace the tempter has crept, seducing the hand of man himself to lay desolate his home. All critics of name have felt, more or less strongly, the perplexity of the moral enigma which lies under this tragic tale; but the character of the Moor, in which the explication must be sought, has been interpreted more contradictorily than any other in the range of the poet's works, 'Hamlet' itself not excepted.

In truth, this drama, if we were able to penetrate wholly into its mysteries of conception, would not be what it is—the work in which the poet has united more admirably than in any other the two great elements of dramatic art. 'Lear' is at once more original in invention, more active in imagination, more softly pathetic in feeling; 'Romeo and Juliet' has more of pure poetry; 'Macbeth' a closer amalgamation of tragic action with thought properly ethical; and 'Hamlet' traverses a world of thought in which all other existing dramas linger at the frontier. But 'Othello,' above every other drama, unites vehemence and nature in tragic emotion, with truth and vigour in the delineation of character. This play, above all others, harmonizes those two elements, and makes each the counterpart, the supplement, the condition of the existence of the other.

And, as even those feel who have considered as a defect the unsoftened sternness of the closing impression, that impression is not one which, thus unsoftened and unrelieved, lingers long in the mind. As the closing images fade into distance in the memory, and the earlier groups come successively into the foregrounds, a picture is gradually formed, in which we recognise with reverential wonder—though with incapacity to account for all its effects—a solemn representation of human life in its most awful relations. If philosophy, if observation of the world, if reflection on the destiny of man, as that destiny appears to him in his natural blindness, furnish no key-note to harmonize this song of tragic import, religious contemplation opens a view in which all becomes deeply and truly significant. We glance backward upon the mysteriously revealed leaves of the book of Time, in which is written the sin that has made the earth barren. We gaze forward through darkness, yet not without hope, on that great journey of the soul, in which mortal life is but a single step. We behold the principle of evil walking the earth for a time in human shape, and allowed to convert into agents of destruction all the finest of those qualities whose union makes up the compound nature of man;—counting kin alike with angelic fellow-

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creatures, and with the cold clay which imprisons his immortal spirit. When the tempted has become a murderer, the work of the temptation is but half accomplished. The mind of the victim is not yet wholly poisoned, his heart not yet wholly crushed. He must behold—and how does his very soul recoil from itself at the discovery?—he must behold the unmasked visage of the fiend whom he has served—he must learn that all which he has done has been worse than done in vain. In one deep silent pause the events of a lifetime pass across his mind; and he awakens from the trance a broken-hearted man. Every principle which once made his character strong and lofty is annihilated within him: love, imagination, pride of honour and of intellect, all are wrecked in one tremendous shock. The soldier feels his courage broken like a rush; the man whose better nature passion could not shake, weeps like a child; the last effort of his overthrown will is but sufficient to consummate the triumph of evil; and the noble Moor dies the most awful of deaths.

ART. VI.—*Speech of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., in the House of Commons, on Sir J. Yarde Buller's Motion on Want of Confidence in the Government.* 8vo. London: 1840.

THE great lines by which political party in this country is divided, are pretty clear;—straightforward politicians, of sense enough to choose, take their sides accordingly;—and a grown-up man must be indeed unlucky, who, from alterations in himself or others, shall find himself obliged in conscience to change a side which he has once taken. At the same time, the most compact party that ever acted together in public life, although it may agree in *almost* all things, cannot agree in all. Common sense honestly disposes of minor differences by mutual concessions. But differences will occasionally arise, which, from one reason or another, do not admit of being set off against each other, and merged in the general account. On these occasions what is to be done?

These occasions must arise. This is inevitable. It is equally plain, when they do arise, that there can be but three courses between which public men have to make their choice. They may withdraw themselves from their party in consequence; and, by so doing, do what they can to dissolve the political combination which it represented—defeat its objects, and destroy the common principles upon which it had been formed. Or, in the

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thorough-going spirit of party, they may continue to act together as a body on those very subjects, just the same as on every other; keeping back their differences from the world. Or, lastly, while they remain steady to their old connexion, and to the principles which it embodied, they will except those particular subjects from their system of united action, and leave each other, with regard to them, to the free expression of their individual opinions.

These three courses are characterised by their respective advantages and disadvantages, and have their respective advocates. The first has the sanction of that high-minded politician, Sir James Graham;—he sees no difficulty in abandoning former friends. Sir Robert Peel appears as a strenuous supporter of the first course, or the second;—he does not openly state which. But the reverential scruples which he professes to entertain against such proceedings as may tend to loosen the ties of party, are only consistent with a preference for the second. That nobody is entitled to an opinion except himself, is comfortable doctrine for a premier. The third course has been ably vindicated by Mr Macaulay, in his defence of Open Questions. The more we think of it, the more we are satisfied that in certain circumstances, and within certain limits, it is the only proper course which a true nature can consent to follow—by which true conclusions are likely to be obtained. If the difference in the views recently proclaimed upon this subject, should become one of the characteristic differences between Whigs and Tories, the Tories will have opportunities enough for repenting the false position which they will have taken up.

But the Tories will stop short of this. It is true, no doubt, upon general principles that they do not need the relief of Open Questions to the same extent as the Whigs. A party comparatively stationary in its creed, and pliant to authority, is saved from many difficulties which disturb the march of reason and of progress. There is no want of sea-room in stagnant water; and a line which stands still is more easily kept unbroken than a line in motion. Nevertheless, the difference in this respect between the two parties can only be a difference of degree. At the present moment, the extremes contained within the body in opposition, are as far removed, in principles and in objects, as the extremes contained within the body which co-operates in support of Government. The actual diversity of opinion among the Tories, is scarcely kept under by their still greater aversion to the common enemy. Withdraw the pressure and it will break out. Vows made in pain, and out of place, will not be long kept in the case of office. Sir Robert Peel and his followers have

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just now one and the same object immediately before them—that of running down, obstructing, and turning out the present Ministry: and they agree as long as that object is in sight. On Sir Yarde Buller's motion, not a sutler in the camp but shouted at the plausible declamation of their reputed mouthpiece against the base tenure of Open Questions by which the Whigs hold office. But strange misgivings came over them as the wily orator went on. The dullest of the Tories were capable of seeing so far into futurity as to perceive that, in his argument against Open Questions, their artful champion was consulting the interests of the party and himself, much in the same way that the lion portions out the spoil between himself and his jackalls. The terms which he laid down referred much more to his want of confidence in his own insubordinate and uncertain friends, than to his want of confidence in Ministers. He might address the gentlemen in front; but from the greater part of his general observations, it was plainly the gentlemen behind who were uppermost in his thoughts. It was not for the benefit of the Whigs that he so much laboured the impolicy of Open Questions, on account of their tendency to break up a party and sow disunion in a Government. This part of his speech was grounded on a clear perception of his own condition, and a prudent estimate of the means which would best promote his personal importance; and it amounted under the circumstances, to a stipulation with his party that a peremptory foreclosure of all Open Questions, was the form in which he was to receive from them indemnity for the past and security for the future.

On that occasion, the Movement section of the Tory party had forced their reluctant leader to the attack. Their impatience and their bitterness were allowed a vent. But many of them, before the debate was over, must have confessed, in the anguish of their hearts, that they were buying the gratification somewhat dear. Sir Robert Peel availed himself, with his usual diplomacy and effect, of all the advantages the motion gave him for clearing the rubbish of Orangemen and High Churchmen out of his path; or for making it, as the case might be, the coarse substruction of his future power. Their once cast-off Captain took the opportunity to tell them, with as little disguise as courtesy would permit, that he had more reliance on the docility of their wills and on the extent of their necessities, than on either the serviceableness of their understandings or the soundness of their opinions; that if they called him back, he was well aware it was not from personal good-will, but merely because they could not do without him; and that, under these circumstances, he would not again put himself at their head, upon any other terms than those of their unconditional obedience. For such is the plain

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English of having made up his own mind on recognising no Open Questions. This language, bold in any body, is more than bold from one whose political life has been too emphatically a life of recantations, to warrant an overweening trust in either the rectitude or the permanence of his opinions. The sayings would be hard sayings in the ears of any followers; but the recollections of 1829 must make them more than hard for the credulity of as many of his partisans as might like to bargain for four-and-twenty hours' notice, in order to prepare their consciences, countenances, and constituents, when they should happen to be next called upon to make surrender of the articles of their faith. With the difficulties which surround him, Sir Robert Peel is probably acting wisely for himself in entering up betimes a formal protest against Open Questions. They may be a greater risk than he can afford: for Open Questions suppose a general agreement, and, above all, a general confidence. But Sir Robert Peel is fully sensible that his difficulties, on accepting office, would not depend upon existing differences of opinion on this subject, or on that; so much as on those general differences of a wider and less manageable character, which throw their shadows around and before him, and which issue from the central depths of personal alienations and distrusts. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that, even in the pomp of peroration, he should not affect to conceal his apprehensions, that his stipulations and precautions would be all in vain.

'It may be that the principles I profess cannot be reduced to practice, and that a Government attempting the execution of them would not meet with adequate support from the House of Commons; still I shall not abandon them. I shall not seek to compensate the threatened loss of confidence on this side of the House, by the faintest effort to conciliate the support of the other. I shall steadily persevere in the course which I have uniformly pursued since the passing of the Reform Bill—content with the substantial power which I shall yet exercise—indifferent as to office, so far as personal feelings or personal objects are concerned—ready, if required, to undertake it, whatever be its difficulties—refusing to accept it on conditions inconsistent with personal honour—disdaining to hold it by the tenure by which it is at present held.'

To express so much grandiloquent contempt for the tenure by which the Whigs hold office, required no small assurance;—the provocation for it being simply this—that the structure of their Government has been made co-extensive with its base. On certain subjects, upon which the great body of their natural supporters is divided, the Government is divided too. At least it may be. Such a concession to truth and justice constitutes a tenure of office not to be thought of but with disdain! And this

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from Sir Robert Peel!—a statesman who had passed the best part of his official life, as member of an Administration in which the most serious of all contemporary questions—that of Roman Catholic Emancipation—one which, from the way it entered into the daily details of Government, was the very last which could be safely made an Open Question—nevertheless was made so. The period at which the rock of offence has been discovered and denounced, is remarkable for its strict coincidence with his personal convenience. The tenure on which Pitt and Lord Liverpool held office, might have been conceived to be sufficiently pure and lofty even for Sir Robert Peel. But, thus it is that a man, who does not choose to assign the true reasons of his conduct, generally falls upon absurd ones. Sir Robert Peel is unable to trust his party, unless they first sign and seal, and pass under the yoke. This is really no reason why Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell should be expected to enforce the same degrading methods of arbitrary suppression. Sir Robert Peel's necessities require coercion. The necessities of the Whig Government require freedom—which, if it were not their necessity, ought still to be their choice.

The Duke of Wellington's habits of military discipline, and the peculiar position of Sir Robert Peel, ought not to be allowed to prejudge this question. It is of sufficient importance, moral and political, to be discussed with fairness, and upon its merits. Not only are the character and existence of this or that administration involved in it—but the principles of every man engaged in public life; and at times, even the possibility, in a free state, of having any government at all.

Our immediate concern is with the theory itself, not with its application. The application of the theory of Open Questions will raise a multitude of incidental points, varying with the circumstances and degrees of almost every case. These, however, are all of them beside the argument at its present stage; —the point now at issue being, not what questions may be left open, but whether a body of men acting together in public, more especially a government, ought to admit such a thing as an Open Question under any circumstances whatever. For some of Sir Robert Peel's objections, it will be observed, are so wide and general, as logically to exclude Open Questions from the creed of an opposition as well as of a government, while some of them apply to a government only. The acknowledgment of a single instance in which the balance of advantages and disadvantages might turn in favour of leaving a question open, changes entirely the character of the argument. It puts it upon that line of inquiry which we conceive is the only proper one—namely, instead of

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arguing and declaiming in the abstract, whether Open Questions are or are not admissible into politics—it introduces a separate examination in every recurring instance, of which the object will be to ascertain, whether considerations equivalent to those which, by the supposition, have prevailed in the former instance, may not exist in the latter also.

In the remarks we are now making, we assume that the discussion is wanted for the sake of men of sense and principle,—men really seeking for a rule of conduct; first, how far they should make an absolute unanimity of opinion, or at least an absolute conformity in speeches and in votes, the indispensable condition of their personal co-operation in the public service; next, how far a latitude, which might be best for themselves, may require to be modified or restrained, from its liability to be abused by politicians of inferior understanding or morality. Men such as we suppose, will take care not to embarrass their search by difficulties which lie beyond the sphere and influence of Open Questions. For instance, they are aware that neither of their objects, (the discovery of a rule for their own conduct, or for that of others,) can have any thing to do with extremes, whether of persons or of cases. The rule, wherever it may be fixed for its own purposes, will not need narrowing or enlarging to meet the views of persons of extravagant opinions on the one side, or of loose principles on the other. What have a 'Yes' or 'No' upon Open Questions to do with the impracticable zealot, who would rather see his country dust and ashes, than put the least of his crotchets into temporary abeyance? or what with the mere adventurer, whose talents are always in the market for the highest bidder? The determination which we may come to upon Open Questions, has also as little connexion with extreme cases, either way. The utmost extension which its advocates demand, comprehends only certain intermediate cases of differences of opinion;—such cases as are not serious enough to interrupt the general confidence of men of similar principles and of common objects—but which, nevertheless, from one cause or another, are too weighty to be passed over and compromised in silence.

Sir Robert Peel says, that according to the doctrine of Open Questions, there is nothing to prevent him from coalescing with Sir William Molesworth and Mr Leader. This depends upon the fact, whether in English politics the gentlemen aforesaid and Sir Robert Peel have, upon the whole, common principles and common objects. When two persons league together, who agree in nothing except in their hatred of a third, they do not wait for ceremonies of this kind. On the other hand, Open Questions are the characteristic form, which can be replaced by nothing else,

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as often as honest men are anxious to reconcile partial variance with general agreement—the rights of private judgment with the necessities of the state. The only obstacles which Open Questions leave in the way of a coalition such as Sir Robert Peel supposes, are a sense of truth, and of policy, and of shame. But the opposite supposition, that of Closed Questions, presents us with nothing more. In the nature of things, these are the only securities we can have against the unprincipled combinations of politicians trading for place, or conspiring in malice. Baseness has few qualms. It does not stand out for Open Questions. Looking over a list of the celebrated *Rats* of the past and present generation, we shall perceive that they made no terms. Sir Robert Peel is fond of putting extreme cases. In subjects depending on proportion, this is very bad philosophy. In morals and in politics, truth is seldom aimed at, and is never reached by so doing. It is using a fallacy, and for the purpose generally of a fraud.

In his prodigality of exaggeration, Sir Robert Peel declares that the admission of Open Questions brings along with it as a necessary consequence, 'the exclusion of honourable and able 'men from the conduct of affairs, and the unprincipled coalition 'of the refuse of every party; an end to public confidence in the 'honour and integrity of great political parties; a severance of 'all ties which constitute party connexions, and a premium upon 'the shabby and shuffling conduct of unprincipled politicians.' The coalition above suggested, appears intended to be a case in point. The aphorism and the illustration are worthy of each other. Such a coalition is not more beyond the sphere of Open Questions, than it is beyond the range of their probable abuse. We repeat, that they will be in no way responsible for either originating it or consolidating it, whenever it may occur. On the contrary, although Open Questions are not specifics against baseness, (what is?) yet in no case are they particularly exposed to it; and in most cases they so far diminish the temptation to it, that it is among the rarest disguises that baseness will ever put on. Sir Robert Peel's moral indignation on this occasion, is in charming consistency with the cogency and candour of his arguments. To be beforehand with an adversary, and to charge him with the offence of which you yourself are guilty, is one of the old resources of audacious sophistry. The natural reply to his tirade ought to begin with the words of 'Hamlet'—'Nay, an' thou'll mouth't, I'll rant as well as thou.' For it may be confidently retorted that every thing here affirmed of Open Questions, (except their tendency to loosen the ties of party, in cases where those ties will otherwise become direct restraints on personal integrity,) may, with infinitely greater truth, be

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affirmed of the system in which Open Questions are proscribed. Absolute agreement in politics is not to be had. To exclude Open Questions, therefore, is to exclude the most honourable men from public affairs—is to compel a Minister to recruit from the unprincipled of every party—is to offer a premium to shabby and shuffling politicians; and, supposing political parties to act upon it as a settled maxim, is to destroy the public confidence in their integrity and honour. Few political conclusions appear so certain.

Sir Robert Peel strangely overacted this philippic. Having little to say in support of Sir Yarde Buller's indictment of the Government, he retreated upon this outlying topic. The nature of popular assemblies, and the hurry of debate, hold out strong temptations to the plausible and insincere. Temporary effects, however, sometimes are obtained upon that stage at a cost beyond their value. Cheers prolonged for several minutes gratify the vanity of the moment; and advantages still more substantial reward the flocking in of partisans around a standard on which is written 'No Open Questions.' But it can never be sound policy in any statesman to strain his influence with his countrymen, so far as to reason out a public argument of enduring interest, in the manner in which Sir Robert Peel has attempted to reason this.

No side of any argument could be less in want of the artifices of rhetoric to secure having justice done to it. The real disadvantages of Open Questions are never likely to be overlooked. They are of a kind to appear generally considerably greater than they are. They carry with them a confession of ignorance and irresolution; —often a wise confession; but one so liable to ridicule and misconstruction, that it will not be made without great necessity. We may be very sure, also, from the obvious limitation which an Open Question puts upon his authority and convenience, that a Prime Minister will close the door against it, whenever the advantages and disadvantages appear to him to be nearly balanced. If Sir Robert Peel had contented himself with recapitulating the disadvantages, and placing them in the most striking points of view, he would have done nothing but what every impartial person must have felt obliged to him for doing. After comparing them with the advantages, should he have decided that the disadvantages preponderated, we might indeed have been surprised, but we could have had no reason to complain. But he has done no such thing. He is the advocate, not the judge.

For instance, Sir Robert Peel kindly warns the Ministers against the tendency of Open Questions to sow disunion in a Cabinet. The objection, no doubt, has something in it. This

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something, therefore, ought to be estimated at as much as it is worth. At the same time, we should observe, in reply, that it applies to ill-assorted Cabinets only—made up of persons who, if they had not this ground of quarrel, would probably soon make out for themselves another. Among colleagues of tolerable sense and temper, meaning fairly by each other, it might be reasonably expected that the system of Open Questions, for one case in which it created jealousies, would get rid of them in ten, by getting rid of their usual causes.

Again, Sir Robert Peel reproaches Open Questions for their tendencies to withdraw a Government from the responsibility of legislation; and to deprive it of the benefit of united action in its ordinary administration of affairs. These objections, like the last, may have something in them; but they may also have nothing —or less than nothing—according to circumstances. In all of them, the fallacy lies in stating them as general objections to the principle; when they are in fact only objections to particular cases, in which either the principle has been completely misapplied, or the specific evils have been imprudently underrated.

The first of these objections is—Open Questions neutralize a Government, and prevent it from bringing forward public measures. Our answer is, that in their proper character they prevent it from bringing forward no measures which it is desirable that a Government should bring forward with the sanction of its authority. Every man of sense has many Open Questions in his own mind. When reasons from without are added, an absolute monarch must often wish to pause. A Government should be convinced that its views are right, before it proposes to alter the existing law. There is no advantage in premature or conjectural legislation. Quite the contrary. Unsuccessful experiments prejudice the cause of legislative improvement, in the same manner as unsuccessful revolts prejudice the cause of freedom. And if a Government were seeking for a criterion, could a better one be suggested for presuming that the time for useful legislation, on a particular subject, had not yet arrived, than the fact of a difference of opinion on it among persons whom a similarity of principles unites upon most other subjects? The example of the present Government, (stigmatized as the Government of Open Questions,) is in direct contradiction with the neutralizing effects attributed to them in this objection. It has been repeatedly accused of a disposition towards legislating over much. And certainly no Government ever introduced into Parliament so many new, delicate, and comprehensive measures, within so short a period.

The other objection is, Open Questions paralyse the united

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action and authority of an executive. We answer, wise and honest men must be trusted with the use of their understandings, in cases admitting of every variety of degree. In some instances, the consequences here supposed will be so slight as to be a matter of indifference. In others, they will be very serious. These mischiefs, however, even at their worst, may be the only possible means of averting far greater mischief of a hundred kinds. The whole depends on the nature of the particular case on one hand, and on the state of public affairs and parties on the other. For there are times when nations, like individuals, have no alternative but a choice of evils. Of two evils, if that of a divided cabinet happens to be the least, the country must bear it in the best manner that it can. To be sure, the instant this ceases to be the case, much more from the instant that it is perceived that a divided cabinet is the principal cause of the supposed evil, to prolong the evil for a day is to commit a serious crime. The most disorganizing of all Open Questions was probably that of Irish Emancipation. Sir Robert Peel affirms it ought to have been made a Cabinet question, and carried sooner! But the stupidity and the bigotry prevalent upon it, and which Sir Robert Peel himself encouraged to the last, were so intense, that whatever he may now allege, we are perfectly satisfied that its consistent advocates could in prudence have embraced no other course than to leave it open.

Whenever it happens that an Open Question provokes the irritable members of a cabinet, or weakens the vigour of the executive, our regret may be mitigated by the reflection, that these are indirect and accidental consequences. In truth, they are so indirect and accidental, that the Open Question which is charged with them, will be the occasion always, rather than the cause;—answerable perhaps for the form which the disorder may have taken, but not for the disorder. The real cause lies deeper; and as much of it as any remedial process can hope to reach, it is the direct and immediate aim of Open Questions to remove. A disagreement between true friends regarding certain principles or measures, is the difficulty with which we have to deal. The appropriate remedy surely must be this—By getting at the truth, or as near as may be, to thereby bring about an agreement or approximation of opinion; and in this manner, through the understandings of men, to conciliate their affections; or, at all events, to satisfy them that their reasons have been heard and weighed. For this, there can be no provision half so good as free discussion. Which party, therefore, takes the wisest course for putting an end to the squabbles and disorganization of a Government?—The party which keeps up the cause of them by precluding the na-

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tural means of their correction; or the party which, under the reasonable facilities afforded by Open Questions, finds one and the same security for its own harmony and for the permanent interests of truth?—constraint and hypocrisy generate discontent; freedom and truth settle things on their right principles, and in good humour.

Get rid of causes and the symptoms will disappear. Open Questions, on a superficial view of their operation, may seem to aggravate these symptoms in the first instance. But, in proportion as they are successful in their great object, they will do all that can be done towards carrying off minor obstructions also. The great objects of Open Questions are truth and honour. To leave public men in possession of the ordinary means for discovering truth and preserving honour—to put no further restraint upon their understandings and consciences than is absolutely necessary for useful co-operation—is to construct as broad a basis for the union of politicians, whether in or out of office, as a people of common sense and virtue can think that it is their interest to see established. Apparent unanimity has at times an adventitious value; but the system which would uniformly require it, however formidable the real disagreement, is essentially a system of suppression, alienation, and misrepresentation. Its benefits, such as they are, are always procured at the expense of truth. In the eyes of as many as agree in its general principles, a unanimity, real and entire, upon all subjects, would of course be the perfection of a government. But if a government is to consist of half-a-dozen persons and half-a-dozen questions, this sort of unanimity is the perfect chrysolite which is nowhere to be found. The next thing to be prayed for, is an honest recognition in all important cases of the points on which a difference exists. In this manner, the truth, on whichever side it lies, will be most readily brought to light; the public will be gradually and naturally prepared for the result; and the proper measures for carrying that result into effect, will have been duly verified by the full and fair investigation which the subject will have undergone.

Veracity and integrity being in our opinion the characteristic objects of Open Questions, we were not more astonished at the broad announcement by Sir Robert Peel, that they would tempt men to dishonour, than at his more covert insinuation, that they are calculated to delay the discovery and the success of truth. If the doctrine was unexpected, the example under whose shelter it has been introduced, is among the last we should have looked for. It is that of the Corn-Laws. The nation is divided in opinion as to what is best to be done—the governors as well

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as the governed. The ablest men in the kingdom take opposite sides on it; some recommending one course, some another. In this uncertainty, Sir Robert Peel suggests that our doubts and difficulties would be best got over, not by intelligent and ingenuous conferences, but by insisting on all the members of the Government being of the same mind. Surely the strangest prescription doctor ever framed! 'Possibly,' he says, 'the Corn-'Law question might be brought to a satisfactory arrangement, 'if the existing Government were united in opinion on that 'subject.' The Duke of Wellington and himself once undertook to legislate upon it. They did all that pressure could do to unite their cabinet. Has the result been so encouraging as to warrant Sir Robert Peel in advising their opponents to copy their example? In that case, the Corn-Law question would not now be in want of a fresh arrangement. Nothing has since occurred to give colour to the supposition which his taunt implies. Sir Robert Peel is as well aware as any body living, that the difficulties in the way of giving satisfaction concerning Corn-Laws by legislative enactment, do not in the least depend upon a cabinet being agreed. The necessity of a government using its authority as a government, to influence a division in the House of Commons upon Corn-Laws, would be as conclusive a proof as a representative government can well afford, either that the measure is not judicious in itself, or that the country, through ignorance, or passion, or partial interests, was not yet in a condition to receive it for its good.

The case by which Sir Robert Peel exemplifies the supposed effect of open questions in delaying the settlement of public measures, is that of Roman Catholic Emancipation. It is a ticklish case for him to touch at all; and one, the impolicy of which it is scarcely conceivable that he should have had the courage to explain as frankly as he does at present. He professes himself of opinion, that the Emancipation of the Roman Catholics was delayed by being put upon the list of Open Questions. 'I do not believe (he 'says) that this facilitated the ultimate settlement of it. If the de-'cided friends of Emancipation had refused to unite in Government 'with its opponents, the question would have been settled at an 'earlier period (and as it ought) under their auspices.' Considering the course which he pursued during so many years, an admission more derogatory to a statesman cannot be conceived. What a sentence does he pass by it on the want of sagacity which engaged him in a contest, where the merits of the cause were so decidedly against him, that, notwithstanding the prejudices both of the Court and of the nation, and the mismanagement for which he now reproaches his opponents—the most that he had ever a

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chance of doing was, by his own confession, to protract the misery of Ireland a few years longer; and to withhold the remedy, until it had lost a portion of its healing virtue in losing all its grace! We confess, however, on our part, that we do not believe a word of Catholic Emancipation having been thrown back by having been made an Open Question. It is true that the men who most advanced it, would have been withdrawn from the Government by the supposed secession. On the other hand, it is fearful to think, especially when a principle or a passion is in the field, with how little sense a Government can (for a time) be carried on. Sir Robert Peel would have brought to it, in his own person, fully as much statesmanlike ability, real and apparent, as supporters drunk with bigotry require. To carry Emancipation, even at last, tasked to the uttermost the power of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, strengthened as they were by all the advantages of many years of semi-official countenance, by the cordial co-operation of its former friends, and by the new auxiliaries who came over with them. Nothing, under these circumstances, could have given the old Emancipatists, standing alone, a prospect of success but their having to deal with fair opponents. What hope could they entertain of that? In spite of all that Sir Robert Peel, in his most solemn manner, may now assure us, our experience of Canning's Premiership, at as late a period of the controversy as 1827, is decisive to the contrary. A few months before this event, Sir Robert Peel had privately communicated to Lord Liverpool his conviction, that the time was come when Emancipation should be granted. A few months after this event, he himself—the Oxford Anti-Catholic—moved the Emancipation Bill in the House of Commons. What, however, was his conduct *in the interval?* Having told Lord Liverpool that Emancipation ought no longer to be delayed—telling us now that it ought to have been passed under the auspices of its genuine advocates—on Canning's accession, did he turn this crisis in the question to the account of patriotism and of peace? Did he breathe a syllable of these important truths which he since has published? Nothing of the sort. On the contrary, he proclaimed himself as stanch an Anti-Catholic as ever; and did all he could to make it impossible that the question should be set at rest. His Parliamentary vindication of his refusal to take office under Canning, was not grounded at the time on any objection to Open Questions—far from it—but on his repugnance to make part of any Ministry of which a friend to Emancipation was at the head; knowing the advantage which that circumstance must afford to the cause of Emancipation. Without going out of his way to make it, an unlooked-for

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opportunity had occurred for realizing the visions to which Sir Robert Peel reverts with so much complacency at present. Half a dozen sentences in his place in Parliament, repeating what he had stated to Lord Liverpool in private, and every difficulty was removed. This long outstanding question would have been settled on the spot to the honour of all parties. Instead of which, his continued opposition to the Roman Catholic claims was assigned by the great champion of Protestantism, as the single reason and ample justification of his severance from his brilliant colleague. If the new and half-formed Administration had gone to pieces, either from Canning's declining to succeed Lord Liverpool unless he were allowed to make Emancipation a Government question, or from Lord Lansdowne's perseverance in his resolution of refusing office for the same reason, there can be no doubt in what sense this defeat would have been understood by king and people, or to what purposes it would have been turned.

In case the effect of Open Questions on measures long depending, and lately settled, should be thought uncertain; assertions on their tendency respecting discussions, which in their present stage are rehearsals only of their subjects, can be little better than conjectures. The anticipations not only of persons who differ about a measure, but of persons who agree about it, are in flat contradiction of each other. Lord Howick disliking Ballot, thinks (as Sir Robert Peel has said concerning Emancipation) that its triumph is deferred by making it an Open Question. Sir James Graham, on the other hand, no less disliking Ballot, believes that it is more likely to succeed in consequence, than even under a Government pledged to Ballot.

The advocates and the opponents of a particular measure will respectively approve or disapprove the making it an Open Question, according as they may think the effect will be to accelerate or retard that measure. Which will happen, it is never easy to say beforehand, nor always afterwards. Much, indeed most, will depend on the nature of the measure—on the point which public opinion has reached concerning it—on the general state of parties—and on the view taken of it by the Premier for the time.

Was the result of making Parliamentary Reform an Open Question favourable or unfavourable to its progress? That is, would the Reform Bill have been carried sooner, later, or at all, supposing it to have been a rule from first to last, that Reformers and Anti-reformers could never be members of the same Government? It would not be safe even now to be very positive in our answer. What was the case with the Abolition of the Slave Trade? The general impression of Pitt's political om-

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nipotence during his life, and the experience of what was accomplished by the weaker Administration of the Whigs immediately upon his death, seem sufficient to raise the veil; though it is only reasonable to acknowledge that the Abolitionists of 1807 entered upon a field made ready for the sickle by the labours of the preceding years. To change and remake the public mind upon the Slave Trade, was the work of generations. What a space had there been to traverse from the time when Harley answered the application of the Dutch for a share in the Assiento treaty, 'that he would rather lose his head than consent to such 'an offer!' Or even from the time when we were quarrelling with our colonists of North America for having any scruples about importing slaves. The fluctuations in the divisions, almost to the last, and the falling away, for instance, of such a person as Windham, show that a Minister could not calculate with certainty either on the general current or even on his man. Wilberforce mentions Windham's desertion upon the Slave Trade, as a melancholy proof of the degree to which he hated the popular side of any question. 'When the Abolition had but few friends, 'he was all on our side; but as the nation drew towards us, he 'retreated; and at last, on the division in 1807, he was one of the 'sixteen who voted against us!'

Sir Robert Peel ushered in his argument with the cry of innovation. The trick of describing Open Questions as the *new resource*, of what he was pleased to call an incompetent administration, was too clever to be thrown away. The subsequent assertion, that they were necessarily pregnant with discord and dishonour, may be more easily believed, and generalizations may be more safely made, when the past can furnish no evidence to contradict. The impression of innovation thus being made, the words were left to take their chance in the ambiguity of an inconsistent context; for he proceeded to notice some of the most recent precedents, under the artful title of exceptions. We beg to say, that they were no more exceptions than must always be the case. We cannot suppose him historically ignorant of the fact, that Open Questions (though with far less reason for them) were much more common formerly than of late; while he must have known, that so late an administration as that of Pitt, carried them, both in theory and in practice, to the full extent that they have been carried in the administration of Lord Melbourne.

In a case of this kind, it is irrelevant to go farther back for the usages of the British Constitution than the Revolution. At that era, the parts of the actors on the public stage were cast anew. Ministers—that is, ministers with opinions of their own—became necessary. The public business was no longer to be transacted

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in the public offices only. It had to be forwarded and defended on the floor of the House of Commons; and must be performed by persons who could be made responsible to the nation for its due performance. William III., it is true, took matters into his own hands occasionally. For instance, he negotiated the treaty of Ryswick without communicating with his ministers. Somers and Harley, in their turn, set up, as a defence for acts of their administration, their sovereign's command. These exceptions, however, were nothing more than the flickering of the lamp on the dying out of the old system. The legislative negative of the Crown had by this time fallen into abeyance. The Lords of the Council were become only a name. Their power, and more than their power, was now transferred to a new authority, which had recognised for itself the once contemptuous name of Cabinet, but which is more appropriately distinguished by that of the Administration. This new authority, though it issued from the Crown, and acted in its name as formerly, was entirely dependent on the House of Commons. From the reign of Charles II. to the present day, an assembly of some hundred persons, representing, it is supposed, every distinction of feeling and opinion in the English nation, have had to determine of what men the Ministry was to consist—the principles it was to embody—the measures it was to promote, oppose, or let alone. After this, no criterion so absurd as an absolute coincidence of opinion between the Government and its political supporters, or between the members of the Government among themselves, can have ever been thought of. General agreement, subject to partial variance, has been the condition to which, from this time, a Ministry looked both for its formation and its support. This was all that was required; and assuredly it was all that could honestly have been got. Such was the rule from the Revolution till the American War. There is nothing to complain of in the rule. If it had not been unavoidable, it would not have been less just. Whatever errors have been committed in the application of it, have all arisen from the factious violence of the parties into which the country, during all this period, has been divided. Mr Hallam's observations on the Triennial Bill and the state of parties under William III., is true of later times. 'On this, as on many other 'great questions of this reign, the two parties were not so re-'gularly arrayed against each other as on points of a more per-'sonal nature.' On both sides, accordingly, the questions which have been left open, and the questions which have been closed, have been selected, not so much with reference to 'the real prin-'ciples which ought to be the basis of political consistency, as to 'the preference of certain denominations or certain leaders.' As

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party distinctions became broader, the occasions on which 'men 'in the possession of high posts took opposite sides on public mea-'sures of no light moment,' became less frequent. This is sufficiently clear, and has produced both good and bad effects. But that party-spirit, in times of most violence and least principle, never removed these occasions altogether, is also as clear a point as any in English politics.

Mr Macaulay, in the debate upon the Ballot, in June 1839, recalled this part of the case to the recollection of living politicians: —'Nothing," said he, "is more common than to hear it said, that 'the first time a great question was left open, was when Lord 'Liverpool's Administration left the Catholic question an open 'question. Now, there cannot be a grosser error. Within the me-'mory of many persons living, the general rule was this—that 'all questions whatever were open questions in a Cabinet, ex-'cept those which came under two classes; namely, first, mea-'sures brought forward by the Government as a Government, 'which all the members of it were, of course, expected to sup-'port, and secondly, motions brought forward with the purpose 'of casting a censure, express or implied, on the Government, or 'any department of it, which all its members were, of course, 'expected to oppose. I believe that I lay down a rule to which 'it will be impossible to find an exception. I am sure I lay down 'a general rule when I say that, fifty years ago, all questions 'not falling under these heads were considered open. Let hon-'ourable gentlemen run their minds over the history of Mr 'Pitt's Administration. Mr Pitt, of course, expected that every 'gentleman connected with him by the ties of office, should sup-'port him on the leading questions of his Government—the 'India bill—the resolutions respecting the commerce of Ireland '—the French commercial treaty. Of course, also, he expected 'that no gentleman should remain in the Government who had 'voted for Mr Bastard's motion of censure on the naval admini-'stration of Earl Howe, or for Mr Whitbread's motion on the 'Spanish armament; but, excepting on such motions brought 'forward as attacks on the Government, perfect liberty was al-'lowed to his colleagues; and that not merely on trifles, but on 'constitutional questions of vital importance. The question of 'Parliamentary reform was left open; Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas 'were in favour of it; Lord Mulgrave and Lord Grenville 'against it. On the impeachment of Warren Hastings, like-'wise, the different members of Government were left to pursue 'their own course; that governor was attacked by Mr Pitt and 'defended by Lord Mulgrave. In 1790, the question whether 'the impeachment should be considered as having dropped, in

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'consequence of the termination of the Parliament in which the 'proceedings were commenced, was left an open question; Mr 'Pitt took one side, and was answered by his own Solicitor-Gen- 'eral and by Sir J. Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon. The impor- 'tant question respecting the powers of juries in cases of libel 'was left open; Mr Pitt took a view favourable to granting them 'extensive powers; Lord Grenville and Lord Thurlow opposed 'him. The abolition of the Slave Trade was also an open ques- 'tion. Mr Pitt and Lord Grenville were favourable to it; Mr 'Dundas and Lord Thurlow were amongst the most conspicu- 'ous defenders of the Slave Trade. All these instances occur- 'red in the space of about five years. And are they not suffi- 'cient to prove how absurdly and ignorantly those persons speak, 'who tell us that the practice of Open Questions is a mere inno- 'vation of our own time? There are men now living—great 'men, whom I hold in honour and reverence—Lord Grey, Lord 'Wellesley, Lord Holland, and others, who well remember that 'at an early period of their public life, the Four Questions of 'Impeachment, the Law of Libel, the Slave Trade, and Parlia- 'mentary Reform, were all Open Questions, supported by one 'section of the Cabinet and opposed by another.'

Open Questions may be honourable or dishonourable, politic or impolitic; but to speak of them as being *the new resource* of incompetent administrations, is a violence against the appearance of candour, beyond what we should have expected from Sir Robert Peel. In the same spirit, his sneer against innovation, (which supposes that there are no old cases of Open Questions,) was followed up by an unfair selection from, and a bitter commentary upon two or three of them. The cases taken from the crowd are Parliamentary Reform, left open by Lord North and Fox; the Slave Trade, left open by Pitt; Roman Catholic Emancipation, left open by Lord Liverpool on one side; by Fox, and Pitt, and Canning on the other. These cases are raised by Sir Robert Peel to their bad eminence, in consequence of their being supposed to have been pregnant with evil above their fellows, and to have been branded by an impartial posterity with censure and disgrace. When posterity proceeds to brand these distinguished statesmen with censure and disgrace, it will trust the operation to some more impartial person than Sir Robert Peel. A distinct brand peculiar to itself, it is assumed, is stamped on each of these transactions. That of a base trafficking between faction and corruption is attributed to the first; that of gross personal insincerity to the second; that of distracted counsels and of a paralysed executive to the last. Of these imputations the only one which can be fairly placed to the account

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assigned to the course pursued
n. It is no new discovery that
evil: But the discovery consists in
evils of which, under the circum-
choice, it was the greatest. It is
an now alive so much aggravated the
esponsible for the necessity, as Sir
the way: tempt first and accuse after-
to the other instances, if there had been
coalition between Fox and North, than that
mselves each his own opinion on Parliamen-
should never have heard of the coalition as an
e. The reservation was in the strict course of
its; and instead of being the scandal, was, in
t creditable part of the whole transaction. The
gh justly suspicious, and accordingly easily misled
asions, is not quite so foolish as Sir Robert Peel would
t. This very question, Parliamentary Reform, after-
ged Pitt and Dundas against Lord Mulgrave and Lord
e, without any body imagining them to be unnatural
nd improper colleagues on that account. The reproach
t Pitt for his conduct on the Slave Trade, is the reproach
rsonal insincerity. It supposes that he could have carried
bolition any day he liked; but that for some reason or other
referred making fine speeches and doing nothing. Remove
supposition—assume Pitt to have acted to the best of his
gment as an honest abolitionist, according to his choice of
fficulties and the means at his command—and then Pitt will be
no more blamable, or blamed by any reasonable person, because he
served with anti-abolitionists for colleagues, than Lord Thurlow
or Dundas (both of them strenuous anti-abolitionists) were ever
blamed for serving under him. To have to protect the character
of this great man against the insinuations of Sir Robert Peel
is an unexpected office. But it is due to him to remind the
present generation, that the subject was one on which a moral
sense was slowly forming, and that his own most intimate
friends were divided in opinion on it. Pitt did all that human
eloquence could do to rouse the public and convert his friends;
but, content with argument, he shrunk from having recourse to
violence against them. He would not make the abolition of the
Slave Trade the corner-stone of a new Cabinet. Was this for-
bearance so manifestly inconsistent with good faith, as of itself
to be necessarily fatal to the character of as direct and manly a
statesman as has thrown his spirit into modern times? Mr
Wilberforce did not think so; the mortifications of repeated

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failures never made him unjust to Pitt upon this point. On the contrary, the account of his Life, lately published, is full of testimonies to Pitt's sincerity, with not a passage to show that a doubt of it ever crossed his mind, because the question was left an open one. But Mr Wilberforce's heart was set only on abolition; Sir Robert Peel's on making out a case.

Sir Robert Peel ought to be an authority beyond dispute, on the miseries attending the Roman Catholic question in all its bearings. To the difference of opinion on this point between himself and his colleagues, he refers the bad blood in Lord Liverpool's Cabinet, and the disorganization of Irish affairs. But this we deny. The leaving it an Open Question was no more accountable for the incompatibility between Mr Canning and Sir Robert Peel, than for the duel between Mr Canning and Lord Castlereagh. It had as little to do with the deplorable combination of violence and weakness by which the Tory rule in Ireland was distinguished. By uniting the Government in favour of the measure, its Irish difficulties would have been comparatively at an end. This is true. But it is also true, that, by uniting the Government against it, they would have been increased a thousandfold. The evil, then, did not consist in making Emancipation an open question, but in leaving that to be a question which ought to have been none at all;—in persevering to legislate against a people—against religion—against feelings and common sense. Sir Robert Peel is driven, by the necessities of his present argument, to mistate the political necessity under which the Relief Bill passed. It suits him to affirm in one place (Speech, p. 19,) that it passed simply in order to remove the curse of an Open Question from the practical government of Ireland. Yet he afterwards more truly states (*Ibid.* p. 53,) that by reason of successive majorities in Parliament, and of public opinion out of doors, the measure could no longer be resisted. For the sake of casting a slur on them, this is called an impossibility of continuing to govern Ireland by the system of Open Questions. But what connexion is there between Open Questions and the admitted impossibility of carrying misgovernment one step further? Absurdity had reached its limit. The time was come when it was absolutely necessary that the measure should be passed. But it is agreed on all hands, that a question then ceases to be an open one. From that moment the Government, as a Government, must take it up. Sir Robert Peel goes out of his way to assure us, that dread of violence did not enter into their list of difficulties. Has he forgot the striking protestations of the Duke against the terrible alternative of staining his laurels in a civil war?

So much, therefore, appears made out.

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The absolute exclusion of Open Questions now insisted on, *is a novelty* of recent growth in English politics. There is no reason for believing that they will do more harm in the future than they have done in the past. We know the worst. It is not necessary to exclude them, in order to give a Government unity of action upon those subjects in which it really is desirable that it should proceed to act. On the other hand, the exclusion of all difference of opinion among the members of a Government upon any subject, must unavoidably derange its working and obstruct its use. The basis of any possible administration must be often absurdly narrowed by such a rule. The co-operation of the ablest men, agreeing possibly upon all subjects but one, may be precluded by it; while in the conflict of parties, it may bring to the top a mere faction, whose very want of morality and of opinions will give it a principle of cohesion, sufficient to enable it to take advantage of these divisions, and, though least and basest of them all, to triumph over the rest. The system of Open Questions, is indispensable at times for the attainment of correct decisions. It is often to the full as necessary for another equally important end. The dilemma in which the members of a Government are placed, in differing from their colleagues on a particular measure, must always apply to many of its supporters. As often as a measure of which they disapprove is made a Government measure, they must either press their consciences by voting for it; or, voting against it, may possibly overturn a Ministry to which they are cordially attached on public as well as private grounds. That public-spirited patriot Sir James Graham sees no difficulty in this, and cries to the conscientious Minister, 'Quit 'your colleagues and resign.' Mr Hume, on the other hand, avows that to do a great right he would do a little wrong, and would vote black white rather than be the means, by an untoward vote, of bringing back to power a Government he thinks a public grievance. Whatever general rule is laid down, cases may arise in which the alternative cannot be avoided. Causelessly to multiply them—to let one remain which can possibly be helped—is a cruel hardship to individuals, and a serious injury to the community. Open Questions are the natural and reasonable solution of this problem. They save the repetition of painful struggles. They reconcile the rights of private conscience with the public welfare.

The prohibition of Open Questions, evinces either a want of respect for public opinion, or a want of knowledge of the means by which it can be best developed and ascertained. A Government should be very careful what it is about, when it undertakes to lead public opinion one way or another—whether to urge it

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forward, or to hold it back. Mistakes are so soon made, and may be so very perilous. There are some occasions, however, in which it is the duty of a Government to assume the responsibility—not so much of putting itself in the place of the opinion of the public, as of acting at an early period upon what resolute and able men may recognise as its sufficient indications. These cases a well-constituted Government takes up. On the other hand, there are many measures with respect to which it is its duty to follow—or rather to elicit and ascertain what the sound intelligent public opinion really is. These last are the proper region of Open Questions. In this, we assume that, in a free state, public opinion must ultimately rule; and that the best arrangement and course of Government is that which gives it its way, easiest and soonest. The public opinion thus spoken of, of course is that which is, or plainly is to be, permanent, and which is daily gaining strength. It is great part of the sagacity of a statesman to discern from a distance what is to be durable, from that which is to pass away. It can seldom be safe, however, in legislating for a divided people, to move suddenly in advance upon the faith of pure and individual anticipations. In the mean time, Open Questions, debated as such in Parliament, are among the best means for multiplying the *data* for bold conclusions, and for accelerating the natural formation of the new events and reasonings, which, in stirring times, are thrown so abundantly into the great bubbling caldron of the public mind. It would be easy to find striking instances of the evils of too protracted an unconsciousness of the course of public opinion, on the one hand, and of too precipitate a following of its transient indications, on the other. The former used to be the besetting sin of Governments—the latter may be more threatening at present—though probably not, if we have wise men to read the signs of the times. But while there is no unreasonable indecision, and the demand for action is not urgent, there should be Open Questions for this purpose, if for no other;—namely, in order to prepare the minds of men by agitation or discussion, (call it which you will,) and in order to collect, at large and at leisure, authentic materials for proceeding to legislation, the moment that the public and the subject are both ready for it.

Thus, were it possible to shut out Open Questions from politics, we feel justified in saying, that it would be wrong to do so. For to do so, would be to deprive ourselves of what can ill be spared—a security for prudent legislation. But it is not possible. If former generations had proscribed Open Questions as unconditionally as Sir Robert Peel does now, their example would have been no precedent for us. Since, supposing an identity of

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opinion to be the natural course of things, while politics were in few hands, and were merely an affair of party, this would cease to be so, as soon as the people at large, by the formation of an intelligent middle class, take an interest in politics, and have opinions of their own. We could not reason from a sluggish and dependent period to more awakened times; times, in which a free and extended representation has called into the field vast constituencies, entitling them to expect, and enabling them to enforce a visible attention to their wishes.

The time for this novelty is therefore very strangely chosen. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill, the Reform Bill, the progress of education, and a more general interest in politics, have contributed to break the spell of Party. A greater number of persons interested in politics, are at present free from party trammels, than at any time since parties first came in among us. Yet the exclusion of Open Questions would substitute a bondage more heavy and more degrading than its severest despotism. Men are thinking now with more boldness and diversity than formerly. But the exclusion of Open Questions is an unexampled invasion of freedom of opinion, by its unnecessary restraints. Contemporary politicians boast that they are a purer and more independent race than that which was the scandal of former generations. But the exclusion of Open Questions is an insult on every man of principle, by the unnecessary compromises which it involves. A strong Government, such as accident might give us for a time, in the terrors of another French Revolution, or from the excitement of a Reform Bill, or under the absorbing influence of a commanding character like Pitt's, might domineer and dictate in this manner; but a strong Government, in generous hands, would disdain to exercise its power in this manner, as in fact we know that Pitt disdained. When politics fall back into their ordinary channel, and a hundred varieties of opinions and of discontents have restored us to the rule of weak Governments, (for weak Governments henceforth will be the rule,) Open Questions must come in with them. In this case there is but one alternative—a Government with Open Questions, or no Government at all.

When the age of strong Governments is passed away, and that of weak Governments has come, it is impossible to govern without those forbearances and compromises which (whatever may be their form in different ages or countries) constitute substantially Open Questions. This, or nearly this, is taking place in every quarter of free Europe. Look, for instance, at the turns and the perplexities of the Government in France. On reflecting calmly upon the state of things in England, it will

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appear that neither of its existing parties can long dispense with Open Questions. The present Government is only weak from the extent to which divisions and subdivisions of opinion have broken up community of sentiment throughout the country. There have been great constitutional, almost organic changes effected, not through overwhelming and paralysing force, but by conflict of opinions. There is now partly a revulsion, partly a revival; but chiefly a gradual splitting and hiving off of sections and shades, which were blended at first as against a common enemy. Something like this, more or less, is the cause of all weak Governments. We have first the destruction of old unquestioned authority, by just and successful resistance; and then come the divisions which necessarily ensue among the different parties into which the conquerors array themselves—each in a great degree ignorant of its own actual following, and usually overrating it. So it has ever been, since the feuds among the successors of Alexander, or Charlemagne, down to those among the conquerors of Lewis Seize; or the dissensions which broke out in our own land among the survivors of our majestic Cromwell. The former had room and verge enough to betake themselves to separate regions. In our narrower confines, we had to fight it out at home—and in many a doubtful conflict—till main force and fear brought about a strong Government again; and stupidity and want of interest and of intellect restored, for some sixty years, the old habit of submission to authority. We are at length recovered from that collapse, over all free Europe; and are consequently once more in the sphere of weak Governments. That is, weak for carrying or resisting any speculative or theoretical changes, or for repressing the vexatious cross-play of intractable sects and cliques; but strong for maintaining clear rights, and demolishing established abuses. The weakness of modern Governments therefore, is a circumstance of which we need be neither ashamed nor afraid. They are Governments which must be creditably administered; and under which, all who are not childishly impatient, or crazily in love with their own nostrums, may manage to live on, in peace and hope. But they are Governments under which men will think for themselves. The consequences of private judgment inevitably follow—appearances of infirmity from within, and of dissensions from without.

In this respect temporal governments are destined to run the same course through which ecclesiastical governments have passed before them. The Pope has no Open Questions. It is the Church of England (or still more truly, it is Protestantism, embodied in less arbitrary and rigid forms) which has to bear

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the ridicule of being called, and to encounter the risk of being, in some measure, 'the mere mock queen of a divided host.' What then? These controversies and trials and divisions are our strength and glory. They are the terms on which alone our faith can hope to approximate to the truth, or our service become perfect freedom. The Tories, if they choose, may blindly pledge themselves to the infallible authority of Sir Robert Peel—*semper idem*—the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The Whigs are freer spirits. What Burke said of other pledges is equally true of the official pledge, which puts a negative upon all Open Questions. 'Depend upon it, that the lovers of freedom will 'be free; nor shall we improve the faculties or better the morals 'of public men, by our possession of the most infallible receipt 'in the world for making cheats and hypocrites.' Unless the system of Open Questions is to be continued as largely as we received it from our fathers, the defence of our mode of government by parties, always more or less unsatisfactory, will become absolutely shocking. The authority of party in public life, its maxims and inducements, are strong enough already. The air breathed there is even now too close. It must not be made closer, if honest men are to breathe in it at all.

ART. VII.—1. *Letter from Sydney.* 12mo. London: 1829.

2. *Report of the Committee on the Disposal of Lands in the British Colonies.* Printed by Order of the House of Commons: 1836.

3. *Instructions to the Colonial Lands and Emigration Commissioners:* 1840.

WE have observed, with great satisfaction, the general and increasing interest which has recently been shown concerning the condition and management of our colonies; and especially the stream of enterprise which is daily setting more and more strongly towards Australia. Not only are emigrants of the lower classes proceeding thither annually by thousands instead of by hundreds; but gentlemen, whose fortunes are to seek, are beginning to suspect that those countries offer a better field than the overcrowded liberal professions for ripening competency into affluence—large capitalists begin to look thither for the chance of a larger dividend upon their capital—companies are formed for all manner of enterprises, and the shares are at a premium in the market—thousands of pounds are paid down in London for

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property in lands at the Antipodes, of which nothing is known beyond the latitude and longitude—the surveyor is despatched before to mark out the site of the capital—the governor, the public officers, the people, and the capital itself, appear within a few months, and boldly commence their national existence. It is partly, no doubt, to the natural restlessness of a people who must be doing, and have nothing to do; and partly to the uneasy longing for elbow-room and prospect, in minds weary of the crowd and the beaten ways of an old and overpeopled country, that we must ascribe this sudden rush of adventure to the opposite corner of the globe: but we believe it must be, in a still greater degree, attributed to a supposed discovery in colonization, now familiarly talked of under the name of 'the Wakefield 'Principle;' and which some friendly Newspapers hold up as the one thing needful to make mankind rich, virtuous, and happy, for the rest of their time on earth—a specific for all the disorders of the world, so simple and so efficacious, that the whole efforts and skill of the Colonial Office can hardly prevent it from taking effect.

But though the name and the pretensions of this principle have become so familiar, we have some doubts whether the principle itself has been much studied or generally understood. It has not, indeed, had its fair chance of free examination and discussion; because, while many persons are deeply interested in persuading others to believe in it, nobody has any thing to gain by calling it in question. There is no opposition principle bidding against it in the market; nor has it become a field for party contention in Parliament. On the other hand, large sums of money have been wagered upon it; and every shareholder is directly interested in raising the public opinion of its virtues, in which opinion resides the value of his share. The greater his own misgivings, the more will he strive to sustain the confidence of his neighbours; and all the tricks of the money market must be expected to be employed in magnifying the evidences of success, and concealing all indications the other way. Even those who have taken up the scheme, as the originators did, as a purely political speculation, without any notion of making money by it, must be supposed to have contracted undue prejudices in its favour; and undue suspicions of persons less sanguine than themselves, and less disposed to make all other considerations give way to the pretensions of the favourite theory. It must also be remembered that these persons have happened, or have continued, in advocating their cause, to stand in a position peculiarly favourable for producing an effect upon disengaged bystanders. Without ever exposing themselves to explanation or contradiction,

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they have adopted the tone of thwarted and misrepresented men. Fortunate is the disputant who seems to stand on the defensive, because the sense of justice and the hope of a combat secures him sympathy and a hearing; more fortunate still, if his supposed antagonist be not in a condition to meet and answer him, because then he gets all the credit of a victory without risking the chance of defeat. The advocates of the 'Wakefield theory of colonization' have formed a small compact body, with great vigour, ability, and perseverance;—not restrained by any diffidence, or by many charitable scruples on their own part;—not crossing the path of any opposing interest, and, therefore, unchecked by hostile criticism from others. For the last eight or nine years they have been attacking, without remorse, all persons hostile, or supposed to be hostile, to any of their views; coolly charging them, as if on the authority of personal knowledge, (which, by the way, it is hardly credible that they can possess,) with the basest motives and the most disingenuous artifices; and these attacks they have been repeating week after week, without calling forth any one to contradict or question them;—not because they are unanswerable, but because the only persons concerned to answer have been either Ministers, who cannot enter into controversy with the Periodical Press; or subordinate officers, responsible only to the chief under whose directions they are presumed to act—who in their official capacity, and therefore in defence of their official conduct, can say nothing except what he directs them to say. Thus, while there are so many motives abroad, and so much opportunity for preaching up the theory, there is no corresponding inducement to preach it down. Its patrons have had all the talk to themselves, and the other side is still to be heard. Until some equally active party shall be engaged in opposition, and set themselves with the zeal of partisans to detect failures and obstructions, it will be difficult for any one to form a fair and comprehensive estimate of the real merits of the theory in question, and of the amount of substantial benefit which may be reasonably expected from its practical operation.

We have thought it the more necessary to suggest these considerations, because we have no intention of undertaking that task; and we would not have any one read our observations on the matter, without first intimating that we have not ourselves any overweening confidence in their soundness. So far as we can understand the system, and foresee its probable working—which, considering the novelty of all the circumstances, and the imperfect knowledge under which for the present we must be content to labour, we cannot pretend to do with any confidence—we believe it to be sound in principle. The magnificent achieve-

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ments which are promised in its name, we cannot hope to see completely realized: unforeseen reverses are, no doubt, lying in wait for it; the large historical experiences which are quoted in its behalf we cannot receive in evidence without further cross-examination; and the expectation that it will be successful in all quarters of the world alike, without consideration of position, habits, or natural advantages, we may reject, at once, as arguing the want of a discriminating judgment. All the charges against public men of groundless enmity, jealousy, or trickery, (advanced to account for the indubitable fact, that the condition of mankind has not materially changed its career, during the ten years which have now passed since the revelation was first made,) together with all the anecdotes told in illustration, we must be allowed to entertain with simple incredulity. Knowing by daily experience how transactions, of which every part has passed in public, and been placed on record, accessible to every body, are hourly misrepresented, not only by newspapers, but by gentlemen with unhidden faces—noble, right-reverend, learned, and honourable persons, who desire to speak the truth and expect to be believed—we cannot consent to take any impression whatever from newspaper histories of official transactions, or to believe any assertion on the strength of private information quoted by an anonymous writer. Such stories are easily made up;—plausibly enough, perhaps, to impose on the teller himself. By first framing a theory of the proceeding he wishes to describe, and then fitting into it such disconnected points of information as he can pick up, any man with a bad opinion of his neighbour and a good opinion of himself, may misrepresent the truth to any conceivable extent. Whenever Lord John Russell shall undertake, in addition to his other duties, the task of answering the weekly attacks upon him and his office in the *Spectator* and the *Colonial Gazette*, we shall be in a condition to estimate the real worth of what might be called the Wakefield theory of the Colonial Office. In the mean time, we must be permitted to set it aside, together with all the stories on which it rests, and all the others which rest upon it, as involving moral improbabilities which it would require very strong authority to overcome, while they depend upon authority which is worth nothing. It is much easier to believe that Mr Wakefield overrates himself and his theory, than that all secretaries and under-secretaries are in a perpetual conspiracy to defeat his efforts for the good of mankind.

Subject, however, to these explanations and allowances, we believe, as we have said, that the new theory of colonization is a sound one; and though we cannot repose such absolute

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faith as some do in its superiority to all accidents, and its universal applicability as a remedy for all disorders, we can truly say that few things would disappoint us more than the entire failure of the experiment;—few things give us greater pleasure than its entire success.

We shall not, on this occasion, attempt a complete and general discussion of the subject. We shall confine ourselves for the present to an explanation and examination of the principle, as applicable to countries like Australia, which offer the fairest field for its undisturbed operation, and with a view to which it was, in fact, originally suggested; and we wish to be understood, in so doing, as desiring rather to invite attention to it, and engage other minds in the study of its many bearings, than to establish any peculiar doctrines of our own.

It is a serious defect in the constitution of our executive Government, that it keeps no minds at work to foresee difficulties before they come, and prepare to meet them; and the practical inconvenience arising from this defect, is strikingly illustrated by the history upon which we are about to enter. The gradual encroachment of population upon territory, with its attendant evils, of labourers wanting work, and capitalists wanting employment for their capital, was no new phenomenon in the history of the world. Sooner or later, and more or less, it must, we conceive, have been experienced in every country, of not unlimited territory, which ever prospered. The chief difference was, that in former times the means of relief were at hand, and the evil was no sooner felt than remedied. If the parent hive became too full, there were trees enough in the land; the surplus population had but to swarm, and make for themselves another. The faster the mother city grew, the sooner her boughs touched the earth, and became daughters to renew and cherish, instead of burdens to exhaust her. At length, however, by the continual pressure of population upon subsistence, the world has been partly peopled; and some of the peopled parts have grown so full, that no vacant spaces are left in the neighbourhood, into which the superabundance may be drawn off, as it used to be. If Ireland were at this moment uninhabited, those who are now uneasy with the elbowing and competition in England, would straightway cross the Channel and set up a more comfortable England for themselves. Malthus might still be studied by a few political economists, and denounced by a few priests and sentimentalists. But neither the Government, the Parliament, nor the People, would ever trouble themselves about the law of population; or care to anticipate the day when, Ireland being filled as full as

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England, and her sons nevertheless continuing to increase and multiply, the competition and elbowing should begin again, when no second Ireland should be at hand, to offer a retreat to the discontented and subsistence to the unemployed;—when, if any man should find his lot at home press hard upon him, he must either make up his mind to endure it, with the prospect of its growing daily worse, or else raise money to cross the Atlantic, and summon courage to face, with wife and family, the unknown conditions of existence which might wait for him on the other side. Yet, that such a day must inevitably come, though Ireland were at this hour as empty as New Holland, would not be less certain than that (Ireland being long since brimful) such a day has already arrived. The state of things which became visible in England, soon after she settled into peace, might have been predicted at least half a century before, as a state which she was rapidly approaching, and must, unless some season of calamity should intervene, soon reach. A Government duly equipped, and duly vigilant, should have had some mind on the watch to understand and anticipate that day; to anticipate it at least in imagination; and to consider what might be done with it when it came. There would not have been wanting in the history of the rise and fall of nations indications of the quarter in which the remedy must be looked for, as well as proofs that it would certainly be needed. The means of making distant colonies available for drawing off a surplus population at home, should have been for the last half century a familiar study, if not to all statesmen, at least to many capable minds set to work by statesmen for their instruction.

But sufficient unto the Government of the day are the evils of the day; and before any thought had been taken to meet the approaching emergency, it was already upon us and around us. A preternatural thirst for speculation, rushing into the void left by the preternatural excitement of the war, hastened the crisis. Banks breaking, discontents rising, masses of people thrown out of employment, the poor starving for want of work, the rich impoverished by maintaining the superfluous heads which could not raise so much produce as they consumed, rents eaten up by rates;—these instant and surrounding disasters awoke our legislators to the necessity of inquiring whence they came, and how they were to be dealt with. It was found upon inquiry that the people had indeed been multiplying too fast, and that they were now too many for the land. The theory which accounted for the fact was still, indeed, open to debate; and some time was lost in disputing whether the increase and multiplication of mankind, which had always been regarded as both a duty and a blessing, could lead to evil; but

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about the fact itself, there could be no doubt; and the majority were content to believe, since the event had certainly come, that it had come according to the laws of nature. It was found, likewise, (as might also have been anticipated,) that the natural and the only discoverable way of re-adjusting the proportion between the claimants for wages, and the fund out of which wages were paid, was emigration. The recognition of this fact was a great point gained; for it immediately turned the enquiry towards the much more difficult and really novel question—how such emigration might be effected on a scale adequate to the emergency. This question was elaborately investigated by two Committees of the House of Commons in 1826 and 1827. They reported that the British colonies supplied room enough; and that by the assistance of the Government, though at great cost, a sufficient number of the labouring population, to relieve the immediate pressure, might be enabled to go over and settle on colonial wastes. We need not particularize the measures adopted or contemplated, during the next four or five years, for carrying this project into effect. It is enough to say, that no considerable progress was made. The heavy expense to be borne in the first instance by the public, and the difficulty of obtaining repayment from the parties more immediately benefited, made the operation too costly to be popular. The parishes, though by the removal of so heavy a burden upon their funds, they would, upon the whole, have been the greatest gainers, shrank from the heavy debt in which it must involve them, and preferred to hope that times would mend. From the emigrants themselves, though out of the profits of their labour in Canada, they might, within a few years, have easily repaid the whole cost, it was hardly practicable to enforce the repayment. The Canadian capitalists, though they too must have been benefited by the immigration, did not derive from the settlement of paupers upon the waste lands any advantage equal, or nearly equal, to the cost of the proceeding. Moreover, while the country was thus deterred from offering to the pauper population the means of emigration, rumours of the many evils and accidents to which poor settlers on colonial wastes were exposed, discouraged the paupers themselves from taking advantage of the offer. Hence, during these years, though much good was done by the agitation of the measure, and the better understanding of the difficulties to be surmounted, the immediate relief secured was not considerable. It may also be observed, that the measures proposed, had they been carried out to the full extent, would not have reached the seat of the disorder. The remedy, with all its expenses and difficulties,

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was after all only a remedy for the day. It aimed only by a violent effort to relieve an extreme pressure—not to provide what was really wanted, a natural and continual source of relief for a pressure which must be continually recurring. It did nothing towards bringing the under-peopled colony within easy reach of the actual and immediate sufferers from the first approaches of over-population in the mother country. For preventing the recurrence of such another crisis, we were to trust to a better internal administration, to hope and chance, and to the ingenuity of those whom it might more directly concern. Enough for us to throw off the disease: to restore and invigorate the constitution would be work for another day.

It was during the pressure of these difficulties, that Mr Edward Gibbon Wakefield was led to take an interest in the condition of the colonies in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and to enquire whether something might not be done to improve them. In those colonies he found all the raw materials of prosperity and civilisation lying about, abundant and inexhaustible;—a genial climate, a fertile soil of unbounded extent; exportable produce, unlimited in quantity, unrivalled in value, and raised with little difficulty and at little cost; ports and harbours; an enterprising population, and a revenue already flourishing. But civilisation itself—the powers, the arts, the virtues, and the enjoyments of social man—did not appear to be advancing with corresponding rapidity. Even their commercial prosperity did not seem to have grown naturally out of all those natural advantages; but to depend upon an accidental arrangement, itself one of the main obstructions to civilisation, and a source of infinite moral pollution—the quantity of penal labour at command. Had there been no convicts, where would have been the wealth of New South Wales?—Lying hidden within the bosom of the land, or standing ungathered along the surface of the sheep-walks. Stop the supply of convicts, and what would become of it even now? Yet there were at this time in the colony 50,000 free persons of British origin, who, had they been thrown together in an English county, would have formed a very civilized community. Why should they not do here as they would have done in England;—follow the same pursuits; set up the same institutions; and enjoy the same comforts? The answer to this question explained the case. In an English county, so many people living together could not all have been landholders, nor able to purchase land. Some would have looked to live by wages; they would have tilled the soil;—some by trade; they would have kept shops;—some by handicraft; these would have made houses, clothes, furniture, and utensils;—some, again,

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would have taught, some preached, and some would have lived by managing their neighbours' quarrels. But here, where every man might live upon his own estate, why should he labour on another's? Where all might be masters, why should any be a servant? 'Because' (it will be said, and said with truth) 'the life of a servant, in a country where servants are plentiful 'and well paid, is more eligible than the life of a master, where 'servants are not to be had; and, therefore, by voluntarily doing 'here what they would have been forced to do in a country 'where land was scarce, they would have promoted not only the 'general interests of all, but the individual comforts of each.' This we believe to be strictly true; and we believe, moreover, that if all these individuals could have been endowed with one mind to understand their interests, and control their movements, this is precisely what they would have done. They would have remained together, observing 'degree, priority, and place;' each consenting to forego his immediate gratification for the sake of the greater share which (all the rest acting on the same principle) would have fallen to him in the end. They would have been as 'members one of another.' In some particular circumstances, indeed, and in some small degree, examples of such conduct have been actually seen; and cases may be readily imagined in which a religious community, for instance, or a Highland clan, or even a sensible family settling in the wilderness, might set such an example, and the happy consequences of it might induce others to follow, and so bring it into fashion. In like manner, it is possible to conceive that some particular crowd may, on some remarkable occasion, have been induced to go out of a theatre on fire without trampling each other to death, or choking up the avenues. But in general it must clearly be assumed, that many minds will not be governed by one intention; and that where a crowd is left to its own guidance within reach of objects of desire, the shares will be settled by scramble, not by distribution. So with the settlers in a new colony. Instead of remaining together like civilized men, and combining their industry to make the territory yield its largest produce, that so the share of each may be the larger, they rush abroad in all directions to obtain land, of which, for want of combination, they can make no use when they have got it. To obtain the fruits of civilisation, therefore, it is necessary that the population should remain together; and since they are not likely to resist, of their own accord, the temptation to disperse, they must be prevented. Settling upon land must be made more difficult.

These views Mr Wakefield put forth in 1829, in a small volume,

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entitled *A Letter from Sydney*, which professed to record the experience of a gentleman, who, having been tempted by the cheapness of land to settle in New South Wales, was speedily convinced, by a series of difficulties, disappointments, and disgusts, that this very cheapness was the main impediment to the civilisation of the colony; because, so long as land was cheap, the population would be scattered; and so long as population was scattered, the land would be worthless and the society barbarous. The story is, of course, a fiction, and the facts it records invented, we presume, for the purpose of illustration. The very striking picture, too, which it exhibits of the habits, manners, tastes, and occupations peculiar to a new country, is probably drawn, in a great measure, from imagination. But the object of the book, light and lively as it reads, is serious and business-like; and the argument is contrived, with great skill, to lead the reader on by easy but inevitable approaches to the important conclusion,—(peculiarly important for its bearing on the question of emigration from Great Britain, to which we shall presently return,)—that the root of all evil in a new colony is the superabundance of territory in proportion to the labouring population; that by fixing a sufficient price upon new land, and requiring the money to be paid down, it would be at once arrested; and that, by applying the proceeds of all future sales to introduce labouring families, it would be speedily removed.

Hence, it appeared that the cure for the diseases of the old country, which was too full, and of the new country, which was not full enough, would be found by creating a channel through which the population of the one should overflow into the other. To make the overflow at once natural and continual, it was only necessary that it should support itself—that is, that it should be accomplished in the ordinary course of commerce, without requiring from any of the parties concerned any unusual sacrifice or exertion. Already it was the immediate interest of the parishes to be relieved from their pauper population; of the pauper population to go; of the government to facilitate their going; and of the colonists to receive them. It only remained to make it the immediate interest of somebody to pay the expense. Now, so long as waste land might be obtained in the colony for the asking—(and the system of granting titles at once, on conditions to be performed afterwards, did, in fact, come very nearly to this; for the conditions were almost always evaded)—the tendency above noticed, to disperse and settle, made the influx of a labouring population almost useless. No sooner did they touch the colony than they ceased to be a labouring population; labour was almost as scarce as ever, and

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the demand for it was greater: new territory was appropriated, while the value of that already occupied was hardly increased. But once refuse to grant away another acre without a considerable price paid down, and every shipful of poor immigrants helps to fill the labour-market and enrich the land; and it becomes the interest of every estate in the colony to contribute something towards the cost of their passage. The rapid accumulation of wealth through the labour of convicts—the only labour which can be commanded in New South Wales in sufficient quantities and at reasonable cost—shows what large sums might be profitably laid out on immigration, provided the prices of land were so adjusted as to keep the labour-market at all times sufficiently full. By the same process, while the landlords grew rich, the community would be civilized. The people would be kept together. All the blessings that wait upon plenty, and progress, and human neighbourhood, would gradually develope themselves—churches, schools, hospitals, colleges—light from the intercourse of minds, strength from the combination of hands, activity from the communion of wants; all the conveniences, the luxuries, and the graces of life; all, in short, that man in combination with man can do, create, or enjoy—all that men, scattered and separated, must do without.

Here, then, is the very channel which we want, costing no more than it will amply repay, even in money's worth, and promising advantages which money cannot purchase or measure to all parties concerned;—a channel through which, when a few experiments shall have made it familiar, it seems not unreasonable to hope that a continual stream may flow, of poor men going to be made rich—of the superfluous numbers, that would otherwise be feeding on the life of England, going to infuse new life and strength into her remote dependencies.

Such were the main features of the scheme suggested by Mr Wakefield in this volume, (to which an outline was annexed of the principal regulations which would be requisite to carry it into effect,) and such the great ends to which, if faithfully followed out, it might eventually lead. It is now ten years since it was announced; and, considering the many prejudices to be overcome, the many minds and interests that must be induced to co-operate, the many unforeseen difficulties and obstructions which must be dealt with one by one, the many lions which are seen by ingenious and thinking men of a certain class in every strange path, the many questions of more immediate interest, if not larger, at least larger looking, which have occupied the public attention during these years—the Poor-laws, for instance, and the Reform Bill;—above all, considering the long

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prevalence of an opposite system, and the heavy growths of evil which must die out before the fruits of the new one can be put fairly forth, we see no just reason to be discouraged by the rate of its progress. On some other occasion we may probably resume the consideration of the subject more in detail; but, at present, we must content ourselves with a rapid sketch of the progress which it has actually made, and the position in which it now stands.

The *Letter from Sydney* soon attracted attention; and in 1830, a society was formed under the name of the National Colonization Society for promoting the scheme. The Society was broken up shortly after, by a disagreement among its more prominent members; but its effects remained in the very able pamphlet which had been put forth in explanation of its principles, and a series of controversial letters which followed. Early in the following year, the principle of selling all new lands was adopted by the Government; and the governors, both in Canada and Australia, were forbidden by Lord Ripon, (then Secretary of State for the Colonies,) to make any more grants of territory belonging to the Crown: in future, all land which was disposed of at all, was, without exception, to be disposed of by sale to the highest bidder—the upset price being five shillings per acre. About the same time, a Commission was appointed by Government to take measures for the encouragement of emigration, and the protection of emigrants. Through the exertions of the Commissioners, a great deal of useful information was circulated through the country relative to the condition of the colonies, and the attractions they presented to persons of the labouring class; arrangements were made, by which the cost of a passage to New Holland was reduced by almost a half; money was advanced from the English Treasury, and applied by way of loans, (which were afterwards converted into gifts,) to pay the passage-money of families of working people, and in bounties, towards the conveyance of single women. The general effect of these proceedings, was to call into existence a disposition on the part of our labouring population to resort to Australia; and which gave an effectual commencement to a system of voluntary emigration thither, which has been increasing since. During the four years before the operations of the Commissioners commenced, the total emigration annually to the Australian colonies, was on the average only 1469; during the five years succeeding, the number of persons annually assisted to go by the Government, alone exceeded that average; while the entire number of emigrants reached an average of 3124. During the latter portion of this period, the Emigration Commission having been dissolved in 1832, and Mr

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Elliot (who had acted as secretary to that Commission, and on whom the duty of carrying on the system which they had set on foot had practically devolved) being absent in Canada—things appear to have gone wrong. Complaints were made with regard to the selection of the emigrants; and disease and irregularities broke out in some of the vessels. Soon after Mr Elliot's return to England, the whole department was again placed under his management, as agent-general for emigration. In the mean time, the revenue for the sale of lands in New South Wales, (upon which, after several projects for raising an additional emigration fund from other sources, the whole burden seems ultimately to have fallen,) was rapidly increasing; and though, in 1831, the annual proceeds of the sales had not been estimated at more than L.10,000, Mr Elliot found, when he entered on his new office, an income from that source of upwards of L.132,000, realized during 1836, and of L.120,000 estimated for the two following years. The measures which he adopted to make the emigration commensurate with the fund, we shall give in his own words:—

'It is scarcely surprising that so extraordinary a fruit of the rapid development of wealth in this flourishing colony far outstripped the arrangements which had been instituted at home for its beneficial application; neither were the demands for labour quite so urgently pressed then as since. But in entering on my duties, I felt very desirous, in conformity with what I knew also to be your Lordship's wish, to extend the emigration in some proportion to the increased funds, and the increased wants of the colony.

'In the year 1837, therefore, there were despatched to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land ten ships, hired, fitted, and provisioned by the Government, containing, within a few, 3000 men, women, and children. Of these people 300 sailed for Van Diemen's Land; but no more have been sent there since, in consequence of Sir J. Franklin's despatch to your Lordship, dated the 12th of April 1837, which seems to show that there is not any longer, in that colony, a demand for the introduction of large bodies of labouring people. The remaining 2700 emigrants were destined to New South Wales.

'In 1838 five ships have gone, up to the present date of the 28th of April, and arrangements are made for seven more to sail before the end of June, all twelve to New South Wales; which, even though the average number in each be estimated so low as 260, will take from hence upwards of 3100 souls in the first six months of this year. Of these ships four have been filled from England, four from Scotland, and the remaining four from Ireland. A more detailed statement of the ships, and of the number and description of the passengers, sent in 1837, will be found in the Appendix.

'The average annual number of emigrants sent to New South Wales, previously to the present system, has been mentioned above to have

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been 800; more than three times as many, therefore, were sent to the colony last year; and about four times as many are to be sent in the first half of this year, being at the rate of eight times as many per annum. The people may be said to be now going as fast as is required for the complete expenditure of the fund applicable to the object. Further advices may show a fresh augmentation of this remarkable branch of revenue; but by the Report of a Committee of Council which accompanied Sir Richard Bourk's despatch of the 8th of September 1837, the proceeds of the lands, for two years to come, seem estimated at L.120,000 per annum, of which one-third is reserved for the bounties, payable in the colony, on account of emigrants introduced by resident settlers. The remainder is L.80,000, which is not a sum that would admit of more than twenty ships being sent in the year. In leaving this part of the subject, it is gratifying to state, that while the number of people sent out in public vessels has been so largely extended, there does not appear to have been any diminution, but on the contrary, an increase of emigration through other channels.

'There was not at first much alacrity to emigrate from England in the public vessels. Dr Galloway stated that he had to travel over a considerable part of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Hampshire, and also to visit the eastern part of Sussex, in order to provide a sufficient number of passengers for the small ship Augusta Jessie, which sailed from Portsmouth in June 1837; and in July, I found it expedient to take the occasion of a temporary pressure in the weaving districts of Gloucestershire, to send a ship from Bristol with people taken from that part of the country. In the autumn a vessel was allotted to the county of Norfolk; but, although the measure had been settled for some months, and expressly to meet the convenience of the parties, the whole of them changed their minds at the last moment; and, within a fortnight of the time appointed for the ships' sailing, with a certain expenditure of between L.4000 and L.5000 incurred, we found ourselves with just three families who remained willing to go. This is a specimen of the difficulties to which the service is exposed. I did not hesitate, however, what course to pursue. Late as the time had become, I immediately issued advertisements, and opened a rendezvous at Lieutenant Lean's office in London; and I declined listening to any intimations of a fresh change of disposition in Norfolk; for it seemed to me of paramount importance to the interests of all concerned, that people should be led to understand that the benefits so liberally held out through the funds supplied from the Colony, are not to be trifled with. I am happy to say, that the vessel was filled from other quarters by the time appointed; and that, owing to the efforts which were made, I have every reason to hope that the passengers selected for her will prove as useful an acquisition to the Colony as any that have sailed.

'Circumstances are much changed this year. We have found no difficulty in filling four ships already from the county of Kent alone, and have numbers of candidates there besides, whom we have been obliged to reject for want of room. I also look forward to an opportunity of send-

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ing from Wiltshire and Hampshire later in the year; in fact, we may be said to have more need of exertion, just at present, in preventing ourselves from being overflowed with applications, than in obtaining all that our resources could possibly satisfy.

'From Scotland and Ireland the supply of Emigrants has never been scanty since the first months of 1837.'—(*Report, April* 8, 1838.)

Our limits will not allow us to enter into the very interesting account of the reforms which Mr Elliot then proceeded to introduce in the management and superintendence of his emigrant ships. We are glad to find that the new arrangements have been universally approved and adopted; and that the results have been even more favourable than could have been anticipated. The advance which emigration has made under his auspices may be seen from the following statement:—Up to 1836, the average number of emigrants proceeding annually to Australia by the assistance of Government, was 1569; the average emigration of all kinds, only 3124. In 1837, the number of emigrants sent by Government, was 2991; the number altogether 5054. In 1838, the number dispatched by Government was 6463; the entire number 14,021. In 1839, 'in consequence of the accounts of the continued drought, and the high prices of provisions, accompanied by a falling off in the land revenue, and a temporary diminution of candidates to emigrate from home,' it was not thought advisable to send out in the Government ships more than 4096; but the total number of emigrants to the Australian colonies during that year, was not less than 15,786.

Had this been the sole practical result achieved by the new principle within the first ten years after the announcement of it, there would have been no cause for discouragement. In all such cases, the first grand object is to clear and try the way, and to taste the fruits. Accidents and oversights will commonly occur, which, if experienced on a small scale, may be rectified, and the experience will inspire confidence rather than alarm. But a single great mistake in the outset, however easily prevented from recurring—a single fatal disaster on the threshold of the enterprise, however certain the precautions which might be taken against a second of the kind—would probably stifle the experiment in its birth. A heavy return of mortality among the emigrants to Australia during the first year, either on the passage or on their first settlement, might have procured an Act of Parliament to prohibit emigration. The tentative process which has been followed, while it has happily been unattended by any serious calamity, has at the same time suggested such improvements and precautions as may fairly set at rest all apprehensions

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on that score. The channel is now shaped out, and the stream may henceforth flow as fast as it will.

But this is not all that has been done. In New South Wales, so much land had already been granted away under the system which prevailed up to 1831,—the settlers were so scattered, and society so little advanced,—whilst the continued importation and assignment of convicts had filled the country with a population so depraved, and so ill-proportioned as to sexes,—that the better system could not for many years be expected to put forth its full fruits. Its advocates determined, therefore, to seek a fairer field, and try a more decisive experiment. Persons who had visited the southern coast of Australia, had returned with news of good harbourage and anchorage for shipping; of one or two rivers, seen or suspected; of fresh water to be had by digging for it; of a fine and healthy climate; of woody and grassy tracts that appeared to stretch inland; of great scarcity of men, and great plenty of kangaroos, seals, and whales; and all this in a part of the continent sufficiently remote from the penal settlements. In this region, a square portion, containing nearly two hundred millions of acres, was marked out upon the map, and granted by the Crown in trust to Commissioners, for purposes, and under conditions defined by an act of Parliament. The land was to be sold at a price of not less than twelve shillings an acre; the whole proceeds to be employed as an emigration fund; the expenses of settlement and government were to be defrayed by money borrowed on the security of the future revenue; a sum of £20,000 in the funds was to be vested in trustees, as a guarantee against any charges which might be entailed on the public; and nothing was to be done until £35,000 had been realized in this country by the sale of the lands. The legislative and executive powers were to reside in a governor and council, as in the crown colonies; the sale of land, and the emigration, were to be managed by the Commissioners. The act was passed in August 1834, and a company was soon after formed with a large capital, to be employed in the improvement of the colony. In the course of the following year, the preliminary arrangements were completed. On the 24th February 1836, the governor was gazetted. The surveyor with his staff reached the colony in August, and chose the site of the first settlement. In December, arrived the governor with the first body of settlers, and the province of South Australia was proclaimed. Unhappily, the first thing he did was to quarrel with the surveyor about the site of the capital; and a furious controversy followed between the Government party and the Commissioners' party, which divided against itself the infant and

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yet unbuilt city; stopped the progress of the surveys, and ended in the indignant resignation of the surveyor-general and his whole staff, (though the Commissioners seem to have done what they could to support him,) and we believe in the recall of the governor. This quarrel, however, though it must have made the settlement uncomfortable, does not seem to have materially retarded its growth, or damped the spirit of speculation; for we find that at the close of 1838, the population was supposed to be not less than 7000, (5322 having emigrated from this country;) that the land sales had been gradually increasing up to the date of the latest account; and that the sums received on that account amounted altogether to L.111,055. What may be the ultimate prospects of this enterprising community, it is of course impossible to say, until we see what it can do for itself in the way of exports and revenue. At present we can only conclude that its prospects are well thought of in the money market, and that if it fail to thrive, it is not for want of encouragement. We are glad to avail ourselves—in the following extract of a letter, which was called forth from Colonel Torrens by some depreciating statements—of the latest intelligence from an unsuspected quarter that has fallen in our way.

'The colony attained the age of three years, on the 28th of last December, and its third anniversary was celebrated by a public dinner given by the colonists to Colonel Gawler, the governor and resident commissioner. On this occasion, Colonel Gawler thus expressed himself:—"It is in point of numbers and importance an old colony. We have a population of from 10,000 to 11,000, a town as large as the capital of most of the older British colonies, with an interest extending over a distance of 120 miles, and an immense commerce. It has been said that we have tracts of barren country. True, we have some tracts of barren land; but I would ask, what country has not? England has its tracts of barren land, and they are not few in number; America, where I have been, has large tracts of barren land; the continent of Europe has large tracts of barren land; and our neighbours of New South Wales have large tracts of land which is of little use. Here we have some barren land as well as they; it is out of the question to think of having a country containing nothing but fertile valleys. But then look at the good land we have, and we may safely put up with a few hundred acres of barren land at intervals. There is only one other topic to which I would advert; and this is the amelioration of the condition of those from whom we derive this fine country. Let us do what we can to civilize and Christianize them. And now, gentlemen, let British capital continue to flow into this province; let us keep up a high tone of society; let us bring our sable brothers into a more comfortable state, and there will not be such a colony in the world as our colony."—In a despatch which is now before me, dated October 5, 1839, and addressed to the colonization commissioners, Colonel Gawler states, that in the province of South Australia,

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"private pursuits are so lucrative to really intelligent, honourable, and experienced men, that they will hardly accept even permanent situations under government." '—(*Morning Chronicle.*)

No doubt—'Let British capital continue to flow'—and many people will grow rich upon it; but British capital flows nowhere without expecting something to come back with the ebb. South Australia must cultivate something more exportable than a high tone of society, or British capital will turn to other shores. We confess a great anxiety to hear of exports; for the continued flow of capital, though a sufficient proof that much is expected, is no proof that any thing is to come. Many a bubble has found as many capitalists willing to stake their fortunes upon its substantiality.

It is honourable to all parties concerned in this enterprise, that the protection of the *Aborigines* has, from the first, formed a main feature of the scheme—and it may be regarded as a fair experiment, not only to test the practical working of the new theory of colonization—but to try whether the decline and rapid extermination, either by violence or by disease of the native races, be an unavoidable, as it has hitherto been an invariable, consequence of white men settling upon their shores. Unless it can be shown that these races are already in decay; that their business on earth has already been accomplished, and that they were destined, from the beginning, to die out in these times, and leave room for a superior people;—we may well doubt whether civilization carries with it any divine commission to undertake so awful a responsibility; and we could have wished to see the results of this experiment before we proceeded further in the course. On this account we cannot but regret the measures which have forced us into the colonization of New Zealand, before the success of the precautions taken in South Australia has been fairly proved; neither can we regard, without apprehension, the example which has been thus set of a few private speculators compelling the authorities of the country to undertake one of two responsibilities—either to assume the control of an enterprise which they disapprove; or, by refusing, to leave the undertakers of it without any control whatever—a course which certainly might, and probably would, lead to disorders and aggressions, against which the good intentions of the projectors are no security. In this case, however, (whatever measures may be taken against a repetition of it,) the decision appears to have been inevitable; and the Colony of New Zealand is already planted with every prospect, we trust, of advantage to Great Britain—though, too probably, to the destruction of the finest of the aboriginal races that has yet been discovered.

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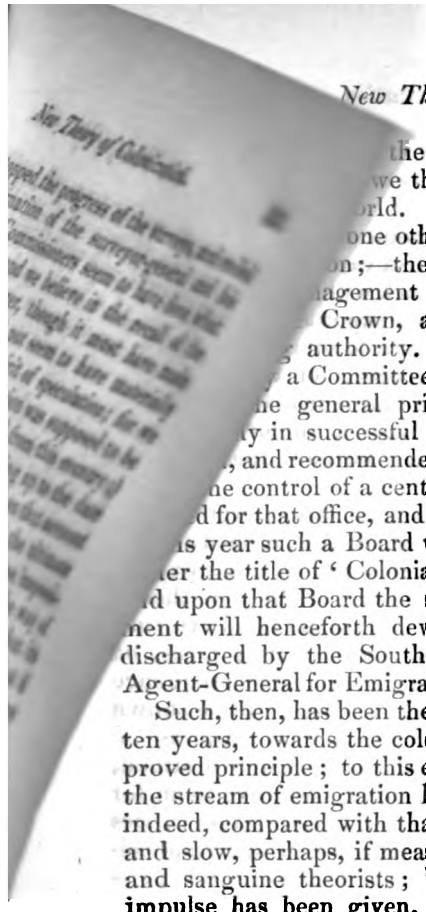

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one other consequence, which we regard with
n;—the general recognition of the importance
agement of the vast colonial territories at the
Crown, and the constitution of a competent
authority. The whole subject was closely in-
a Committee of the House of Commons in 1836;
e general principles, advocated by Mr Wakefield,
y in successful operation in the United States, were
, and recommended for adoption throughout the colonies,
e control of a central Board of Commissioners, to be ap-
d for that office, and resident in London. In the beginning
s year such a Board was constituted by Lord John Russell,
er the title of 'Colonial Land and Emigration Commission;'
d upon that Board the superintendence of this whole depart-
ment will henceforth devolve;—the duties hitherto separately
discharged by the South Australian Commissioners, and the
Agent-General for Emigration, being united and transferred to it.

Such, then, has been the progress actually made within the last ten years, towards the colonization of New Holland on the improved principle; to this extent the channel has been made, and the stream of emigration has begun to flow;—a progress small, indeed, compared with that which remains to be accomplished; and slow, perhaps, if measured by the anticipations of confident and sanguine theorists; but yet full of encouragement. The impulse has been given, and the way made clear: unless the substantial benefits it is to lead to have been much overrated, the natural attraction of mutual advantage may be trusted to for the rest. The many important and difficult questions which remain to be discussed and arranged, have been referred by Lord John Russell to the consideration of the new Commissioners; who are to make a general report, twice in each year, of the progress and the results of their labours. These reports will, we presume, be laid before Parliament; and very probably will afford us an opportunity of resuming the subject, and entering more at large into the doubtful or disputed topics which it presents.

It may be well, however, before we conclude, to point out the main differences—the differences in principle—between the Government and the original patrons of the scheme. We have been both gratified and surprised to find that these are neither many nor material in their practical bearing. The recommendations of Mr Ward's Committee in 1836, may be taken, we believe, as satisfying the views of the party at whose instance that Committee was ap-

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pointed; and, really, in all that is most material in those recommendations, whether as respects the general principle or subordinate regulations, the Government appears to have concurred so cordially, and to have taken such effectual measures for carrying them into effect, that we find it difficult to account for the spirit of opposition and the tone of scorn with which it has been assailed. Let us first review the points of agreement. That the prosperity of the colonies mainly depends upon the abundance of combinable labour in proportion to occupied territory;—that this abundance is to be secured by introducing labourers from overpeopled countries, and taking measures to keep them in the condition of labourers living by wages, for some considerable time;—that the revenue derived from the sale of new land is the fund out of which the cost of introducing them ought to be defrayed;—that the most convenient way of preventing them from rising too rapidly from labourers into employers of labour, is to sell the new land at a sufficiently high price;—that the adjustment of that price and the application of the fund derived from it, in promoting the emigration of fit persons, should be entrusted to a Central Board of Commissioners resident in London;—that the emigrants should consist of men and women, as nearly equal in numbers, and with as few young children as possible—young married people without children being, if willing to go, the most eligible of all;—and that the minimum price of land in any colony being once determined, the rule of selling no land whatever, within the limits of that colony, at a lower price, should be fixed and unalterable:—thus far all parties agree. The points of difference appear to be only these:—*First*, It was recommended by Mr Ward's Committee, that the principle of Lord Ripon's regulations in 1831 should be affirmed by an act of the legislature, and not be allowed to rest only upon a secretary of state's instruction, which another secretary may revoke. This has not yet been done; and though we certainly think it most desirable that such an act should be passed, it seems not less desirable that it should be postponed for the present, until the experience of the Commissioners may be made use of in drawing it up. No harm can happen in the mean time; for on this point the Government is so pledged, that no succeeding government could in practice alter the regulations. A secretary of state's instruction, the revocation of which would attack so many pockets, and awaken so much just complaint, is in practice quite as irrevocable as an act of the legislature. *Secondly*, the committee recommended that 'the net 'proceeds of the land-sales, in all colonies, the climate of which 'is not unfavourable to the European frame, should be employ-'ed as an emigration fund; each colony being furnished with

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'emigrant labour in exact proportion to its own land sales.' On this resolution the Committee were equally divided, and it was carried by the casting vote of Mr Ward himself. On the principle which it involves, there appears to be a decided opposition between Mr Ward's adherents and the Government. The ground and extent of the difference, will be best explained by the following passage from Lord John Russell's instruction to the Colonial Land Commissioners. 'The funds raised by the sale of lands in 'the colonies will be applicable to the conveyance of emigrants 'thither, so far, but only so far, as the use of the fund may be 'compatible with a due regard for the pressing and necessary de-'mands of the local governments, for which no other resource can 'be found. While fully admitting and insisting on the principle 'that the crown lands in the colonies are held in trust, not merely 'for the existing colonists, but for the people of the British empire 'collectively, it is perfectly consistent with that principle to main-'tain, that in applying the proceeds of the sales to the essential 'purposes of local good government, which must be otherwise 'unprovided for, the real interests of the empire at large, not 'less than that of the colony itself, will be best consulted. I 'shall, however, be happy to find the colonies providing for such 'purposes by import-duties and other means, thus leaving the 'produce from the sale of lands free for the promotion of emigra-'tion from the united kingdom.' Practically, therefore, we trust that the refusal of the Government to declare the land-fund absolutely inapplicable to any other purpose than emigration, will not make any material difference in the amount actually applied in that way. Theoretically, this appears to us to be clearly right. Indeed, setting aside the political considerations involved, we cannot but think that, with a view merely to economy and judicious farming, it would be unwise to insist that no part of the land-fund shall ever be spent otherwise than in the importation of labourers; nor can we see any reasonable ground for restricting the Government in the application of this fund, except the assumed tendency of government to abuse all the liberty it has; from which it follows that the less it has the better. And this we believe to be the feeling which is really at the bottom of the objections, in this particular case.

We are aware, however, that Mr Wakefield has endeavoured to place the question upon more scientific grounds. We have done our best to understand his position and his arguments, and it is only because they seem to us so utterly inconclusive, that we are led to doubt whether we have understood them rightly. As his authority in this matter is not to be lightly set aside, we will explain as fairly and as clearly as we can, both his views, and our own reasons for remaining unconvinced by them.

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Mr Wakefield's doctrine appears to us, then, to be this—There is a certain ratio between the supply of labour in the market and the surface of land under cultivation—a ratio varying, indeed, with the varying circumstances of the case, but in each case discoverable—by which the greatest quantity of produce will be raised. If you miss this ratio either way, you fall into the evils, on the one side of an underpeopled country, in which the land is scratched and the population scattered; in the other, of an overpeopled country, in which the competition of labourers reduces wages to a minimum, and the competition of capitalists reduces profits to a minimum; and the land will not yield enough to feed the people. To keep up always the proper ratio, you must keep the ratio constant between the immigration of hireable labourers and the price of unsold land; and this must be done, by first fixing the just price, and then determining to apply the *whole* of that price to the introduction of immigrants. You might, indeed, fix a higher price in the first instance than would be necessary to bring in the just supply of labour; and, in that case, you might use the surplus fund for other purposes, without losing the desired proportion between land and labour; but you would introduce an evil of another kind—you would place an *unnecessary* restriction upon the field of cultivation: with a lower price, the same money would have been spent in buying more land, which land would have supported more labourers, which labourers would have raised more produce: and the money you want would be obtained at less cost by taxing the produce raised, than by taking the fund which goes to raise it.

On the same principle, Mr Wakefield has latterly objected to the sale of lands by auction—a plan which he originally recommended. Find your sufficient price; and let the first man who comes and pays it, carry away the title in his pocket. There are many objections to auction, as delay, favouritism, &c.; and if your fixed price be sufficient, there can be no advantage; the only object of the auction being to raise the price, which, by the supposition, is itself no good, but an evil.—We have not quoted Mr Wakefield's own words; the form in which his opinions were delivered makes that hardly practicable; but we believe that we have faithfully represented his doctrine, as explained before Mr Ward's committee.

Now this view of the matter has so many advantages, on the ground of simplicity and certainty of operation—saves so much trouble, and promises a growth of prosperity, at once so rapid, so secure, and so unlimited—that we greatly wish we could see it well made out. We are bound, however, after much study of the evidence, and repeated endeavours to find some reason for believing

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that a theory which certainly has other recommendations, possesses that of being true, frankly to confess that we can make nothing of it. So far from finding it well made out, we greatly doubt whether it has been well considered. We are at a loss to understand how this 'sufficient price;' this 'due proportion between land and 'labour;' this 'golden mean between dispersion and density of 'population,' or by whatever name it may be called, is to be determined;—by what calculations it is to be discovered; by what signs recognised when we have it. If indeed the rate of wages were invariable, a little experience would show how many labourers could be profitably employed upon a given surface of land; and this might be set down as the due proportion. Or again, if the rate of wages was such as could not be reduced without introducing the evils incident to an unpeopled country, then we might ascertain how many labourers could be imported without reducing wages—and this might be regarded as the mean between dispersion and density; a greater number would be injurious to the general interests of society. But it appears to us that, so long as land is dear, an increase in the number of candidates for employment would cause a reduction of wages, and thereby enable the landholder either to employ a greater number of hands, and so increase his produce; or the same number at a less cost, and so increase his profits;—and, on the other hand, that so long as wages are high enough to enable an industrious man to save his L.20 a-year, the effect of a reduction would be to keep him longer in the condition of a labourer, but not to contract the comforts attached to that condition. If this be true, where is your measure of the due proportion? How will you know when you have got your sufficient price? Tell us what proportion of labourers can cultivate the land well, and we will tell you of a proportion which will cultivate it better. Name any price which will secure a large produce, and we will name one which will secure a larger. So long as a larger amount of human skill and industry can be had for the same cost, and can be applied to quicken the productive powers of nature, it seems vain to suppose that you have attained the maximum of produce; and so long as the produce can be increased without increasing in proportion the non-productive consumers of produce, you have not reached the highest point of prosperity which the land will bear.

To make our meaning clearer, we will suppose a case: It is reckoned by Colonel Torrens, that in South Australia four agricultural labourers would suffice for 100 acres; meaning, we presume, not that the labour of six could produce no more out of 100 acres than the labour of four, but that the new hands would absorb

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as much as they could produce; therefore, that (wages remaining the same) the additional produce would not pay for the additional cost of production;—in short, that if the farmer had the offer of two more hands he would not employ them. Now let us suppose the price of land raised, and the importation of labourers increased in proportion, so that there should be (say) six men in search of employment where only four are wanted. What would be the consequence? Surely they would underbid each other, and so bring down wages to such a rate as the farmer could afford to pay; then, whatever work he might put the new-comers to—whether to the more effectual tillage of the soil, the tending of stock, the making of roads, the draining of marshes, or the cutting of water-courses, (for it is not to be supposed that four men can do all that can be done for the improvement of 100 acres in South Australia,)—it would be just so much gain: his estate and the colony would be just so much the better for it. It would appear, therefore, that the more people you can introduce into a new colony, who cannot subsist without labour, and can subsist comfortably with it, the more rapidly will the colony thrive;—that the only 'due proportion of labourers to land' is that proportion which you can induce to remain contented on these conditions;—the only 'sufficient' price of land is the highest which any body thinks it worth while to give. And if this—the highest degree of *production*—be really the object at which, in regulating the price of land, it is necessary to aim, we know not how it is to be pursued with any chance of success, unless by letting the land to the highest bidder; and applying the proceeds to the introduction, not of 'a certain amount of combinable labour,' but of as much combinable labour as the landholders can afford to employ, at such wages as will keep the labouring class in comfort and contentment. The *minimum* price need only be so high as to interrupt any fatal tendency to dispersion by which the source of combinable labour would be drained away; and the quantity of land offered to public competition, at that upset price, should not be otherwise limited. By this rule, the field of production would not be unnecessarily restricted; the amount of productive labour would be the greatest possible; yet, for all that, there might be a portion of the land-fund remaining which could not be profitably applied in bringing in more labourers, and might be profitably applied in other ways. If we were asked how we should know when the supply of labour began to exceed the just measure, we should answer that there would be many sufficient indications observable, long before any of the evils of an unpeopled country began to appear. The competition of rival settlements, and the facility of settling on unoccupied lands, would imme-

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diately correct any mistake on that side; while the prices offered for lands sold by auction would supply a test of their actual value, which might be useful in adjusting the upset price.

Let us not be misunderstood. We are not unaware of the many objections and inconveniences attending the auction plan; nor do we mean to maintain that they are overbalanced by the advantages. The system of a uniform price, and an immediate unconditional sale of all lands without exception, has the advantage in almost all other respects; and the experience of the South Australian Commissioners, tells strongly for it. But whatever may be the superiority of that plan, we must think that it has not been argued upon the proper grounds; and that Mr Wakefield, especially, rests his decision in favour of it upon an assumption which he certainly has not succeeded in justifying—which we can hardly believe he has taken any pains to examine, and which, in our judgment, will not bear examination. That assumption—(namely, that there is some definite ascertainable ratio between land and labour—therefore, some definite ascertainable price of land—which 'should be both the maximum or the minimum;' which 'would tend to make the produce of industry as great as possible;' which 'would tend to the greatest possible profits to be divided between capitalists and labourers')—appears to us to run through the whole of his reasoning upon this part of the subject. Grant it; and nobody, we think, can dispute his conclusion, that every impediment to the obtaining of land beyond the exaction of this price, every difficulty or delay interposed, must be an evil. But before we grant it, we must ask how it is to be ascertained. We do not ask what it is; for he would very reasonably say that that depends upon the circumstances of each particular case; but we are entitled to ask on what principle, in any given case, he would go about to discover it. On this point, he was closely cross-examined in the Committee. The question was put to him in various forms, and it is remarkable that he seems to have been totally unprepared for it. Not only was he betrayed into several inconsiderate and inconsistent answers, hardly to be expected from so experienced and so ready a disputant; but we really believe—though we have not come to the conclusion without wonder and hesitation—that he had no answer to give. The inconsistencies we pass over, because they may have arisen from hurry or accident: what we want to arrive at is the sum. We believe it is to be found in the following sentences—we have searched curiously, and this is all we can find:—1st, 'The sufficient price is such a price as will keep the 'wages of labour and the profits of capital at the maximum—as 'high as possible.' (868.) 2d, 'I look to no other proof of the suf- 'ficiency of the price.' (870.) 'By having attained the maximum

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'of profits and wages I ascertain that I have reached the proper 'price.' (873.) 3d, 'How do you ascertain when you have reached 'the maximum of profits and wages? The answer to that question 'requires a good deal of reflection, and a full answer would require 'a good deal of explanation. *But I should be quite satisfied that I 'had attained the maximum, if I had attained a higher rate of profits 'and wages than had ever existed before in any other colony;* OR 'EVEN IF THE RATE OF PROFITS AND WAGES WERE HIGHER IN 'THAT COLONY THAN THEY HAD EVER BEEN BEFORE.' Mr Wakefield was not asked whether he was satisfied that the maximum has been attained at Swan River, which was at that time recovering itself from a state of no profits and no wages. We are sorry the question was not put, for we should have been curious to see his answer. But the meaning of all this is just what we should have expected. The 'maximum of production,' and the 'sufficient price,' are, after all, merely arbitrary terms:—a *reasonable* amount of production would do just as well, and a *fair* price—such a price, in short, as Mr Wakefield would not think either too high or too low; and such an amount of production as Mr Wakefield would be satisfied with. Neither are we prepared to say that this is an unreasonable way of settling the matter. It is Mr Wakefield who insists upon precision—not we. We can well believe that a uniform price, judiciously guessed at, and not far wrong, would be much better, though you sacrificed some revenue and permitted too much dispersion in consequence, than the highest price you could get by the auction system; and we are glad to see that Lord John Russell has referred this question specially to the consideration of the Colonial Land Commissioners.

To return for a moment to the other favourite doctrine of Mr Wakefield, which we have already adverted to as the point on which Mr Ward's Committee and the Government are most decidedly at variance—the maxim that, in order to secure the most rapid progress of the best sort of colonization, *the whole proceeds of the land-fund, without exception, should be employed as an immigration-fund.* This maxim also will be found to rest entirely upon that assumption, the grounds of which we have just examined. It seems to be a doctrine which requires some special justification; for it is not by any means the most natural view of the matter. The most natural idea would have been, that supposing such a price fixed on land, and such a portion of it spent on immigration as should secure a *competency* of combinable labour, (meaning by competency, not the greatest quantity which could be turned to advantage, but enough to enable the colony to advance and prosper,)—we should have thought it would be the question for consideration, which would

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hasten that advance the more rapidly—a still greater amount of such labour, or a judicious application of the existing amount upon works of general benefit? And here again we will put a case—a case, we should think, very likely to occur. Suppose two fertile valleys separated from each other by a barren tract. On the uniform price system, the fertile would be bought up and cultivated, the barren left waste and unappropriated. An easy communication between these fertile tracts would no doubt increase the value of both; but whose interest would it be to make it? Import as much combinable labour as you will, two hands will not be combined for this object. As fast as you can pour it in, it will be bought up by the purchasers of the good land, so long as any good land remains to be purchased. Yet it is not the less certain, that by employing a portion of the labour actually in the colony, to make a good road between the two, you might increase the value of both in a much greater degree than the temporary subtraction of that labour from cultivation would diminish it. Not to mention the political and social advantages that would come from thus correcting the evils of dispersion, every individual proprietor of that fertile land would gain more in the actual value of the produce of that land, than he would have gained by his share of the additional combinable labour which the same sum spent on immigration would have placed at his command. How can it be said that, in such a case, by the application of a portion of the land-fund to such an object, the progress of the best sort of colonization would be retarded? Yet, to the reservation of any such discretionary power, Mr Wakefield decidedly objects. Why? Because, either by disturbing the ratio between land and labour, (which was assumed to be the exact ratio that would make profits and wages as high as possible,) or by altering the price of land, (which was assumed to be the exact price that would keep up that ratio,) it would diminish the produce of the colony; and would therefore, however desirable the object, be an expensive method of obtaining it. It is clear to us that, unless this ratio and this price can be determined with the precision which Mr Wakefield's assumption implies, the whole of this reasoning falls to the ground; and until we can find some more promising clew to the discovery of them than Mr Wakefield's evidence supplies, we must continue to believe, that there are occasions when some portion of the land-fund may be appropriated to other uses than the introduction of immigrants, not only without injury, but with the greatest benefit to those who paid it; and therefore that the Government was quite right (if it were for this consideration alone), in refusing to divest the Crown of such discretionary power. We agree with Mr Wakefield, that

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the land-fund ought to be wholly spent in promoting the best interests of the colony; we agree with him, that the introduction of immigrants is one of the most effectual ways to advance those interests; we differ from him only in supposing that it is not the only way.

These, as far as we can make out, are the only points of difference, with regard to the principles and main objects of Australian colonization, between Mr Wakefield and the Government: compared with the points of agreement we cannot but think them of very small moment. Other differences no doubt there are, and will always be, concerning matters of detail—concerning the manner of carrying those principles into practice—and concerning the complex questions which will arise when collateral objects are to be taken into the account. Such differences have arisen with regard to New Zealand, to Port Natal, to the West Indies, to Canada, to the convict establishment in New South Wales; they must be expected to arise in many other quarters; and where all the authority, the responsibility, the duty of taking into consideration contending and collateral principles and purposes, and we may add, where all the authentic information is on one side —whilst all the facilities of writing and talking, and, if not all the zeal, at least all the partiality for a favourite theory, is on the other—we must expect to find such differences made the most of, and imputed to the corrupt will of office. But into such questions it is useless to enter at all, without being prepared to go fairly through them. At present we will only suggest by way of caution, that in these times a writer in a newspaper, a private gentleman, an orator at a public meeting, or even an independent Member of Parliament, has much less to fear from making an unjust charge against a responsible Minister, than that Minister has to fear from exposing himself to a just one.

For our own part, after what we have said concerning the nature and objects of the new theory, we can hardly be suspected of entertaining any hostility to it. If we have succeeded in showing that the resistance of the Government to some of the doctrines of its propagators and more zealous advocates, may be accounted for in other ways than by supposing them secretly hostile to it, or incapable of carrying it out; still more, if we have succeeded in turning the attention of those advocates to a reconsideration of their doctrines; and above all, if we have interested in the progress and prospects of the system minds not hitherto engaged in the consideration of it; this paper, imperfect as it is, will not be without its use.

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ART. VIII.—1. *Papers respecting the North American Boundary between the British Provinces and the United States.* Presented to Parliament. 1840.

2. *Memoranda on the Contest in Spain.* By Sir DE LACY EVANS, M. P. 8vo. London: 1840.

3. *Report on the Prussian Commercial Union.* Presented to Parliament. 1840.

4. *An Examination of the Origin, Progress, and Tendency of the Commercial and Political Confederation against England and France, called the Prussian League.* By WILLIAM CARGILL. 8vo. Newcastle: 1840.

IT has often been a matter of observation and of just complaint, that, except in extreme cases and under peculiar circumstances, the British public manifest a careless indifference on the subject of Foreign Affairs, quite unexampled in the history of other nations. Unless when revolutions break out, or when wars are impending, the mass of the people of England do not pause to contemplate the movements of other states: contented in their own repose, they disdain to examine the events which are in progress on the continent, or to form a just and provident estimate of what the future may contain. By foreigners this is attributed, and to a certain extent it is attributable, to a spirit of reserve and national pride, which tempts some among us to treat the British dominions as a species of 'celestial empire,' and to undervalue, as of minor importance, our relations with those whom some of our country gentlemen and country parsons regard as little better than outside barbarians. The agriculturist considers foreign politics to have some dangerous connexion with the corn question; the fate of Poland is associated in his mind with the price of Dantzic wheat; and the very orthodox shrink from foreign alliances, as they do from foreign literature, or, foreign systems of education; believing both to be synonymous with jacobinism, immorality, and irreligion. Another cause tends, also, to the same result. The public Schools and Universities of England neglect altogether, if they do not specifically exclude from their course of study, those branches of learning which lead to a knowledge of the condition of other countries, of their constitutions, and of their interests. A boy at the head of Eton or Harrow may possibly know something of the strength and organization of the Roman legion, or the Macedonian phalanx; but of the military power and resources of Prussia or Austria, he has learned nothing, except by mere accident; or by private, unaided, and unrequited study.

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He may describe the voyages of Nearchus, and remain in ignorance of the voyages of Cook and Vancouver. The cultivation of languages, one of the most useful accomplishments, and effectual modes of facilitating and diffusing a knowledge of foreign countries, and no less the means of enlarging the circle of intellectual acquirements, and multiplying and diversifying literary pleasures, is altogether undervalued and unprovided for. There might have been some insufficient excuse for all this; or at least these strange deficiencies might have been accounted for during the war. The continent was then closed against our travellers. Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, with the interesting island of Heligoland, were almost the only regions beyond the seas on which our tourists could expatiate. But since 1815 the case is altered, and no excuse now exists for this national neglect and remissness. Yet we are doubtful whether the facilities of observation which peace affords, have as yet been turned to as useful an account as might be expected or desired. The frivolities, the pleasures, the arts, and the antiquities of the continent, have created more of zeal, and arrested more of attention, than the deeper and more instructive pursuits which ought to engage the minds of statesmen and philosophers. Amusement, rather than instruction, seems to have been the influencing motive of the majority of our tourists; and theatres, salons, and palaces, are preferred as chosen places of study to those calmer scenes of meditation, where a knowledge of the social system of the people of the continent, and of their political condition and interests, might have been acquired. This signal mistake leads to the further evil of an increased importation of foreign frivolity; not only without value in itself, but unfitting and indisposing the minds of too many of our younger travellers from strenuous and generous exertion at home.

> 'The fool returns then perfectly well bred,
> With nothing but a solo in his head.'

Whilst we point out, with regret, these discreditable causes of our national indifference to the subject of foreign affairs, we are far from considering that it is traceable to these causes alone. On the contrary, the increased pressure and interest of our home affairs—the mighty questions which Parliament has been called upon to decide—the excited passions which a near balance of parties never fails to produce, all divert public attention from continental interests. Local duties, which cannot be overlooked or neglected when public opinion exercises, as at present, a vigilant control over the actions of all men, engross the time and the attention of many whose minds might otherwise be directed to objects of greater magnitude, though more remote. The smallest

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insect, close to the eye, may conceal the whole outline of Mont Blanc. The time which, in other countries, is devoted to the consideration of European politics, is occupied in England by a county election, by attendance at quarter-sessions, or in meetings of poor-law guardians.

In these cases, the public receive some equivalent for the loss they sustain; but there are other losses for which they do not receive any equivalent whatever. Though reason may be silent, it must not be expected that party spirit should sleep. On the contrary, if we look back at the events of the last ten years, we shall find that the readiness with which '*fools rush in*,' has never been more strongly manifested than in the Parliamentary proceedings on foreign affairs. If we could condescend to personalities, and exhibit a series of portraits of those individuals who during this period have been the active opponents to the foreign policy of the Government—if we were to expose them to the wonder of their countrymen as much as they have exposed themselves, no illustrations by Mr Cruikshank would be half so ludicrous. In many cases, it is quite true that the legitimate leaders of the Conservative party have stood aloof. They were too wise to intrust their fortunes to a crazy, and a foundering bark. But yet they have never omitted to turn to a party account every circumstance which would furnish an argument against their opponents. To this course, within certain limits, no objection can fairly be made. It is the practice, and it may appear to be the duty, of an Opposition, to press upon the Government wherever they can do so with effect. But in attacking the Foreign Minister, a statesman, who really deserves that name, should never wound his country. An assault upon Downing Street may be justifiable, but the war should not be against England. Her weight and her authority with foreign courts should not be diminished by exhibitions of domestic dissensions; by attempts to frustrate the course of her policy; by misrepresentations of the most exaggerated kind; and by holding out the false and deceptive notion, that she had made unworthy sacrifices, and submitted to degrading indignities. Yet all this has been done by some of our public men, and done advisedly; contrary to that truer wisdom and those more generous impulses which should have governed the movements of political parties, and proved to all the world, that however Englishmen might be severed by domestic differences, yet when the interests of England in her foreign relations were concerned, and where the national glory was involved, they would speak, act, and feel as one man, regardless of all considerations whatever but those of duty and of an enlarged patriotism.

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To show how very efficient and indefatigable has been the working of the evil spirit of party, it is necessary to revert to the state of European affairs in 1830, at the accession of Lord Grey's government. Previously to that event, the foreign affairs of England had been directed in succession by two statesmen of strongly contrasted minds, and avowing principles of a very opposite character. The late Lord Londonderry, the organ of England at the treaty of Vienna, thrown into contact with, and enjoying the confidence of, the sovereigns composing the Holy Alliance —in intimacy with their advisers,—wielding the authority derived from the military glory and unbounded pecuniary sacrifices of his country—possessing a spirited and manly character, a temper the most imperturbable, and manners singularly pleasing, exercised a vast influence over the politics of Europe. This power was greatly augmented by his association with that illustrious military character whose despatches, now fortunately given to the world, have added to the splendour of his exploits in the field the most exalted attributes of genius in civil affairs. But great as this influence undoubtedly was, it seemed almost exclusively to confine itself within the narrow limits of foreign courts. The Holy Alliance, it is true, was disclaimed as an unconstitutional association with which a British minister could not connect his sovereign. But the spirit of that Alliance was adopted. England became a party to those *abouchemens des rois*, which all the friends of liberal opinions contemplated with mistrust and aversion; and the disappointed hopes of nations who had been led to expect the extension of the principles of constitutional governments, reacted on the reputation of Lord Londonderry, and on the character of the foreign policy of his cabinet.

This state of things was altogether changed when Mr Canning became foreign minister, and asserted with success his intellectual superiority. Susceptible to all great and generous emotions, boldly avowing the sympathy which he felt for the cause of liberty and of progressive improvement—adorning, with all the charms of his enchanting eloquence, the noble and exalted principles by which his foreign policy was influenced and governed, he infused a new spirit, and gave a higher and a better influence to the councils of his sovereign. Skilful and undaunted, he seemed to possess the art of winning at once the monarch and the people. Resistless in his powers over a popular assembly, he could excite the enthusiasm which he was afterwards able to chasten and to direct; and in explaining and justifying the expedition to Portugal, he expounded those great principles of policy, on which, more than on the force of arms, the power of England was destined to rest. The abilities and strong prac-

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tical wisdom of his friend and colleague Mr Huskisson, applying the same principles to the interests of commerce, manufactures, and finance, added to his authority. But we have no hesitation in saying, and saying with pride, that what gave to the foreign policy of Mr Canning its great strength and efficacy, was the conduct of the Whig opposition. That party felt, as wise men should, and as honest men must, that the reputation and influence which the Foreign Secretary acquired, was gained rather for the British nation than for himself. They felt a reasonable pride in the estimation with all Europe which Mr Canning had won. A generous and disinterested support was given by political opponents; and he was enabled to meet the assembled diplomatists of Europe, not only as a minister possessing the confidence of his sovereign, but as a statesman wielding the unbroken strength of the Commons of the united kingdom. It is true that, in his own ranks, there were found many of those '*sly, slow things, with circumspective eyes*,' who viewed his elevation of character with suspicion and aversion. They shook their heads, and hinted their doubts, yielding to their great leader a very reluctant obedience. For a considerable time, they did not dare to raise the standard of revolt. Some were enchanted by the grace of his manner, and by the charms of his eloquence; others were influenced by the calculation of party interests; a third party were subdued by his commanding authority. It was only when he was called to the open possession of that political supremacy, which for some years he had virtually possessed, that he found himself abandoned and bitterly opposed by men who were incapable of commanding, but unwilling to obey him. The result it is unnecessary, and it would be painful, to dwell upon. It is sufficient for our present purpose to show, that when Mr Canning, as a minister, expressed his earnest desire that Spain might triumph against French aggression—when, at a later period, he described the duties, the obligations, and pointed to the high destiny of England—he excited on his behalf, both at home and abroad, those feelings of admiration and of respect which at his death were exhibited in the deep-felt sorrow of the wise and the good throughout the world. This power of exciting a warm sympathy for himself and his policy, distinguished him from his predecessor, Lord Londonderry. The one was truly formed to be the minister of a great constitutional state; the other to be the zealous and eager organ of an absolute monarch. It was under the auspices of these two masters, that two contrasted schools of foreign policy were founded; but the disciples of each carried the characteristics of their instructors greatly beyond what either instructor would have

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justified or recommended. It is exaggeration to say, that Lord Londonderry could have been a friend to despotism; it is a still greater absurdity to attribute to Canning any preference for democracy.

An anecdote which we have heard, and heard from authority, will serve as a good illustration of the distinction which existed between the principles and conduct of these two statesmen. When Canning succeeded to the seals of the foreign office, he found that many of the most important branches of the public business had been carried on, not by official despatches, or through the ordinary official and recognised organs of diplomacy, but in the shape of private letters, passing between the Secretary of State and the Ministers of foreign sovereigns. An intimation was given that the same course would be willingly pursued, and that this confidential correspondence with foreign courts would be continued. The answer, given upon the instant, was such as became a British Minister:—'I am the servant of my sovereign, 'it is true; but I am responsible also to Parliament. The 'records of my office afford the means through which that respon- 'sibility can be enforced, and my public conduct can be ques- 'tioned. It is therefore necessary that all my public acts should 'appear on the face of my despatches; and though I feel flat- 'tered at the confidence you tender me, I must decline an offer 'which is contrary to the spirit of the constitution of England.' It will readily be imagined that a declaration of this description could not fail to produce the strongest effect on the minds of those foreign ministers to whom it was addressed. The Secretary of State, who, in place of shrinking from Parliamentary responsibility, adopted it as his guiding principle, and as a controlling power co-ordinate with the duty owing to the Crown, raised at once the immediate practical inference, that he was resolved so to govern his public conduct as to bear public discussion, and to deserve the approval of the representatives of the people. One act of this kind spoke out, more powerfully, than volumes of diplomatic professions would have done; and it brought home to the conviction of foreign powers that the course of Canning's policy must be, in all respects, consonant to the spirit of our free institutions.

During the interval which occurred between the lamented death of Mr Canning, and the formation of Lord Grey's government, the policy of the Duke of Wellington (except, perhaps, for the few months during which the late Lord Dudley remained at the Foreign Office) was an avowed adoption of the policy of Lord Londonderry. The reluctant admission of the Greek treaty, the proceedings in respect to Portugal, the affair of Terceira—

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all proved, to a demonstration, that the helm was altered;—the vessel was put about, and her head turned towards a new point of the compass. She was, in fact, bound for a very different port from that for which, under Canning's guidance, she had been destined.

Lord Grey's administration was formed in November 1830, and, among the manifold difficulties with which that government was encompassed, the state of foreign affairs was not the least. True it is, that Ireland was in a most dangerous condition; Orange agitation, and open resistance to the law, consequent upon the passing of the Relief Bill, perplexed the proceedings of the Duke of Northumberland—a nobleman whose private worth and beneficence of character entitled him to much personal consideration; and the Roman Catholics, unconciliated by a concession extorted, rather than conferred, and which assumed the appearance of the only victory won from the Duke of Wellington, had, on their parts, resorted to violent and exaggerated language, and indefensible proceedings. The Government were left without supporters or followers, beyond their mere official dependants. They had contrived to forfeit the confidence of one side, without gaining the support of the other. England herself was the scene of destructive violence, spreading over nearly one-half of the country. Insurrectionary movements, and the new and formidable crime of incendiarism, had taken place without repression or punishment. True it is, that even in the metropolis of London, public safety required on the part of the sovereign an unexampled avowal of weakness, manifested by the necessity of declining the ceremonial of a reception by the city of London. But grave and formidable as were all these symptoms of danger, the state of the continent was still more alarming. A revolution had burst forth in France; a king had been expelled from the throne. A conspiracy against the freedom of the people, had led to the just punishment of the criminals. The example of July had been followed in Belgium, though on grounds more questionable. This crumbling of thrones, this selection of new sovereigns, this creation of new constitutions, produced naturally and inevitably a sense of insecurity, which, in the palaces of the more despotic sovereigns, assumed the more serious character of alarm. The shock extended from Paris throughout the Peninsula, to Italy, Germany, and Poland. The constitutional philosopher, whilst he might have deplored the necessity of such a violent remedy, rejoiced to think that the liberties of mankind had vindicated their just prerogatives against that combination of fatuity and despotism which sought their destruction. But such could not have been the feelings of the more absolute powers. To

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them a successful revolution, under any provocation whatsoever, appeared an unmixed evil. The overthrow of a throne, more especially when a first example was successfully followed, was to them an evil portent. All the elements for war seemed to be prepared; and had war broken out, it must have exceeded the horrors of the contest closed by the victory of Waterloo. Such a war must have involved Europe in one common calamity. It was at this period that Lord Ashburton, no inattentive or careless observer, made his memorable declaration, that a statesman who would preserve the general peace, even for three months, would be entitled to the eternal gratitude of his contemporaries and of posterity. The position of England was in some respects a proud one, but it was also one of fearful responsibility. It was her duty to advise where advice was permitted; to win confidence by legitimate means; to act as a friend, a mediator, and so to use her moral strength as to avert any outbreak, or any aggressive movement from any quarter. The Duke of Wellington, with wise promptitude, had recognised the change of sovereignty in France; he had also commenced the negotiations respecting Belgium, though not taking that position of strict impartiality which could alone render his interposition advantageous, or his diplomacy successful. The government of Lord Grey at once placed itself in close and friendly alliance with France. This was essential to the great cause of European peace. The consciousness of a good understanding between two great powers, too long the representatives of national antipathies, rendered any aggression upon France, from without, wholly impossible. It was this good understanding and community of interest which secured to France a breathing-time, and enabled her to recover from the formidable excitement consequent on the revolution of July. Nor was this all. In securing France from attack, the neighbouring countries were also secured from aggression on her part. It was the moral influence of the policy of England, at this period, which preserved Europe in a state of tranquillity, and maintained that equipoise on which every hope of peace depended. The cordiality of our alliance with France, necessary as it was for this great end, was frankly avowed, and most sincerely professed. At the same time, the diplomatic interposition of the Foreign Office was employed—unremittingly employed—in adjusting the disputes of Holland and of Belgium. Fortunately, there was placed in the direction of foreign affairs, a statesman whose abilities, discretion, and application, enabled him to meet and to surmount the difficulties of his position. Attached to the foreign policy of Canning, Lord Palmerston was well chosen to vindicate and to re-assert the enlarged and liberal principles on which that foreign policy had been founded. The highest eulogium which can be

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tendered to his exertions, is to be found in its complete and undeniable success.

Nor was there made at this exigency, as has been most unjustly asserted, any sacrifice of British interests to our foreign connexion. If it was important that France should remain at peace, and secure from foreign attack, this result was the interest of England also. If revolutionary movements against other countries would have produced a war, by that war the permanent interests of England could not fail to have been endangered. But to secure the peace of Europe, it was essential that strength as well as wisdom should appear in the councils of the British Government. It was also essential that our government should possess, as it undoubtedly deserved, the confidence of foreign courts. Every act and suggestion to create distrust in those courts, diminished the power of England for good; and not only lowered her station among the sovereignties of Europe, but exposed her, and Europe likewise, to the most formidable perils. Now, we are prepared to state, and to demonstrate, that the whole course and tenor of the conduct of the Tory Opposition had the object, and for a considerable time had the effect also, of diminishing the weight of this country in its foreign relations—by sowing mistrust and suspicion where common interests, as well as good faith, rendered trust and confidence absolutely indispensable.

There were three objects most essential to British and to European interests; namely, first, The French Alliance; second, The settlement of Belgium; and third, The confidence of the great European powers. With regard to each of these points, it seems to have been the object of the Tory party to disturb, so far as they were able, the course of our foreign policy. They endeavoured to revive old national prejudices—they represented the good offices and good wishes of the Government towards France as a sacrifice of domestic interests. If the duties on French wines were lowered, this politic and wise alteration of the law was stated to be a sacrifice of the ancient principles of England, and the interests of her ally, Portugal. If the legitimate trade in silk were facilitated, and the temptation to smuggling diminished, Coventry and Macclesfield were invited to reject an anti-national government. Even French pears and cherries were to be dealt with as forbidden fruit; and the importation of apples riper and more golden than our own, was to be discouraged; as if the orchards of Kent and Sussex were the true gardens of the Hesperides. Nor was any opportunity lost to disparage the character and station of the King of the French. So far was the British alliance from being any protection to that sovereign against slight and disrespect, it was on the very ground of our alliance that he

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was made the object of contumely and reproach. Conservative statesmen would scarcely permit him, whom they were pleased to call 'the Citizen King,' and 'the Monarch of the Barricades,' to 'come between the wind and their nobility.' If the flag which France, under its altered constitution, had naturally assumed as a national emblem, was exhibited among the flags of other friendly powers, it was pointed out with reproach as the badge of Jacobinism and of Revolution. The satires and libels of French republicans and Carlists, were praised and repeated by the Tory journals. Every act, however inadvertent or trivial, which could be distorted into a cause of national offence, was dwelt upon and exaggerated. If a shot had been fired inadvertently, or a seaman had been claimed from a post-office packet by mistake—however full and complete might have been the reparation offered, however satisfactory the apology—hostile motions were made in Parliament, papers were called for, and the degradation of England was said, by Tory orators, to have been consummated. We, who as the greatest naval power, have carried to the utmost the rights of blockade, were called upon to adopt the most opposite principles in negotiation from those which we had asserted in action. All these charges, though disproved as often as they were made, were repeated with the utmost assurance. We trust that such follies can have produced no permanent impression. More particularly do we hope that neither the French people nor the French government can mistake the mischievous agitation of a disappointed party, for a real national movement. On the contrary, they may be well assured that the sound part of the British nation rejoice in that prosperity, which cannot but increase in France so long as constitutional liberty is enjoyed and peace preserved. The King of the French may be well assured, that whatever may be felt by those who claim to reign by Divine Right—however ready others may be to consider his as a revolutionary throne, and his dynasty as an usurpation—however eager they may be to exclude him from *la catégorie des rois*, and to treat him as an inferior—no such narrow and unjustifiable feelings can prevail amongst a people whose sovereign reigns by a parliamentary title, and who refer to the Revolution of 1689 as the era when their constitution was fixed and consolidated. The principles which our ancestors asserted were the same with those on which the throne of Louis Philippe is founded; and it was a British statesman who declared that 'he rejoiced in the resistance of France 'to the attack upon her liberties. In such a cause resistance 'was necessary—resistance was noble; and I cannot conceive a 'more heart-stirring scene than that of a people entering into so 'holy a contest with courage worthy of the cause, and using 'victory when achieved with such unparalleled moderation.'

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These were the eloquent words of Earl Grey in November 1830—these are the opinions of the British Cabinet and the British People still; and even if personal vanities or party malignity should, for a moment, disturb the mutual confidence of the two nations, it will yet be shown that it is on England that France may, with the greatest security, rely for real sympathy and efficient support.

The course adopted by the Opposition in respect to Belgium, was equally mischievous and culpable. In the king's speech of November 1830, the administration of the king of Holland was needlessly praised as 'enlightened;' the Belgian movement was unwisely stigmatized as 'a revolt.' These words were not used inadvertently, but, on the contrary, were defended in debate by the Duke of Wellington. Lord Palmerston's negotiations, which to a certain extent had been commenced before the change of government, were soon made the subject of indiscreet parliamentary observation and inquiry. Even after the selection for the throne of Belgium of a king endeared to England by his marriage with that young princess, so justly the object of hope and affection—a king endeared to England also by the admirable qualities and endowments of his character and mind—the attacks of the Opposition were continued with increased bitterness. The war of 'Protocols' was made the subject of vulgar sarcasm by men whose policy might have occasioned a war of blood. In the case of the Russia-Dutch loan, where the Government, acting under the advice of its law-officers, desirous strictly to fulfil the obligation of treaties, declined to avail itself of a pettifogging excuse to construe the public engagements contrary to their real import, and to the intention of the contracting parties, the Opposition as a body took the field. Anxious to catch the votes of the economists, who were ready, under all circumstances, to diminish the public expenditure, Mr Herries moved resolutions which would inevitably have brought the Belgian negotiations to an abrupt and fatal termination. Again, and at a more critical moment, when the course taken by the king of the Netherlands unfortunately rendered necessary the armed interference of England and of France at Antwerp, attempts were made to perplex and to disturb the proceedings of the Ministry. The political feelings, and even the religious passions of this country, were appealed to on behalf of the House of Orange. The siege of Antwerp was described in terms much more applicable to the bombardment of Copenhagen; and yet we feel confident that no observer, who will duly note these events as matters of history hereafter, will fail to see, that when it became ultimately necessary to act authoritatively towards Belgium, it was the very measure adopted against

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Holland, in the first instance, that subsequently gave power to enforce the pacification of the Netherlands. It cannot be reasonably doubted but that the proceedings of the Opposition to which we have adverted, encouraged the court of the Hague in its continued and obstinate resistance: neither can it be denied that, by such resistance, the peace of Europe was, for years, exposed to the greatest peril. Over all these difficulties, the firmness and ability of Lord Palmerston has enabled him to triumph; but that victory which has secured to the uncle of our Queen the possession of his throne, was long postponed, and at sundry times made doubtful, if not hopeless, by the conduct of the Tory party of England.

We have stated, as our third proposition, that the conduct of the Opposition had, for a certain time, the effect of estranging from England many of the European courts, and diminishing the weight of our influence, and the confidence which she most fully merited from all our allies. When Lord Grey formed his government, adopting the principle of Reform, the Opposition answered the cry for reform by the charge of revolution. The Government were accused of a desire to overthrow all our institutions; the Crown was said to be endangered because the rights of the people were acknowledged; the House of Lords was said to be threatened with overthrow, because the true doctrines of representation were fearlessly asserted; the Church was said to be shaken, because it was proposed to relieve the Dissenters from their practical grievances. As the Government was popular, it was proclaimed to be democratic. The fiercest denunciations of hostility, the loudest cries of alarm, the most melancholy forebodings of evil, were repeated in every debate. Considering from what quarter these mistatements proceeded, they could not fail to make some impression on men who, from birth and education, were ignorant of the real state of our social system. To foreigners, whether diplomatists in London or ministers of state abroad, the Reform Bill was represented as a revolutionary measure, introduced by a revolutionary party, carried by revolutionary means, and leading to the construction of a House of Commons which would violate the public faith—which would compel the Government to disregard the obligations of treaties—and render England the centre of all European disturbance. The British government disdained to act on the principles of their opponents, and to recognise the cruel and faithless Miguel, or the equally perfidious Carlos: on no better grounds were they denounced to the courts of Europe as opposed to all legitimate authority. The British nation, at least all who were not Tories, felt a natural and a just sympathy in favour of free institutions;

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they were therefore represented as Propagandists, and as the favourers of conspiracies and revolutionary movements abroad. No American citizen has, within our knowledge, been so weak as to believe, because we prefer our constitutional monarchy, that we are, therefore, inclined to encourage a conspiracy to place a crown on the brow of the President Van Buren. Neither are we aware that the nerves of the most excited alarmist were ever shaken by a suspicion, that Mr Webster, or any other of our late distinguished American guests, desired to prove their sincerity as republicans by projects for dethroning Queen Victoria; yet endeavours were made, and not without success, to instil apprehensions, quite as vain and groundless, in the minds of those who swayed the councils of foreign states. We hope and we believe that they are now undeceived. Our love for free institutions is perfectly compatible with the most perfect respect for the forms of government established elsewhere; and it is perfectly compatible also with a fixed determination to abstain from any Quixotic interposition in the internal affairs of independent nations.

It may, however, be suggested, that these suspicions have been pointed at the present Government, rather than against their Whig predecessors in office; and that it is Lord Melbourne and his colleagues, and not Lord Grey's government, who have alarmed the courts of Vienna and of Berlin. This explanation is contrary to all the facts of the case. It may suit the present policy of the Tory party to praise the first Reform ministry; but let us remember what was their conduct during its existence. The majority of those who now presume to approach Earl Grey in the language of base and insincere adulation—men who lavish praise on the Ministry of 1830, in order to vent their bitter malignity against the present Cabinet—had been from 1830 to 1834 in active opposition. No terms of vituperation which are now applied to Lord Melbourne and his colleagues are more harsh, more unmeasured, or more unjust, than those which were formerly lavished on Lord Grey. These revilers must therefore have been factious calumniators in 1831, if they are not hypocrites and deceivers in 1840. Yet it cannot be denied that their falsehoods produced a certain temporary effect; and it is probable, if it be not certain, that some foreign powers wholly misconceived the nature of the constitutional changes which have been carried into effect—the principles of the British government and the character of the British people.

We believe that these delusions have now disappeared, or that they are fast wearing away. The character and the conduct of the Government have dispelled them. Intelligent and acute travellers, too, have visited our island, and been enabled to report, as the re-

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sult of personal observation, that the Lamp-posts of our streets are used for gas-lighting and not for executions, and that the first Commissioner of Woods and Forests has not as yet planted the tree of liberty in Hyde Park. Nor has the wonderful and most interesting picture which London presented during the coronation of the Queen, been thrown away on the diplomatic visiters assembled at that moment from all parts of Europe. For the wealth and splendour displayed in the first commercial city in the world, they might have been prepared; but the peace and order of the assembled multitude, the proofs of general contentedness and well-being, so universally displayed; the joyous welcome freely offered to foreigners even by the most humble classes of our citizens; the beautiful combination of independence of demeanour with devoted and loyal affection to their youthful sovereign—these national characteristics could not fail to excite astonishment in many, and admiration in all. The deep and earnest enthusiasm with which the allegiance of a free people was tendered to their queen, proved to the assembled princes and statesmen, that no falsehood was greater than that which represented the English as a nation of Jacobins, excited rather than controlled by a revolutionary government. A farther and a more salutary lesson may also have been derived from the evidence then exhibited, of the effect of free institutions in insuring the fullest development of national strength; the compatibility of liberty with order; the obedience willingly yielded to laws framed and consented to by the true representatives of the people: these were results which even those who cannot imitate, can hardly fail to appreciate. The increased population poured into the metropolis to share in this great national festival, amounted it is said to half a million, a number equal to the inhabitants of some of the greatest capitals in Europe: this multitude, united to the permanent population of three times that amount, seemed animated by one noble spirit, and seemed to require no control beyond that of reason and of sound principles. The military appeared but a part of the decoration, and not the instrument of restraint or coercion; they resembled rather the diamond-hilted sword used for state ceremonial, than the weapon to be used in battle.

These events and these observations have, we confidently believe, removed the impressions which the exaggerated misrepresentations of party violence had spread throughout Europe; and we believe that the Whig Government no longer appears to foreign statesmen the *bête noir* which it was represented to be by Tory politicians. On the contrary, we are inclined to think that, in the minds of the intelligent and enlightened men of all nations, a change of ministry, and a consequent change of policy

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in England, would be considered a calamity abroad as well as at home.

Our readers must not, however, imagine, that the evil effects of party spirit are confined within the circle we have described. Though the able and liberal man who guides the councils of France, and the philosophical statesman who represents King Louis Philippe in London, are in themselves personal guarantees for the preservation of the alliance between France and England —though the triumph of Lord Palmerston's policy in the final adjustment of the Dutch and Belgian negotiations has been complete—and though all foreign misconceptions and jealousies have been effectually removed, means of mischief have been discovered which Tory ingenuity skilfully and gladly turned to its own party purposes. To some of these we shall call our readers' attention. They will illustrate still more forcibly the difficulties thrown in the way of Lord Palmerston's policy, and the additional merit which belongs to him for his wisdom, his perseverance, and his success.

We shall next proceed to consider the course pursued by the Government, and by their opponents, with regard to the affairs of the Peninsula. The contrasted principles of the two contending parties can never find a more characteristic exemplification; yet it could scarcely have been predicated that the Tories would have deserted the cause of Spain; considering that the Peninsula had been the scene of our greatest military successes, and the field on which the cause of European liberty had been won. When it was further considered that, with the recollections of Talavera, Salamanca, and Vittoria, the imperishable renown of him who is the strength and ornament of the Tory party is for ever associated, it might have been expected that sufficient sympathy would have been excited for the cause of Spain, to mitigate, or to neutralize, the bitterness of party exasperation. The calamities which, after the expulsion of the French invading armies, had befallen the popular party in Spain, might have been presumed to create a deep interest in the hearts of all freemen. The expulsion of the Cortes by Ferdinand was the first-fruits of his restoration to power. After a free government had been re-established in 1820, the invasion of Spain by foreigners in 1823 was the next blessing conferred by Ferdinand on his people. The murders, the executions, the barbarous punishments—the exile of many of the most enlightened Spaniards—were the next honourable distinctions of a monarch for whom his subjects had made innumerable sacrifices. Of all this the Tory party were fully aware. They saw in exile men of the most unsullied reputation reduced to want, and supported only by the small pittance

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granted by the British parliament; yet they felt no sympathy for the cause in which these patriotic men had suffered—no indignation against their oppressors. On the death of Ferdinand, the liberal party in Spain forgot his crimes, and espoused the cause of his successor, the infant Queen, recognised as she was by the sovereigns of England and of France. On the other hand, the claimant of the crown, Don Carlos, exhibited, and in a most exaggerated degree, the baseness, the cruelty, and want of faith of the late monarch. After the recognition of Isabella by our court, Englishmen ought only to have considered Carlos as a rebel. Could it have been anticipated that any class would have degraded themselves by assisting his cause; would have palliated his crimes; and sought to place him on a blood-stained and usurped throne? Is it possible that his love of despotism was thought to be sufficient to cover all his other sins?—or is it not a more indulgent hypothesis to suppose that, however atrocious, however perfidious he might be—however grievous to Spain the consequences of his success—still the triumph of the Conservatives in Parliament, and their return to Downing Street, were blessings so great as to justify any loss, or any sacrifice;—even the loss of a throne to its rightful possessor, or the sacrifice of the liberties and the happiness of a gallant people.

In May 1834, the memorable Quadruple Treaty between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, was ratified. An engagement more honourable to the foreign minister who suggested it, was never entered into between nations. The immediate object of the treaty was the expulsion of the two traitors from the Peninsula; its ultimate object, the establishment of legitimate and constitutional sovereigns at Madrid and Lisbon. Nor was the wisdom of the treaty greater than its success was signal. Miguel retired from Portugal, and his army of twelve thousand men laid down their arms. Carlos owed his personal safety to British protection; he found an asylum on board a British man-of-war, and a refuge in England. Had there existed in the conscience of Don Carlos, a due sense of those obligations which he had received, the success of Lord Palmerston's policy would have dated from 1834. But, regardless of all ties, and of all duties, the fugitive whose life the British authorities had preserved, escaped from England, to renew his work of treason and of bloodshed in Spain. He was accompanied by the good wishes of the Tory party; and under their auspices, and the auspices of some foreign princes, the horrors of civil war were renewed. In 1835, the Duke of Wellington, acting with the humanity which becomes a soldier, endeavoured to arrest the cruelties perpetrated in Spain. He selected as his organ, a nobleman who, from his character and principles, was a fitting

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agent on a mission so benevolent. Lord Eliot's conduct was worthy of the trust reposed in him; and it will not be the less gratefully appreciated by his country, when considered in connexion with the spirit of honourable independence and liberality which he has since displayed in the discharge of his parliamentary duties. Yet it was unfortunate that, in Lord Eliot's mission, the contending parties in Spain were treated too much upon equal terms; the rebel and the legitimate sovereign were dealt with almost as co-ordinate authorities. An impression could not fail to be produced, however contrary to the intentions both of the Duke of Wellington and of Lord Eliot, that a qualified recognition, or encouragement, was thus given to Don Carlos. That this result was not intended is certain; for the engagements of the Quadruple treaty were most faithfully fulfilled by the Duke of Wellington, during his short tenure of office in 1835.

In April 1835, the change of government occurred. Sir Robert Peel, disavowed by a House of Commons elected under his own auspices, felt himself bound to resign; and, fortunately for the Peninsula and for Europe, Lord Palmerston resumed the duties of Foreign Secretary. An appeal was made to Lord Melbourne's government to permit the levy of an auxiliary legion in England, for the service of the Queen of Spain. And let us stop to ask, by whom was this request made? Not by some unknown and inexperienced agent—not by a Spaniard careless of his country's interests—not by some cunning and selfish politician, desirous to entrap the British Government into a degrading or unworthy act—not by a man unacquainted with the laws of military honour, and willing to accept auxiliaries who forfeited character in giving their co-operation. The Spanish minister, whose request was frankly and wisely acquiesced in by Lord Palmerston, was in all respects the very opposite to the character we have described. The minister of Spain was General Alava, a brave and enlightened patriot; not less the friend of Spain, because avowedly a friend of England—one who had bled for his country and for ours; one who had been driven into honourable exile, during the ruthless despotism of Ferdinand; one who was the comrade in arms, and the esteemed personal friend of the Duke of Wellington. Generosity, as well as political wisdom, alike justified the decision of the British Government. An order in council suspended the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act—an odious act which Conservative statesmen are pleased to regard as an integral part of our constitution—an act wholly at variance with those better principles laid down in the earliest times, and acted on in the brightest periods of our history. The auxiliary legion was raised: a most gallant and meri-

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torious officer was placed at its head; one whose unexampled rapidity of promotion was sufficient evidence of the just estimate placed by a Tory Commander-in-Chief upon his services. The actions of Washington, New Orleans, and Waterloo, had succeeded each other rapidly; in each, De Lacy Evans was distinguished; and the patronless Irish lieutenant, found himself raised, by his own merits, to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. This professional distinction, though admitted by the Tories, could not, however, atone with them for one inexpiable offence. This brave soldier was a liberal politician, and had given an independent support to the Whig Ministry. The consequence was, that all the vials of wrath were poured upon his head. How truly might General Evans have applied to himself the bitter complaint of the Duke of Wellington:—'The mode of attacking a servant of the 'public, absent on the public service, day after day, in speeches 'in Parliament, appears to me most extraordinary and unprece-'dented.' How justly might the absent commander have addressed to his unrelenting enemies the well-merited reproach of the Duke of Wellington to the Common Council of the city of London:—'I cannot expect mercy at their hands whether I succeed or fail; and if I should fail, they will not enquire whether 'the failure is owing to my own incapacity, to the blameless 'errors to which we are all liable, to the faults or mistakes of 'others, to the deficiency of our own means, to the serious difficulties of our situation, or to the power and abilities of the enemy. 'In either case, I shall become their victim.'* The Carlist fire at Hernani was not directed against General Evans with a hostility more inveterate, than was the sharpshooting practice of the British Carlists in both Houses. Nor did they aim exclusively at the general commanding. No feeling of sympathy for their countrymen who were suffering unexampled privations, and were exposed to contests against fearful odds, could restrain the party in opposition from the most unjust, and the most unmeasured attacks upon the British troops. Unpractised and undisciplined, the Legion had to learn the art of war in a foreign land, and in the face of an enemy. Left frequently without pay, in want of provisions, unprovided with adequate supplies of clothing, not only was the signal injustice committed of comparing the conduct of the Legion with that of the best troops of England, under the most favourable circumstances, but, to render this cruel attack more efficient, truth and history were both forgotten. The Duke of Wellington himself had described the army which he commanded in terms which it was

* Despatches of the Duke of Wellington.

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very convenient to forget, when the British Legion was to be calumniated:—'Something or other has made a terrible alteration in our troops for the worse. They have lately, in several instances, behaved very ill: whether it be owing to the nature of the service, or the want of their pay, I cannot tell; but they are not in the style in which they were. * * A starving army is worse than none; the soldiers lose their discipline and spirit, they plunder even in the presence of their officers. The officers are discontented, and are almost as bad as the men; and with the army which a fortnight ago beat double their numbers, I should now hesitate to attack a French corps of half their strength.'* Do we mean, by this quotation, to rest any reproach upon our gallant troops, or their heroic chief? God forbid. We, at least, shall not be so deficient in public spirit or in gratitude, as to pervert the misfortunes or casualties of our troops into charges rash, cruel, and unjust. But was it too much to have expected that the degree of indulgence which Sir Henry Hardinge must feel was required even on behalf of the veteran troops which he had himself commanded, should have been extended in favour of the raw soldiers of the Legion? No such indulgence was shown; even simple justice was denied.

There was a peculiar absence of generosity in the conduct of the Tory party: they acted on the cold-blooded determination of withholding all praise, even when it was most due, and of pressing hardly on their countrymen, whenever any reverse of fortune occurred. The events at Bilboa, and the total defeat of the besieging army, were honourable military exploits. The people of England rejoiced; the Tory oracles were dumb. But when General Evans, contending with his nine thousand men against a force of sixteen thousand,† sustained a check;—when, deprived of the co-operation of Saarsfield, on which he was fully entitled to rely, he was driven back within his lines—this was described in Parliament as 'the greatest disaster that ever befell troops;' and as 'another proof of the false policy of the British Ministry.' More generous was the conduct of a gallant French soldier: 'I have used my best exertions,' observed General Harispe, 'to set the public mind right on an event, vexatious no doubt, but which the hateful spirit of party and interested persons have already turned to their own use *by exaggerations and calumnies.*' We might almost believe that this sentence was written after perusing the reports of some of our debates in both Houses of Parliament.

This was not all. Not contented with attributing a want of

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* Despatches of the Duke of Wellington.

† Lord J. Hay's Despatches.

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discipline, and even of courage to the Legion; not contented with making General Evans responsible even for the sickness that unhappily prevailed among his troops; these supporters of the mild and gentle Don Carlos passed but lightly over his 'assassin-'like decree' of Durango; they seemed as if willing to forget that forty-seven British subjects had, under that decree, been murdered in cold blood;* and that some of these victims had been 'tied to trees, and fires of green wood kindled that would not burn 'too soon, or extinguish life too speedily, whilst the Carlist sol-'diers amused themselves by throwing cartridges into the fire and 'exploding them about the tortured victims.' † Parliamentary orators collected every idle rumour; they listened to every complaint of the discontented; and imputed to Englishmen in arms cruelties of which those Englishmen would have preferred to be the victims rather than the perpetrators. This attack upon the national character was considered justifiable, if it could but influence a debate, strengthen a division, or carry a Westminster election. How noble and how complete has been the refutation! To deny that in the events of war blood must flow, and suffering exist, and that even crime must be too often fearfully developed, would be to believe that war could change its nature. We do not pretend to be so credulous. But war does not, and experience shows it does not, harden human nature, or pervert the character of a humane and generous people. On the contrary, how many are the brave men in our army, who have gone near to realize the noble conception of the greatest of living poets!—men

'Who, doom'd to go in company with pain
And fears and bloodshed, miserable train!
Turn their necessity to glorious gain;
In face of these can exercise a power
Which is our human nature's highest dower;
Control them and subdue, transmute, bereave
Of their bad influence, and their good receive;
By objects which might force the soul to abate
Her feeling, render'd more compassionate;
Are placable because occasions rise
So often that demand such sacrifice.
More skilful in self-knowledge, even more pure
As tempted more; more able to endure
As more exposed to suffering and distress,
Thence also more alive to tenderness.'

This exquisite picture cannot be a portraiture of all military men, it is true; nor do we pretend that the British Legion, any more than the victors at Ciudad Rodrigo, will all bear a com-

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* Evans, p. 107. † Somerville.

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parison with a standard so elevated. But neither have they deserved the reproaches so unjustly cast upon them.

If the fierce passions of a wild soldiery break through all restraint, it is after a successful assault that excesses are most commonly perpetrated. It so happens that the troops of the Legion were subjected to this severe trial. After the reverses of Hernani, and whilst yet smarting under the cruelties of the followers of Carlos, the Fort del Parque, near Irun, was taken by storm. Let us inquire, what was then the conduct of these calumniated troops; let us decide, not on the statement of any British officer, or the partial testimony of the Spanish authorities: we shall appeal to the memorial of the Carlist garrison itself, addressed to the traitor who called himself a king: 'As the British Legion were about to make an assault, 'death appeared to us inevitable. The fort surrendered—*the* '*English*, reinforced on all sides, gained the ditch. At this time 'some officers of *the Legion* came forward, and with the greatest 'generosity offered us quarter. It would lead us too far, Sire, 'if we were to indulge in the language of encomium, and dilate 'on the delicacy and deference which we experienced from men 'whom, on our side, we have treated with all the rigours of war; 'and at the same time, when we see our officers and men kindly 'used, we should be wanting in the noble feelings of gratitude, if 'we omitted to acquaint your Majesty with such heroic conduct.'

We need not add any commentary to a statement so conclusive, except the expression of our hope, that some shame and remorse may be felt by those 'so-called Conservatives, whose 'chief effort has been vainly directed to affix a mark of dishonour 'on their countrymen, gallantly contending in arms in a foreign 'land.' (*Lord J. Russell.*)

The events of the last two years will be strong in the recollection of our readers—the progress of Espartero—the additional strength which was given to the Spanish arms by the appointment of Alaix as minister at war—the desertion of Carlos by his officers and troops, and the conviction of Burgara. We may be allowed to remark in passing, that with admirable consistency the Conservatives are pleased to represent as treason the return of a rebel officer to his allegiance. On the same principle, General Monk should have been shot by Charles II., and Marmont committed to Vincennes by Louis XVIII. Carlos has been expelled, the tranquillity of the Basque provinces restored, Morella captured, and the civil war all but extinguished. And let us ask, what is now the general state of Spain? On this subject we may refer to evidence of the most unquestionable authority—to the truly excellent speech delivered in 1839 by the Earl of Clarendon on his re-

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turn from the Spanish Embassy. 'Life and property,' observes that nobleman, '(except in places affected by civil war,) are more 'secure, the revenues of Spain are one-half greater than they were 'ever known to be before; an enormous class of proprietors have 'been created by the sales of national property; capital flows into 'more useful channels; education makes rapid advances; agri-'culture is improving; and notwithstanding the horrors of war, 'Spain is at this moment laying a foundation for future prospe-'rity infinitely more solid than at the time when, for her mis-'fortune, she discovered America, and lost her stimulus for 'future exertion.'

To what causes are these glorious results attributable? Had other principles prevailed than those which have governed Lord Palmerston, can any man doubt but that despotism and Carlos would now have been triumphant? The Quadruple Alliance, the aid given by Britain, the services of the Legion, the spirit and admirable discretion of Lord John Hay, (who must blush for his Conservative friends,) the vigour and ability of Lord Clarendon, but above all the unshaken constancy of the Foreign Secretary—this rare combination was required to bring to a successful result a struggle which weak and irresolute minds would, long since, have considered as hopeless and have abandoned. Collateral difficulties of the most formidable kind existed. The jealousy of the great military powers, the contributions of money which legitimate sovereigns lavished upon the cause of rebellion, the insurrectionary movements at St Ildefonso, the rapid succession of ministers, the changes of constitutions, the financial embarrassments,—these created obstacles from which an ordinary mind would have shrunk, and which it required a great capacity and unflinching resolution to overcome. Yet this was not the worst. The most discouraging obstacles were those created by the conduct of the Conservative party in England. 'Out of office,' truly observed Lord Palmerston, 'there is no 'sort of assistance they could give Don Miguel that was not 'afforded with alacrity. They have, in fact, done all they could 'to support Don Miguel and Don Carlos; and as it could not 'be from any regard for the individuals themselves, I can only 'attribute it to the approval of those principles of government 'with which those individuals are inseparably connected.'

We might have illustrated this branch of our argument, had we been so inclined, with reference to the succession of motions and speeches made on Spanish affairs during the last six years; but had we done so we might have been betrayed into personalities, which it is ever our desire to avoid; yet, to some of the leading orators we must be allowed respectfully to recommend

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the wise saying of Micromegas, *Pour parler il faut penser, ou à peu près:*—in our last analysis, we only reach that conclusion which the Duke of Wellington so admirably expressed—'The 'fashion and the spirit of the times give encouragement to lies.'

To set in motion an important class, in opposition to our political rivals, is always a great stroke in party warfare; and the movement is more likely to be effective if the column which is advanced, or the line which is deployed, can be persuaded that the contest is one in which their own private and personal interests are involved. Adopting this principle, the Tories have used their most strenuous efforts to persuade the mercantile world that the Foreign Office has neglected the interests of British Commerce; and that our diplomatists and consuls, following the example of their chief, have allowed wrongs to be committed against Englishmen, and national advantages to be forfeited, in every quarter of the globe. We believe that those who are the most noisy in their complaints, are traders in politics, rather than dealers in merchandise. We have seen experimental voyages undertaken with the intent of forcing nations into war; and the Ministry have been censured, when, acting wisely, and under the advice of the soundest lawyers, they declined to defend cases which were indefensible, or to claim reparation where, in point of justice, there had been no violation of any right. Of this character was the memorable case of the 'Vixen,' in which, because Lord Palmerston would not advise his sovereign to declare war, in order to obtain reparation for a loss sustained in an illegal adventure, it was said that the Foreign Secretary 'degraded Great Britain in the eyes of 'Eastern nations, by procuring the piratical capture and confis-'cation of a British vessel in the Black Sea."—(*Cargill*, p. 32.) As well might the officers of the Coast Guard be charged with insulting the King of the Netherlands, if a Dutch smuggler was seized in our waters and afterwards condemned by the Court of Exchequer. In the same publication, which affects to condemn all party spirit, Lord Palmerston is charged with 'having con-'nived at the dismemberment of the Turkish empire;' while a counter-accusation is directed against him for his over anxiety that the Turkish empire should not be dismembered. It is farther said, that 'he sacrificed the Turkish commercial treaty,' when that treaty (of considerable benefit to us in certain ports of the empire, though not so universally) was Lord Palmerston's own work;—he is charged with 'sacrificing the Austrian com-'mercial treaty,' when that treaty, also, had been negotiated under his auspices; and when increased facilities of navigating the Danube have been combined with most advantageous re-

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ductions in the tariff of Austria;—he is charged with having 'sacrificed the French alliance,' and yet, having made undue sacrifices to maintain it;—he is charged with having 'shown 'the dastard heel to the aggressor in Central India;'—with having 'excited the hatred of the British name and annihi-'lated British influence;'—and this, at the very moment when both Houses of Parliament had unanimously voted their thanks to the brave army of the Indus; when well-earned rewards have been conferred on its gallant leader, and the wise and excellent statesman who directed these gigantic and most successful operations. It is thus that, by simply contrasting the accusation and the fact, the futility and the falsehood of the former are made abundantly manifest.

It seems, however, that these doctrines for which Mr Cargill contends, and which Mr Urquhart in his missionary progresses endeavours to propagate, have been lately proclaimed in the good city of Glasgow; and that some Wise men of the West have been so dazzled by the high principles and discretion of the lecturer on foreign politics, the ex-Secretary of Legation, that they have resolved, if they can, to contribute their quota of one Tory member towards the vindication of our national honour. They consider themselves entitled to a blessing, if they but throw their mite into the Parliamentary treasury. The candidate, who has been most aptly selected, under such circumstances, protests against the disgrace of accepting a seat in Parliament, unless he be permitted and enjoined by his constituents to assault the Foreign Office, 'to drag the reluctant statesman 'back to day,' and to inflict some capital punishment on Lord Palmerston for having preferred the blessings of peace to the applause of Mr Bell; and for having been so very ill-advised as to undervalue the diplomatic qualifications of Mr. Urquhart. We are inclined to believe that the majority of the Glasgow constituency are rather too shrewd in their generation to set much store either on the instructor Mr Urquhart, or on his disciple; and that the state of trade on the Clyde will be the best reply to Mr Monteith's address.

We know not what may be the notions which some persons may connect with a commercial treaty. If they imagine that the Foreign Office can by a Protocol destroy the productive powers of Foreign industry; if they believe that the signature of preliminary articles can put an end to free competition; or that the exchange of ratification can ensure for Great Britain a close and unnatural monopoly; and farther, if they conceive that all these miracles, if they could be performed, would be advantageous to others, or even to ourselves, we may easily conceive that they view with discontent and disappointment all the nego-

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tiations which have taken place under the direction of Mr Huskisson and Lord Palmerston. To politicians of this school the Methuen treaty, and engagements of that character, will doubtless appear the perfection of human wisdom. But the true province of a wise commercial policy, so far as treaties are concerned, is of a different nature. To remove restraints, to ensure a reciprocity as relates to shipping, to promote exchanges, to give to foreigners the means of selling in our ports that they may have inducements and means to buy—these are the principles on which commercial treaties ought to be framed. Far is it from our intention to undervalue these as unimportant objects. The results already produced by the Austrian treaty, will be the best evidence of the benefits which a wise diplomatic policy can never fail to produce. Under that treaty, or rather consequent upon it, the restrictive prohibitory laws of Austria have been revised, and British vessels coming with clean bills of health from any port of North and South America and the West Indies, are admitted at once into free pratique, instead of remaining from ten to twelve days in strict quarantine. But the greatest benefit conferred by the treaty is the free admission of British ships and their cargoes from all countries, into Austrian ports. The effect of these changes on the trade of England will appear from the following statement:—

The whole number of British ships which arrived in Austrian ports in the year 1837, previous to the treaty, was ninety-five, with a tonnage of 17,388. Of these twenty-five ships only were from foreign ports; their tonnage was 4805.

Now, the following is the state of the British trade subsequent to the treaty:—

			From foreign ports.	
1838—164 vessels	—28,669 tons	—67 vessels	—13,342 tons.
1839—147 "	—27,966 "	—59 "	—11,570 tons.

The estimate of the original cost of the cargoes in the latter of these years, (including British manufactures to the value of L.477,418,) was no less than L.879,700.

The tariff of nations will never be rationally adjusted if framed on the principle of applying exclusively, what are erroneously considered as the doctrines of protection. Duties should be referred to considerations of finance and revenue. If protection be sought for the interests of one class, the interests of the whole community will be perpetually endangered, if not sacrificed; and every approximation towards freedom of trade will be impeded. Duties on foreign manufactured articles will be kept up to protect our home produeers; and as consequent upon the enhancement of price thus occasioned, agriculture, in its turn, will

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demand protection. The legislation of a commercial country will thus move in a vicious circle, in which every mistake and injustice committed will become the prolific parent of new injustice and new mistakes.

In Commerce, much more is to be done by wise legislation at home than by foreign diplomacy. Let a state bottom its commercial code upon sound principles, whether its rivals have or have not the sense and liberality to follow a wise example. To compel Englishmen to pay a high price for French wine, because France is so absurd as to deny to the citizens of Paris the advantage of cheap hardware, is only to inflict a punishment on ourselves, because there are others who have committed a blunder: it is voluntarily to shut our eyes, because others are blind to their own interests.

If Parliament could be induced to revise our Book of Rates in this spirit, much good might indeed be effected. There are also many laws which the altered circumstances of the times render impolitic and indefensible in their present form. Take the Navigation Laws as an example. The application of steam navigation to the great rivers of Europe, has altered all the relations of states. The position and the capabilities of the countries of central Europe, the navigation of the Rhine, the Danube, the Elbe, and those other great arteries, through which a wholesome commercial circulation may be made to flow, alters, if it does not set aside, the policy of the times of Charles II. Nor need the more vulgar notions of national jealousy restrain us. The fancy of Shakspeare has suggested, as a dramatic event, a shipwreck in Bohemia; but the launch of an invading armada from Prague is a fiction, which even the believers in a Russian attack upon Sheerness will scarcely credit. Why should not our laws be so amended as to afford to us, and to the interior of Europe, mutual advantages as consumers and producers; and why should we cling to laws which, in their present state, are in many respects inapplicable and impolitic?

But here we shall be met by a new argument, and a new accusation. We shall be told that the 'Prussian League' stands in the way of these arrangements; and for the origin and success of that league, Lord Palmerston and his policy are held primarily responsible. The subject is important enough to deserve a distinct notice.

Mr Cargill's publication, 'On the Origin, Progress, and 'Tendency of the Prussian League,' which has been lauded by the Tory journals, is a good exponent of the opinions of the party. It contains internal evidence of having passed through the alembic of Mr Urquhart, and we need not add more to enable our

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readers to judge of its statements, or its logic. Who the author is, we are ignorant; but our readers will form their own estimate of the value of his authority, when they find that he makes himself the organ of the peripatetic agitator who has given at Glasgow, Hull, and elsewhere, such miraculous proofs of accuracy and of discretion. His work begins by assuming in his title-page the whole question at issue. The Prussian League is designated 'a confederation against France and England;' and styled 'a combination to menace the independence of this country, and 'to produce the destruction of its foreign trade.' Mr Cargill informs us that the object of the League is to procure for Prussia 'a preponderating, an unnecessary, and an unjust influence in 'Germany;' that the means used are, 'deception towards the 'minor German states; feigned friendship and co-operation 'with Austria, with a view to the subsequent destruction of the 'power of that empire; a contemplated change in the Diet, for 'the purpose of obtaining an unconstitutional ascendancy over 'the other states, by military organization.' This profound philosopher, carrying his investigations still farther, after solemnly quoting State Papers, asks us significantly, whether it is proved that the League 'is a measure fostered, suggested, and planned 'by Russia for the furtherance of her own purposes of aggran-'dizement, making a tool of Prussia by the gratification of her 'present short-lived ambition?' Russia, it seems, claims to be 'the dictator of the Diet, and the protector of the Germanic 'Confederation.' These very complicated movements, by which Prussia is, first, to destroy the independence of the minor German states; then with their help to overthrow Austria; and ultimately to be overthrown by Russia in her turn—have all one ultimate object in view—the destruction of the naval superiority, of the commercial industry, and of the constitution of England. The author announces to us hypothetically, that 'the greatness, the 'riches of England, will become matters of history, as she takes 'her station beside the fallen nations of antiquity;—the warning 'voice of Vienna, of Geneva, and of Spain, having been unbe-'lieved.' We cannot but say—'Well roared, Lion!' Indeed, more than one of Shakspeare's characters are here brought into play at once. 'Moonshine' appears in as prominent a place as the 'Lion' himself. All this is extremely preposterous: not that we doubt the importance of the Prussian League, and of its effects upon British interests; but because we consider all that we have quoted to be a tissue of stupid exaggerations, exhibited to distract our attention from the real objects to which the efforts, not so much of the Foreign Office as of the Legislature, should be directed.

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Let us cast a rapid glance on the League and its practical objects. If the map of Germany is for a moment considered, and the eye is permitted to trace the number of small sovereignties which it comprises;—and if we are informed that a separate system of custom regulations, of transit duties, of money, and of weights and measures, had prevailed in many of these states, if not in all—it must appear almost inconceivable how the affairs of commerce could ever have been carried on. A greater curse than these varieties of government and anomalies of law could scarcely have existed. It had become absolutely intolerable; and in checking German industry, it injured all countries with which the people of Germany traded. It limited the markets of the world, by increasing the difficulties of making exchanges and diminishing the means of purchase. Joseph II. found the Princes of one single sovereign house so numerous, that he observed, *Qu'ils devroient être numerotés comme des fiacres*:—as numerous, and still more inconvenient were the custom-house systems of Germany. Let our readers imagine a navigation law for Loch Lomond or Windermere—custom-house charges levied to protect the domestic industry of the isle of Ely, or the county of Clackmannan—and permits, duties, and drawbacks between Greenwich and the Tower Hamlets. But we need not put any supposititious case. The Highland Line, as it formerly existed in Scotland—the union duties, between England and Ireland, as they were too long continued—the distinctive excise laws and regulations respecting spirits, which at present harass and disturb our borders—are all instances in point. The partiality which our southern neighbours formerly felt for the mutton of our lowland farms, now shows itself in the love of the Northumbrian for Scotch whisky. The smuggling of spirits across the border, gives but a faint picture of the former state of things in Germany. Was it not, then, the act of wise and patriotic German statesmen to sweep away every trace of these absurd anomalies? They have done so; and a district of 8252 German miles, containing a population of more than 26,000,000, including Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemburg, Baden, Hesse, Thuringia, Nassau, and Frankfort, has been brought within the League. Uniformity of laws and of system now prevails throughout. 'It was at first supposed by 'many persons in this country," observes Mr M'Culloch, (and we are sorry to add, that the opinion is still maintained by some,) 'that the Prussian League was directed against us, and threatened 'to be very injurious to our trade with Germany; we do not 'believe that there is any foundation whatever for either of these 'opinions.' 'The Toll Verein, (or Toll Union,)' Dr Bowring informs us, 'was not, as it has often been asserted to be, a union

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'formed in hostility to the commercial interests of other states; 'it was not intended, prematurely, to create a manufacturing 'population in rivalry with, or opposition to the manufacturing 'aptitudes of Great Britain; it was by no means the purpose of 'its founders to misdirect capital to unprofitable employments, to 'sacrifice agriculture to trade, and to encourage less the field 'than the factory.' On the contrary, in many important respects, and so far as the League was a relief from restriction, the tendency must have been of an opposite description. Unless it can be maintained, that a poor nation will be a better customer than a rich one; unless difficulties of transit, and want of communication throughout the centre of Europe, form the basis on which English commerce is to rest, the Prussian League cannot be otherwise than beneficial to the trading world.

We learn from Dr Bowring's Report, that 'the Toll Verein, 'by directing capital to internal, in preference to external trade, 'has already had great influence in improving the roads, canals, 'means of travelling, and in giving additional facilities to inland 'communications of every sort. At the close of the war, there 'were no roads of the first class, either in Pomerania, Posen, 'or Prussia proper. In 1816, the number of German miles laid 'down in chausées, was 2408; in 1828, 4889; and in 1831, '5610. This amount has now greatly increased.' We should like to know whether English industry does not profit by these local improvements, and by this increased facility and diminished expense of travel. Mr Cargill, and his fellow-labourer, Mr Urquhart, will reply in the negative. Good roads and railways would seem to be their objects of abhorrence; and the free navigation of the Danube, appears to them to furnish the natural agency, by which the destruction of the commercial importance of Great Britain is to be effected. A new course of trade with India, is, it seems, to be most insidiously adopted; and thereby the empire established by Clive, augmented by Wellesley, and finally consolidated and secured from aggression by the successes of Lord Auckland, is to be annihilated. All this is to be the result of establishing a new patent conveyance company across Syria; and the ruin of British India will be achieved, on the first arrival at Cabul, of a caravan laden with goods on account of the Prussian League!

But these sages will meet our objections by affirming boldly, that our trade *is* annihilated. They will ask—Of what use are roads and canals if they do not convey our commodities, and how do we profit by German wealth if our goods are no longer purchased? This question turns on matters of fact, and will best be answered by a reference to figures; and to figures we shall

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accordingly refer. We must, however, first point out, that the happy continuance of European peace, the increased population, and the accumulation of capital abroad as well as at home, cannot fail to produce throughout Europe a great increase of active competition. The commercial rivals with whom we formerly had had to contend, fought us with their arms and hands under restraint. They are now released from thraldom, and all their powers are set at liberty. Can we wonder, or ought we to complain, of their increased activity? A division of labour must also take place, between us and the nations of the continent. In one branch of trade, we shall advance successfully; in another, we may be left behind. But those classes whose interests are improving by these changes, remain contented and silent; while those who suffer from competition, however slightly, furnish to Mr Cargill his text and his commentary. To judge fairly, we must view our trade on a large scale; and, that it is not reduced to ruin by the Prussian League, will be evident from the following summary:—

Trade with Prussia, the Hanse Towns, and other Parts of Germany, Holland, and Belgium.

Years.	Official Value of Imports.	Official Value of Exports.			Declared Value of British and Irish Produce Exported.
		British and Irish Produce and Manufactures.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	Total Exports.	
	£	£	£	£	£
Average of 5 years, 1829 to 1833,	4,126,394	12,762,175	4,950,558	17,712,733	6,996,057
Average of 5 years, 1834 to 1838.	4,804,491	14,432,431	5,407,690	19,842,121	8,550,347*

These facts are conclusive: but if they were otherwise, and if all the disasters foretold by these prophets of ill had occurred, or were impending, we should still ask, upon what ground could Lord Palmerston be held responsible for such results? How could a Secretary of State have remonstrated with any foreign power, and have complained of efforts made for improving its own laws, and its own commercial relations? Have our traders and

* App. to Rep. on Prussian League, p. 115, Parl. Pap. 1840.

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manufacturers such a vested interest in the bad roads, oppressive tolls, prohibitions and restrictions of Germany, that the first attempt made by Prussia to adopt a wiser and more comprehensive legislation, is to be considered either a *casus fœderis* on which we should declare war, or a crime for which a foreign minister should be impeached?

We must guard ourselves, however, from implying any approval of the Tariff now in force, because we have answered the absurd objections raised against the League itself. In many respects that Tariff is unequal in principle, and excessive in amount. It acts most disproportionately upon the coarser fabrics, though this is a loss to the foreign consumer rather than to the British manufacturer. Can we, however, reproach the League with their Tariff when we consider our own? If we should complain of the duties levied on woollens and cottons, are we not answered conclusively by a reference to our own Corn and Timber duties? We must not be seduced into any consideration of these two great questions, which would require more of time and attention than we can here afford to give them. But, were the Tariff even more unjust than it is, be it always remembered, that there exists one powerful antagonist to financial mistakes, and to all selfish legislation. If the Prussian League collect and maintain too high a rate of duty, we may depend upon it that the smuggler will take the field against such injudicious regulations. The extent of the frontier exceeds 1000 miles; the territory is penetrated by innumerable rivers; roads and railways are increasing; and the League must be rational and enlightened in fixing its scale of duties, or all its objects will be defeated.

The political consequences of the League yet remain to be considered. We can only glance at them. So far from feeling apprehensive of the consequences which this confederation may produce to the peace of Europe, we see in it the elements of peace and of safety. Whenever it was the policy of any of the great states of Europe to become aggressive, what facilities were furnished by the number of independent and contending interests of the secondary states? Intrigues and alliances were all resorted to by Napoleon, and would be again resorted to, by an ambitious military sovereign. What Germany required for her protection was nationality. This was given at the close of the French war, when the German youth rose as one man to resist a foreign yoke. This new and generous feeling was embodied in the *Landwehr* and *Landsturm;* it spoke in the verses of Körner; it combated at Leipsic and Lutzen. This national feeling, producing national strength, and raising up a barrier which no unjust aggression can hereafter overleap, is contained, though it is not developed fully, in the Prussian League. It must be defensive in its charac-

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ter; nor do we apprehend in its consequences, with Mr Cargill, a series of political revolutions: on the contrary, we feel confident, that in promoting the improvement, the industry, and wealth of Germany, it will go far to avert war, and secure the tranquillity of Europe.

There has been of late years cast upon the Foreign Office an immense weight of public business relating to the suppression of the Slave Trade by foreign powers. No branch of the public service has required more attention, more discretion, and more firmness; and there is not one in which the sympathies and good feelings of the people of England have been more deeply interested. The extent to which our negotiations on this subject have been carried, will best be shown by a reference to the number of treaties which have been actually concluded since Lord Palmerston's accession to office in 1830.

Treaty with France,	November	1831.
" "	March	1833.
" Denmark,	January	1834.
" Sardinia,	August	1834.
" "	December	1834.
" Hanse Towns,	June	1837.
" Tuscany,	November	1837.
" Two Sicilies,	November	1838.
" Spain,	June	1836.
" Netherlands,	February	1837.
" Sweden,	June	1835.

And four other treaties have been signed, but of which the ratifications are not as yet exchanged. Thus in ten years fifteen separate conventions have been entered into;—not for selfish or interested purposes, but for the assertion of the rights of justice and humanity. Nor is the number of these treaties more worthy of commendation than the important stipulations which they contain, and the mutual rights of active interposition which have been wisely asked for, and properly conceded. Ill-informed partisans may try to depreciate the advantages of such engagements when entered into with the secondary powers of Europe. No person acquainted with the facts of the case will however join in such objections. So long as one single flag in Europe is excluded from the great Christian confederacy, the traffic will continue; and the humane policy of England will be incomplete, till every independent power shall have entered into what may be truly called this holy alliance against the slave trade.

It is not our present object (for the limits by which we are confined will not permit it) to enter into any details respecting these measures. But it is essential for the purposes of our argu-

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ment to refer to the proceedings of the last Session, as illustrative of the difficulties with which the Foreign Office has had to contend, and the manner in which these difficulties have been surmounted.

The atrocities committed under the flag of Portugal, and the extension of the slave trade with Cuba and the Brazils, had of late attained a most disgraceful notoriety. During the last session, Lord Palmerston was repeatedly called upon to propose stronger and more effectual legislative measures to suppress these criminal proceedings. In June, Sir Robert Inglis expressed his anxiety that the Foreign Secretary should 'not lose an hour' in performing this duty to humanity. The faith of treaties had been undeniably violated. The consideration, for which upwards of L.800,000 of British treasure had been paid, was pertinaciously withheld, and not less than 100,000 unfortunate Africans were annually carried into the most barbarous slavery, under the protection of the Portuguese flag. A bill was introduced into the House of Commons, the object of which was to give to the Crown, by legislative enactment, the same powers, with respect to Portugal, which had already been conceded, by treaty, by other states. The bill passed, not only with unanimity but by acclamation. It was carried to the House of Lords, where it encountered a most violent and unexpected opposition;—an opposition the more lamentable, when it was considered from what quarter it proceeded. The bill was thrown out by a majority of six; and the astonishment of the people of England would only have been equalled by their indignation, had it not been for the incalculable debt of gratitude that, for public services of a very different character, was owing to the Duke of Wellington. The conduct of the Government was, in this instance, above all praise. Undismayed by the decision of a majority of the House of Lords, which refused even to entertain the question, Lord Palmerston, though he lost his bill, did not forget his discretion or lose his temper. Had miserable views of selfish and party interests prevailed—had he, like too many others, preferred a grievance to a remedy, he would have cast on his opponents the discreditable responsibility of their own work. But it would have been base to sacrifice Africa; and a very different course was taken. A second bill was introduced, framed with the hope of meeting all reasonable objections, and securing an unanimous vote. Sir Robert Inglis, a steady and consistent friend to the cause of Africa, supported the proposition in terms of the most generous eulogium. He 'rose,' he said, 'in order that the whole responsibility, or rather the whole glory 'of the measure, should not be left to the statesman whom he 'had systematically opposed.' He characterised the speech of

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Lord Palmerston 'as conciliatory towards the other House of 'Parliament, and towards Portugal itself; and as distinguished 'for its forcible and eloquent assertion of the great rights of jus-'tice and humanity. A speech more worthy of the subject he 'had not heard from any of the greatest orators who had graced 'the House during his recollection.' With an honourable unanimity of feeling, the bill was sent to the Upper House. To the consternation of the people of England, the same unbending opposition which had been previously shown to the former measure, was again given on the second reading of this bill, and the principle of the measure was objected to. That opposition was unsuccessful—thanks be to Providence! But twenty-eight peers of England, headed by the Duke of Wellington, had opposed the bill; laboured and argumentative protests were entered on the journals; and though the Act of Parliament struck a great blow at what Lord Brougham so justly termed 'an infernal crime,' the moral influence of the statute was lessened; Portugal was instructed that British statesmen considered her to be an aggrieved and insulted party; and her resistance was consequently encouraged. Yet, we have no doubt that many of the partisans of the men who thus weakened the efficacy of the Government measure, will be ready to charge Lord Palmerston hereafter with indifference or inattention to this, one of the most imperative of his official duties.

Before we take leave of this subject, it will be satisfactory to our readers to learn what has been the effect of this bill, so supported and so opposed, when it has become the law of the land. It has not been a dead letter, but, on the contrary, it has been found to contain a living spirit; and already may the friends of humanity congratulate themselves and their country on the fruits of the victory which was so unexpectedly, but so providentially won.

We have hitherto confined our attention to questions of purely European politics. One subject remains to be considered, and that a subject perhaps the most important and interesting of all. We allude to our relations with our brethren beyond the Atlantic, the citizens of the United States. We must, in the first place, dispose of the party argument, in order to reserve for the test of a higher and a nobler standard the question unfortunately at issue between the two governments. It is said, that for the difficulties which encompass this controversy, the present Government are responsible. In reply we ask, were they the negotiators of the Treaty of Ghent? We do not upbraid the British diplomatists on that occasion: in meeting Mr Clay and Mr Gallatin, they had to contend against fearful odds, and their local information was

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unfortunately very defective. Still, at that period the facilities of adjusting this dispute were incalculably greater than at present: the value of the unexplored wilderness was less; few, if any, considerable local interests had then been created; the minds of men were more tranquil; and the border animosities, which have since arisen, were unknown. We do not reproach Mr Goulburn with any neglect; but we submit it to his friends, that they ought not to reproach others for finding it difficult to navigate the ship, amidst rocks and breakers, since they had failed to bring her into port in 1814, when the wind was moderate, and the seas were calm. Again, if there are objectors who complain of any delays or irregularities in the later correspondence, we should press them to move for the despatches of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen from November 1834 to April 1835: if they find the returns to be *nil*, perhaps they may be more guarded and measured in their censure of the present Government.

Having now disposed of the party argument, we proceed to consider the question itself. We shall do so with the deepest sense of its importance, and with an earnest anxiety that so far as our observations can avail, we may be permitted to contribute, however humbly, towards a just understanding of the points in dispute, and towards their final settlement.

The interests at issue are of no common magnitude; on the contrary, involving as they do the friendly connexion between England and the United States, the importance of the question can scarcely be over-appreciated.

The position of England among the nations of the world is a proud one; her destiny is glorious; the privileges awarded to her are without parallel. But if there be one characteristic more distinguishing than another, it is the strength and noble nature of her colonial children. The vigour of the root is proved by the strength of the offsets. We have better causes for national exultation and gratitude than in applying to ourselves the Spaniards' boast, that the sun never sets in the territories of our Queen. We can point to wealth, more precious than all that is poured forth from India. We can form hopes, more cheering than those which are suggested by the rising commercial greatness of Australia and our North American provinces. We seek not to rest our case exclusively, or mainly, upon increased commerce and production, but upon more elevating considerations. To England it has been granted, in a degree unexampled among nations, to witness the extension, in distant lands, of her laws, of her language, of her literature, of her domestic habits, and of her moral and religious spirit. Her system of colonial government has always had a tendency, and frequently has had the effect, of teaching colonists how to govern themselves in after times. In many cases our colonies

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were made distinctly the schools of political duty. Governors, assisted by legislative councils, and houses of assembly, familiarized our colonial fellow-countrymen with the principles of our own constitution. Magistrates were accustomed to administer the law; men became acquainted with the trial by jury; free discussion was in almost all cases permitted, and publicity was given to the acts of the executive government. The consequence is well exhibited in the contrasted conditions of the Spanish American colonies and of the United States on acquiring independence. In the one case, war, violence, and revolutions have prevailed; in the other, all the quiet and security of a settled government was, at once, established. How great must ever be the contrast between freemen made independent, and the subjects of a despotic sovereign emancipated from oppression! If there exist any British subjects who can consider the progress of the United States without feelings of good-will and sympathy, we cannot but pity minds so perverted. The greatest republic that ever existed, established beyond the Atlantic by our own Anglo-Saxon race, though differing with us in form of government, is associated with us in almost every other point which constitutes the life and happiness of a nation. Those who expound their laws in courts of justice, refer to our latest decisions with as much respect as to our ancient authorities. Lord Cottenham and Lord Denman are appealed to, as well as Holt and Hale. Shakspeare and Milton are, as truly, the fountains of national poetry to the citizen of the United States, as to the English scholar; and if the natives of New York and Boston cannot claim Wordsworth, Rogers, Scott, Campbell, and Moore as their own, they claim them as of kindred, and give them a ready and a generous naturalization. The same sublime version of the Scriptures, which carries the words of hope and of consolation throughout our land, is received with equal veneration in the United States. Religious liberty was established beyond the Atlantic, whilst prejudice and fanaticism were in Britain contending against simple toleration. The spirit of domestic affection, the ties and sympathies of home duty—all these virtues accompanied the 'pilgrim fathers' in their exile. We cannot but consider Britain and the United States—the mother and the child—to be the joint depositaries of freedom and of faith. With what truth, then, may we say to these two British nations, "those whom God has joined together let not man put asunder!"

Nor is there a less intimate connexion between the moral and political interests of the two countries, than between their material interests. It would seem as if nature had pledged them to a perpetual peace, through the medium of their mutual wants and dependency. In the United States, so long as inexhaustible

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tracts of the richest lands continue to invite her people to make new settlements, the price of labour must continue high, population must rapidly increase, and an extending market will be provided for our manufactures. So long as our manufacturing industry continues to prosper, the United States will find in our ports improving markets for their raw produce. The white population of the United States has increased to the following extent, as proved by the decennial census:—

1800	4,300,000
1810	5,800,000
1820	7,800,000
1830	10,500,000

In three years, from 1833 to 1835, the value of the imports of the United States augmented from 108 millions of dollars to 149 millions; and the value of her exports, from 90 millions to 121 millions: during the same period, her exports to the United kingdom increased from 32 millions of dollars to 52 millions, forming above five-twelfths of the whole export trade. Carolina and New Orleans are dependent upon Lancashire; Lancashire is, in turn, dependent upon them—the whole world is dependent upon both. This will be still more evident, if the export trade of America, in its two staple articles, is considered, both in its total amount and in the proportion which is sold in the British market.

Cotton exported, year ending September, 1837.

	Sea island.	All other Cotton.	Value.
Total Export.....	lbs. 5,286,000	438,924,000	$ 63,240,000
Exports to England.....	4,257,000	296,713,000	$ 41,547,000

Tobacco exported during the same period.

Total Exports,.....	hds. 100,252	$ 5,795,000
Exports to England,.....	hds. 20,725	$ 1,750,000

The trade in these two articles with the United Kingdom, is as follows:—

	Cotton Wool.	Tobacco.
1837.....	lbs. 320,651,000	lbs. 26,763,000
1838.....	431,437,000	30,131,000
1839.....	311,597,000	34,803,000

Nor is our export trade with the United States less important. During the year 1838 and 1839, the declared value of our principal exports was as follows:—

	1838.	1839.
Cotton,.....	£1,476,000	1,467,000
Linen,.....	944,589	1,268,000
Silk,.....	348,506	410,093
Woollen,.....	1,887,177	2,178,645
Earthenware,.....	313,764	400,164

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The total declared value of our exports to the United States was:—

1838,.....7,585,760
1839,.....8,839,204

On the average of the last four years, the proportion which the tonnage of ships from the United States, entering the ports of the United Kingdom, bore to the tonnage of our whole trade inwards, (excluding coasters,) was as one to nine and a-half. And the corresponding account for the United States shows that the tonnage employed in the trade with the United Kingdom, is no less than one-fourth of the whole tonnage employed in the foreign commerce of the Union.

Such are the great interests which would be sacrificed on both sides, were the amicable relations of the two countries to be interrupted.

We trust that the calm and reasonable people of America, and of England, will weigh these matters well; that they will, on both sides, feel the necessity of restraining an excited border population, and of interfering, authoritatively, to bring these *Boundary disputes* to a final adjustment, thereby making a rupture between the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race impossible. For many years, very scandalous attempts were made to disturb this good understanding between the British nations, by miserable and wretched attacks upon the domestic habits and manners of the citizens of the United States. Because a young community was not found to possess all the characteristics which distinguish the more advanced stage of European society, all was undervalued, ridiculed, and caricatured. As justly might a backwoodsman affect to despise the Falls of the Clyde, or Richmond Hill, because they could not be compared with Niagara or the Prairies of the Illinois. But the days of anti-American pamphleteers, reviewers, and novelists have been numbered. The dynasty of the Trollopes has been dethroned. Abuse of America is now confined almost exclusively to the violent Tory papers; thus marking the quarters from which such abuse is likely to proceed, and the personages to whom it is presumed to be acceptable. The successful result of the great experiment of Transatlantic steam-navigation, has made the two nations more than ever familiar and associated with each other. The Americans who, in greatly increasing numbers, visit the 'old country,' receive a cordial welcome, which attaches them to the home of their fathers; and we learn daily to estimate more justly, and therefore more highly, the sense, the acquirements, and the eloquence of our visiters from the States. We have become acquainted, too, with many of their greatest statesmen. Van Buren, Maclean, Livingston, and during the last year Webster, have been our valued and re-

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spected guests. American literature is known and appreciated; and American literary men have claimed that station in our social circles which their talents so well merit.

What men will dare to disturb this happy union—to endanger these mighty interests—and to break asunder those ties of affection and respect on which so much of the future destinies of mankind is dependent? What would be an adequate compensation for the ruin and misery which a rupture between England and the United States could not fail to occasion? Such compensation most assuredly cannot be found in the possession of a given number of square miles of wilderness on the banks of the Roostook or Madawaska; nor in the annexation either to Maine, or to New Brunswick, of any given number of acres of pine woods. We have endeavoured to put forward strongly the question of those mutual ties and interests which connect the two nations. Such thoughts should lead legislators and diplomatists to approach the question in dispute, with a kind and a generous spirit. Causes of irritation on both sides should be avoided. Men ought not to indulge in any idle vapouring, either in their colonial legislatures on the one side, or in their representative assemblies on the other. Great statesmen, whose 'words are things,' should set a guard on their lips if they venture on after-dinner speeches; and 'Philip sober' should repair any mischief which, at a time of excitement, he may have lucklessly occasioned. Above all, the parties contending for power and honour in America, should avoid the error, we should rather say the crime, of raising a cry of hostility to England as the means of acting on the constituent body—sacrificing permanent interests to the excited passions of a season. Peace, on the contrary, should be the object of all;—peace which it is not necessary to purchase by unworthy sacrifices; but peace to be secured by the united efforts of all good subjects and citizens. We are convinced that peace can and must be maintained. But not only are firmness and resolution required, but despatch. Delay must every hour render the solution of this question more difficult.

We shall take a rapid review of the position in which this question now rests, without, however, embarrassing our narrative by the detailed history of early times. There is nothing, however, in that earlier history which does not confirm the conclusions at which we have arrived.

If, up to the present moment, there are considerable doubts in respect to the physical aspect of the country through which the Boundary is to be drawn, how much less informed upon the subject must have been the negotiators of the peace of 1783. At that period the territory could scarcely have had any intrinsic

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value; and, if a more distinct and intelligible line of boundary was not laid down, this omission did not proceed from any desire to leave in doubt an unsettled point, on which disputes might arise in after times. On the contrary, we believe that no men could have been more anxious than were Adams and Franklin, that the treaty to which their honourable names were affixed should correspond with its avowed intention—'that of establishing such a 'beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries, 'upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual conces-'sions, as might best promote and secure to both perpetual peace 'and harmony.' (Treaty of Paris.) In this treaty the boundary intended to be fixed is described as follows:—'From the north-'west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by 'a line drawn due north from the source of St Croix river to the 'Highlands, along the said Highlands, which divide those rivers 'which empty themselves into the river St Lawrence from those 'which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost 'head of Connecticut river.' We need not proceed further in our extract, because it is on the construction of these words that all the existing difficulties arise. The points to be solved are, first, What was the river St Croix? What was the range of hills designated by the Highlands?—and, as connected with the second question, what rivers were meant by those described as falling into the Atlantic and the St Lawrence?—and, lastly, what was the north-west head of the river Connecticut?

In 1794, a treaty of amity was made between Great Britain and the United States; the object being to ascertain what river was meant by the name of the St Croix. By the fifth article, Commissioners were appointed and authorized to decide according to evidence on oath; and it was further agreed that their report was to be '*final and conclusive.*' The report of that Commission was made. It appears very probable that the point fixed upon by them as the source of the St Croix, was about twenty miles too much to the eastward, and that there was consequently a corresponding sacrifice of territory made by England. But the award was held to be 'final and conclusive,' according to the terms of the treaty; and as such it has been acquiesced in. Here we see that one of the points in dispute was very fortunately, though not, perhaps, very correctly ascertained; and it is much to be regretted that, at the same period, the other lines were not struck out before any border quarrels had arisen, and false standards of misplaced national pride had been raised up. In 1814, the unfortunate hostilities between the two countries were terminated by the treaty of Ghent. In the fifth article it is declared, 'that neither the point designated in 'the treaty of Paris as the north-west angle of Nova Scotia,

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'nor the north-west head of the Connecticut, had been as-'certained,' or the line of the Highlands surveyed. Two Commissioners were appointed to declare the boundary, and make surveys of the line of the treaty of 1783; laying it down upon a map—'which map and declaration the contracting parties 'agree to consider as fixing the said boundary *finally and conclu-'sively.*' A provision is subsequently made that, in case of disagreement between the Commissioners, a reference should be made to a friendly sovereign or state. The commissioners not being able to agree on a boundary line, a convention was entered into at London in 1827, by which it was agreed to refer the question to the decision of a friendly sovereign; and the fifth article provided, in the spirit of the previous engagements, that 'the decision of the arbiters, when given, shall be taken as *final* 'and conclusive, and shall be carried, without reserve, into imme-'diate effect by the contracting parties.' The King of the Netherlands was subsequently named as the arbitrator, and his award was given in 1831. In that award, the King of the Netherlands negatives the line claimed by Great Britain, as well as that claimed by the United States. The award sets forth, 'Que la nature du différence, et les stipulations vagues et non 'suffissances déterminées du Traité de 1783; n'admettant pas 'd'adjuger l'une ou l'autre de ces lignes, à l'une des dites parties 'sans blesser les principes de droit et d'equité envers l'autre.' And the arbitrator proceeds to state—'Nous sommes d'avis, 'qu'il conviendra d'adopter pour limite des deux états une ligne 'tirée,' &c. &c.

Now, let our readers observe how strongly marked was the intention of the parties to the treaties of 1814 and 1827, that the decision, when given, should be final and conclusive; how greatly it was the interest of each country, looking beyond the lesser and mere temporary interests of the day, that a decision should be authoritatively pronounced, agreed to, and carried into effect. This desire is in conformity with the principles laid down by Franklin and Adams in 1783; and is in conformity likewise with the acts of the parties to the Convention of Amity in 1794. To us it would undoubtedly appear, that the spirit and the letter of the obligations contracted, required the immediate adoption of the terms of the award of the King of the Netherlands.

It must be remembered that this decision imposed upon England a much larger sacrifice than that required from the United States; indeed, above three-fifths of the disputed territory were awarded to the latter.

The conduct of the British Government was frank and honourable. The award of the King of the Netherlands bore date 10th January 1831. On the 9th of February, Lord Palmerston informed

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the British Minister at Washington, 'that whatever might be 'the sentiments or wishes of his Majesty on some of the points 'embraced in the award, his Majesty has not hesitated to acqui-'esce in that decision, in fulfilment of the obligations which his 'Majesty considers himself to have contracted by the terms of 'the convention, and his Majesty is persuaded that such will be 'the course adopted by the Government of the United States." It is very much to be regretted that these expectations were not realized; but on the contrary—and that, in consequence of difficulties which we shall now proceed to describe—this important question has been left for nine years in uncertainty, much to the risk and prejudice of both countries.

The President had nominated as American Minister at the Hague, Mr Preble, who was described in the message to Congress in December 1831, as being "a distinguished citizen of 'the State most interested, (Maine,) and who had been one of 'the agents previously employed for settling the controversy." We cannot help thinking that this selection was most unfortunate. Had the British Minister been a great proprietor in New Brunswick, and had he already pledged himself to opinions on the subject in dispute—is it not evident that many obstacles would have been thrown in the way of the negotiation? A treaty of peace between our country and South Britain, could hardly have been concluded in ancient times by a Percy and a Douglas. The case was one in which calmness and impartiality were requisite beyond all other qualifications; the choice made of a plenipotentiary who was rather a party concerned than a public servant, seemed to exclude both.

The result was consequently most unfortunate. When the award was signed, Mr Preble did not even wait for the instructions of his Government;* but assuming at once that the King of the Netherlands had exceeded his authority, he protested officially against his award. The grounds of objection taken were as follows:—

That the award set forth, not the treaty-line, but a conventional boundary.

That the award was not a judgment, but a mere expression of advice and of recommendation.

That if the arbitrator found the language of the treaty inapplicable to the topography of the country, no authority was given him to consider what practical boundary could be established.†

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* Sir R. Vaughan's Desp. April 20, 1831.
† Parliamentary Papers, 1838, (p. 2. 3.)

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We confess that when we compare these objections with the plain and simple language of all the successive treaties, we cannot but consider this protest as being the special plea of an astute lawyer, rather than the work of an enlightened and liberal statesman. The meaning which he attaches to the original reference made to the King of the Netherlands, differs altogether from the construction originally put by the Governor of Maine on the arbitration, which he construed to mean, 'a 'submission to some foreign state who *shall have the power to decide* '*at pleasure on the whole subject, and who will be under no absolute* '*obligation or effectual interests by virtue of the treaty of* 1783.' Mr Gallatin had also stated, at the same period, in language very homely but very conclusive, 'that an umpire, whether 'a king or a farmer, rarely decides on strict principles of law; 'he has always a bias, if possible, to split the difference.'* It was further argued, that although the Government of the States would have been authorized to have concluded the treaty on the basis of the award, without asking the consent of Maine if the boundary of 1783 were adhered to, yet, that if a conventional line were drawn, which interfered, in any degree, with the territory of a particular state, the consent of that state must first be obtained before any treaty could be concluded.†

Mr Preble returned from his mission. He appears to have gone at once to the State of Maine in place of going to Washington. Difficulties and objections arising out of the points to which we have adverted, speedily arose, and were strongly urged. No person can doubt but that, if the central government had been unfettered, this very alarming controversy would long since have been at an end.

That an acquiescence in the award of the King of the Netherlands would have been wise and politic on the part of the United States, we have high authority for believing. ‡ 'The subject 'was submitted to the Senate, accompanied by the earnest wish 'of the President, that the award should be agreed to. The 'message was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, 'who reported their opinion that the President's views should be 'acceded to. A motion being made that the votes of two-thirds 'of the Senate should be considered necessary for a final opinion, 'the views of the Government were defeated. I am sure,' writes the British Secretary at Washington, 'that the President and his 'Cabinet regret this decision on the part of the Senate. If, after

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* Lord Palmerston's Despatch, October 14, 1831.

† Parliamentary Papers, 1838, (vol. 39, p. 8.)

‡ Despatch from C. Bankhead, Esq., 13th July 1832.

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more than eighteen months for consideration, General Jackson, Mr Van Buren, Mr Livingston, Mr Forsyth, and Mr Maclean, were all desirous that America should come to the very decision taken by Lord Palmerston, within a month after the rejection of the award, it cannot be well suggested that the proposals of England were unreasonable, or, that her conduct can give any just ground for complaint.*

Negotiations were renewed by desire of the Senate; and here, as on former occasions, we can see nothing on the face of the diplomatic papers which does not prove the sincere desire of England that the question should be adjusted, and that in a manner the most honourable and satisfactory to the United States. In a state paper of the highest ability, addressed by Lord Palmerston to Sir C. Vaughan in December 1833, the attention of the American Government is called to the fact, that, out of three points at issue, two had been actually decided by the award on the strict basis of the treaty of 1783. Lord Palmerston proposed, as no doubt existed on these points, that they should be adopted by both states; and he proposed further, that on the third question, which was still at issue, measures should be taken to discover a line conformable to the spirit of the treaty, and approaching to the intentions of its framers. This, too, was unfortunately declined. Had the proposal been accepted, the points of controversy would have been lessened, and the ultimate adjustment of the dispute would have been greatly facilitated. The two points remaining at issue, (for, in fact, the source of the Connecticut may be considered as ascertained,) are, what are the *actual rivers* and the *actual highlands* meant by the treaty. Lord Palmerston made repeated attempts to establish definitions between the two countries which would have led to a solution of the dispute; but here, again, he was unable to procure the consent of the Government of Washington.

We have not entered into this long detail without a strong sense of its importance. The language most unwisely used in some American public documents has been so violent, that we wish, by a reference to a few simple and undeniable facts, to prove to our American friends, as well as to our British readers, that there has been manifested, throughout the whole of Lord Palmerston's negotiations, the most earnest desire to avoid all pretensions that could justly be objected to, or that could rouse any false feelings of national pride. Yet the claims of England are designated by the Governor of Maine, (April 30, 1837,) 'arrogant, extravagant, and baseless.' It is asked, in the same

* Despatch from C. Bankhead, Esq., 28th July 1832.

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document, 'how long the people of Maine are to be trampled 'down by a foreign people.' The conduct of this country is described, in another letter to the Secretary of State, as 'the 'existing causes of the anxiety of Maine, and of the cupidity 'of England;' and so late as January 1840, Governor Fairfield announces, in his message to the State legislature, that 'the 'pretence of claim set up by Great Britain to the disputed 'territory is palpably unfounded and unjust.' We cannot but hope that, to any person who will attentively consider the official correspondence, it will appear that these unmeasured reproaches are something more than exaggerations; and that the merchants of New York, the citizens of Virginia and of the southern States, will feel some degree of mistrust, when the cause of the border State is pleaded with such intemperate violence.

The uncertainty in which this question is left, has led to the most formidable dangers. The two Governments, of Washington and of London, have to the utmost endeavoured to enforce such a neutrality within the disputed territory as might avert collision. But this has been scarcely possible. We shall not drag our readers through the events of the last four or five years: it is sufficient to say that there have been alternate charges of intrusion and of aggression made by Maine and by New Brunswick. Attempts have been made to exercise jurisdiction and to claim authority; public officers have endeavoured to take a census, and have been arrested, imprisoned, and set at liberty; and the peace between the two countries has been repeatedly put at hazard by the imprudent acts of a few hot-headed border speculators or enthusiasts. In all these transactions, however, it appears that the central Government of America has acted with prudence and with good faith. But it should be remembered that a federal Government, with many undeniable advantages, cannot possess the strength or restraining authority of a Ministry. 'Le plus funeste de tous 'les vices que je regarde comme inhérent en système fédéral, 'c'est la faiblesse relative du gouvernement de l'Union.' Such are the observations of M. Tocqueville, one of the most enlightened of the modern European travellers in America. His statement never received more striking illustrations than it has done, of late, in the proceedings along the Canadian frontiers, and in the disputed territory between Maine and New Brunswick.

To America, these transactions must read the useful lesson of mistrust with respect to the conduct and pretensions of its border population. Whilst firm in their resolve that the people of Maine should not suffer any wrong, the United States should be equally resolute to prevent them from committing injustice. Above all, the great American community should reject those

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counsels which may lead to war. A lesson will also be read usefully to England by the same events. They must learn to discriminate between the imprudent acts and unreasonable complaints of a few borderers, and the feelings and determinations of a great people. *Nequissimam pacem justissimo bello antefero*, is an admission which neither England nor the United States is called upon to make; but each should be prepared to act upon the principle, that any sacrifice which does not compromise national honour and independence should be made, in order to avert that worst of all calamities to England, to America, and to the civilized world—a contest between two kindred nations. If American cities along the coast were attacked by our fleets; if Canadian insurgents were aided by border sympathizers; if the formidable danger which results from a slave population of two million were hurried to a crisis; if the trade of both countries were forcibly interrupted—it would be but a slight compensation, and it would be no excuse, to either party, if the result were to secure the possession of a given number of square miles, north or south of the river St John, and the establishment of the line of boundary contended for by one or other of the disputants. But we go farther; for we much doubt whether the value of the state of Maine, or the province of New Brunswick, would be to either country an equivalent for the jealousy and the hatred, as well as the destruction of property and the check to all improvement, which must be the result of war.

If this calamity has, as yet, been fortunately averted, we cannot help thinking that much is owing to the good sense and discretion manifested by the Governor of New Brunswick, and the General commanding the troops of the United States. Nothing can be more gratifying than the good feeling manifested on both sides in this military correspondence, which contrasts most favourably with the more polemical tone of the documents proceeding from too many of the civil authorities. Very just and impressive are the observations of the Marquis of Normanby in his despatch to Sir John Harvey, of May 16, 1839:—'The correspondence 'between you and the Secretary of State is honourable alike to 'you and to him. It is gratifying to observe that the feelings of 'personal esteem which were established between General Scott 'and yourself, when formerly opposed to each other in the field, 'should, after the lapse of so many years, have enabled you both 'to concur in averting from your respective countries all the 'horrors of war.'

The peace of the American continent should, however, rest on a firmer foundation than the personal character of any two men, however discreet and generous. The President, in his message of 1837, stated 'that time has brought about a condition of affairs,

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'in which the true interests of both countries imperatively re-
'quire that the question shall be set at rest.' This is still more true in 1840 than it was at the date of this message. That the territory in dispute can be of no real importance to Maine in a political point of view, is evident from the readiness manifested in 1832 to make the cession to the general government, on obtaining a pecuniary indemnity. To England, it is not for 10,000 square miles of territory that the controversy is maintained, but to secure freedom of intercourse between Fredricton and Quebec. This is a national object to us; it is a most important object to America also; for if the adjustment is not made, there can be no doubt but that future causes of dissension must arise. The proceedings now to be taken, ought to be final; and if it be requisite, Congress and the Legislature of Maine should unite to give the central government full authority to negotiate and to conclude. Some expectation of this kind was held out so long back as in Mr Livingston's letter of the 21st July 1832, when he stated that the 'means might probably be found of avoid-
'ing the constitutional difficulty; a negotiation for that purpose
'being opened between the United States and Maine.' If it be possible to trace the treaty line, this difficulty is surmounted; for the boundary of the treaty cannot involve the cession of any portion of the territory of Maine, and the consent of that state will not be requisite. We earnestly trust and believe, notwithstanding all discouragements, that this treaty line may be found. Lord Palmerston has employed two most able and scientific men, Mr Featherstonhaugh and Mr Mudge, to survey and examine the state of the disputed territory. They are prepared to demonstrate that a line of highlands does exist, agreeing with the language of the treaty of Paris; and that there does not exist, within the disputed territory, any other line of highlands complying with these conditions. Their Report will negative most conclusively the American line; as it is demonstrable to be physically impossible to connect that line with the north-westermost head of the Connecticut. If these facts be as stated, (and the characters of the Commissioners employed make us place every confidence in their opinion,) all that remains to be done is, that their evidence, together with any which may be offered in refutation of it, should be submitted to some impartial tribunal, by whose decision all parties should be pledged irrevocably to abide. That this course will lead to a final adjustment of the dispute, we are sufficiently sanguine to expect; but of one thing we are confident, that if either of the contending powers were to force a war, for a cause, compared with which the *Secchia Rapita* itself would appear a justifying ground of hostilities, the crime of such a proceeding would not be greater than its absurdity;—it would excite not only the con-

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demnation but the ridicule of all the lovers of peace and freedom upon earth.

We have been induced to dwell at considerable length upon this subject. We hope that we have not only succeeded in making it intelligible to our readers, but that we have shown that the British Minister has acted with prudence and discretion; and that no effort has been omitted, on his part, that would have brought to a termination a dispute trivial in itself, but which, if permitted to remain longer unsettled, may lead to the most formidable calamities.

We fear we may have outrun the patience of our readers; but they will excuse us when they consider the variety as well as the importance of the subjects we have undertaken to discuss. Many subjects remain to which we should gladly have called their attention. For instance, we should have wished to make some observations on the affairs of the East. Some modern travellers have returned from Egypt, filled with the most romantic notions of the truth, honour, justice, and humanity of Mohammed Ali. They tell us of his great 'moral influence' *—they speak of his wonderful power over the 'sympathies of the population'—of the 'love of improvement, and desire to introduce the arts 'and knowledge of civilized Europe,' which have gained for him the respect of all enlightened people. We cannot but consider all this as somewhat enthusiastic, and as partaking rather more of the fervour of an antiquary in describing a newly-discovered curiosity, than the calm impartiality of a philosophic observer. Mohammed Ali is undoubtedly a very surprising man; but we should as soon call him a Christian, as a philosopher or a philanthropist. His empire depends upon some stronger protection than 'sympathy and moral influence.' But it must suffice us for the present to say, that when we look back at the difficulties in Belgium which Lord Palmerston has overcome, we feel a confident expectation that equal success will attend our diplomacy in the Levant.

It would have amused us also to have devoted a paragraph to the episode of the 'sulphur monopoly,' respecting which Lord Lyndhurst seems to have adopted, alternately, the arguments for war and peace of Milton's 'Moloch and Belial,'—names which naturally connect themselves with the brimstone question. Our relations with China might also have required some notice; but we do not touch upon that subject for sundry reasons; among which not the least important is the recollection of the

* Three Letters on the Policy of England towards the Porte and Mohammed Ali. London, 1840, (pp. 4, 5, 7.)

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'heavy blow and great discouragement' inflicted by the Duke of Wellington on Sir James Graham and the Conservatives in the House of Commons—a blow which leaves nothing to be achieved by other and weaker arms.

The attacks on Lord Palmerston respecting Buenos Ayres, are but the repetition of similar charges made last year on the subject of Vera Cruz. In that case, our interposition not only put an end to all just causes of complaint, but proved the weight justly due, to our mediation, and became an additional tie between us and the government of France.

We now close our review of the state of our Foreign affairs, and of the policy of the Government. We do not pretend to possess information or authority beyond what the official documents presented to Parliament place at the command of the whole public. But, from that evidence, we think we are entitled to say, that Lord Palmerston has had to contend with difficulties of the greatest magnitude abroad; that these difficulties have been increased, and multiplied, by the conduct of a most unscrupulous opposition at home; that his policy has, nevertheless, succeeded in Belgium, succeeded in the Peninsula; that peace has been preserved; that the mediation of England has been accepted and employed for the benefit of our allies, and of the world; that commercial treaties of no ordinary importance have been concluded; and that a foundation for the settlement of the 'Boundary Ques-'tion' has been laid. Great and vigorous measures have been adopted for the annihilation of the Slave Trade;—and when energetic efforts were required for the protection of our Eastern Empire, the military resources of the country were put forth on a scale, and with a promptitude unsurpassed in our national history. We have endeavoured to avoid all mistatements or exaggerations; and while we do not flatter ourselves that we can gain Tory converts on behalf of principles of foreign policy which have greatly advanced the cause of constitutional freedom throughout the world, we await with confidence the favourable judgment which we are convinced will be pronounced by that large and important class, throughout the world, who are the lovers of liberty, but no less the lovers of order.

No. CXLV. will be published in October.

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This delightful preparation is extracted from exotics of the mildest and most balsamic nature, is warranted perfectly innocent, and free from Mineral admixture—operating as a powerful cleanser of the skin, it speedily eradicates Freckles, Tan, Pimples, Spots, Redness, and every other Cutaneous Defect, while its most remarkable property is, the removal of every trace of Sallowness from Complexion, which it restores to a freshness of tint, exciting both surprise and the most pleasurable sensations.

To Gentlemen, whose faces are tender after shaving, ROWLAND'S KALYDOR will be found excellent beyond precedent in ameliorating and allaying the irritation and smarting pain, and rendering the skin soft and smooth.

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This abatement of Forty per cent., the amount being laid out in a new Assurance, is equivalent to a bonus of one-third of the amount of the existing Policy.

A Reduced Table of Rates for Assurance not claiming Profit.

RICHARD HEATHFIELD, Superintendent.

Princes Street, Bank, Jan. 1, 1840.

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ASYLUM FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC LIFE OFFICE.

70, *Cornhill, and 5, Waterloo-Place, London,*

Established in 1824.

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New System of Term and whole Life Insurances in the same Policy.

THE BONUS declared by the Equitable Office in 1840 involves a striking anomaly in the principle of division adopted by such societies, since those insured even in 1817, becoming of the favoured 5000 in 1831, the earliest period of admission to participation since 1816, will have ½ per cent. per ann. less by surviving till 1840, than if they had died intermediately after payment of premium in 1839:—Thus, against them and those subsequently admitted of the 5000, the principle of extra advantage from prolonged life is reversed; and that at the only division at which they could obtain that advantage.

It is intended to point out the errors of the miscalled bonus systems, and contrast a plan of progressively increasing rates under protection of a previously subscribed capital.

Referring to the principle by which rates of insurance are estimated—suppose 100 persons insured each for £100, all at the year of age at which 1 in 100 die within one year;—if each pay £1 and only 1 die, the contributions, (without interest) will pay the loss of that year; but as every man will be nearer to death by every progressing year of age, so the mortality will be higher as the parties grow older, and therefore on renewal for consecutive years, the contributions must be increased commensurately with the varying law of mortality during those years.

This simple system is not practicable by a body of mutual insurers; because of 1000, insured as above, 20 being expected to die in two years, if 12 were to die in the first, a want of funds would occur notwithstanding only 8 should die in the second year: and thence the necessity for a previously-subscribed capital.

In mutual societies this fund is supplied by the excess consequent on an even rate at every year of life; for instead of £1. in the first year, £1. 0s. 3d. in the second, and so on, £2. is paid annually throughout, as a supposed equivalent for the increasing rates required by the law of morality year by year;—now though in contrasting the equalized with the increasing rates, the present values are the same, yet the insurer who dies prematurely will have paid the equivalent without reaching the age which was to relieve him from greater payments than the even annual rate: thus at the 17th year of age by the Northamptom table, £1. 1s. 2d. is required for one year; and at 40, for a like term, £2. 0s. 7d:—now the insurer at 17 must pay £2. 0s. 8d. yearly from the commencement, and therefore outlive 23 years, before he finds relief from greater payments. The same principle applies at all ages.

This averaging of contributions has caused endless difficulties and injustice in offices dealing with the premature excess on a division of supposed profits. Indeed, some charge a price even *beyond* the proper whole life premium, for the sole purpose of giving Bonuses; though no just principle of division among survivors, has ever been suggested, by those who have made the subject the leading study of their lives.

Under these considerations, the ASYLUM Company originated and published many years ago, a system of "Ascending Scales of Premium;" in which the rates progressed at five or seven years; and the safe working of that system, now induces its extension to whole life Insurances for every year of age from 15 to 70, leaving the Insurer to select the periods for increase: by these means he may use his Policy as a term insurance as long as he pleases, and afterwards as a whole life Policy, on the even annual or other scales, according to his then age, whatever his state of health. Hence instead of paying an overcharge on the chance of return or of receiving a value for the Policy on surrender, he will retain the amount in his own pocket; and parties can henceforth find it no more expedient to be their own mutual insurers, than to be their own tradesmen, in hopes of saving the fair per centage which relieves them from the contingencies more or less inseparable from all commercial employments of capital.

The Directors do not advocate very low rates of premium; knowing that insufficiency of contributions must lead to disastrous consequences; but they fearlessly contend for payment of proper rates at proper periods, and call attention to the broad distinction, between unnecessary advance by an Insurer, and security to an office in present value of a series of annually increasing rates.

Insurers may begin on the new scales at almost any price, not less than the rate for a year's term insurance.

The common even annual Rates, those for Foreign Climates, and those for persons in impaired Health, may be obtained either by letter addressed to the Resident Director, or at the ASYLUM FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC LIFE OFFICE, London, established in 1824, and will be found more advantageous than those of any other Company of equal standing.

70, Cornhill, March, 1840. GEO. FARREN, Resident Director.

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TO ALL PERSONS ABOUT TO INSURE THEIR LIVES OR THEIR PROPERTY.

This day is published, an

ESSAY ON PROBABILITIES,

AND ON THEIR

Application

TO

LIFE CONTINGENCIES & INSURANCE OFFICES.

BY AUG. DE MORGAN,

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

1 vol. foolscap 8vo. with vignette title, 6s. cloth lettered.

Common as life-insurance has now become, the present amount of capital so invested is trifling compared with what will be the case when its principles are better understood.....It is, in fact, a limited sense, and a practicable method, the agreemect of a community to consider the goods of its individual members as common. It is an agreement that those whose fortune it shall be to have more than average success, shall resign the overplus in favour of those who have less. And though as yet it has only been applied to the reparation of the evils arising from storm, fire, premature death, disease, and old age, yet there is no placing a limit to the extension which its application might receive, if the public were fully aware of its principles, and of the safety with which they may be put in practice.

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The leading features which distinguish the first of these plans from those of other Life Assurance Offices, are, that the business is carried on by the Corporation without any charge for management being deducted from the profits, and that the assured are exempt from all liability of partnership.

Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of £100 for the whole period of any single Life, under the plan entitling the Assured to an Abatement of Premium.

Age next Birth-day.	Premium.	Age next Birth-day.	Premium.	Age next Birth-day.	Premium.	Age next Birth-day.	Premium.
16	2 0 3	31	2 13 1	46	4 1 9	61	7 10 0
17	2 1 5	32	2 14 3	47	4 5 0	62	7 17 1
18	2 2 5	33	2 15 6	48	4 8 6	63	8 4 10
19	2 3 5	34	2 16 11	49	4 12 2	64	8 13 1
20	2 4 3	35	2 18 4	50	4 16 1	65	9 1 11
21	2 5 0	36	2 19 11	51	5 0 3	66	9 11 3
22	2 5 8	37	3 1 7	52	5 4 6	67	10 0 9
23	2 6 3	38	3 3 3	53	5 8 9	68	10 10 9
24	2 6 10	39	3 5 1	54	5 13 3	69	11 1 4
25	2 7 6	40	3 7 0	55	5 17 9	70	11 12 6
26	2 8 2	41	3 9 0	56	6 2 6		
27	2 9 0	42	3 11 2	57	6 7 4		
28	2 9 11	43	3 13 7	58	6 12 5		
29	2 10 11	44	3 16 1	59	6 17 10		
30	2 11 11	45	3 18 9	60	7 3 8		

The Abatement of Premium for the year 1840, on Policies of five years' standing, under the first of the above plans was £44 9s. 3d. per cent.

The future annual Abatement must vary according to the success of this branch of the Corporation's business.

In the Fire Department, Assurances are effected at the lowest rates.

Attendance daily, from ten till four, at both Offices, where Prospectuses and every information may be obtained.

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AND

Deferred Annuity Society,

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Empowered by Act of Parliament.

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Every facility is afforded in effecting Assurances.—Premiums payable annually, half-yearly, quarterly, or monthly, or on the increasing or decreasing scales.—Females assured at diminished rates.—Extension of limits of travelling and Policies in force seven years not forfeited by suicide.

Premiums for the Assurance of £100 on a Single Life, either by Annual, Half-Yearly, or Quarterly Payments.

Age.	For One Year.	For Five Years at an Annual Prem. of	For Whole Life, Without Profits.			For Whole Life, With Profits.		
			Yearly.	Hlf-yearly	Quarterly.	Yearly.	Hlf-yearly	Quarterly.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
25	0 19 8	1 1 1	1 18 6	0 19 6	0 9 11	2 2 9	1 1 8	0 11 0
35	1 9 2	1 10 9	2 10 11	1 5 10	0 13 2	2 16 6	1 8 8	0 14 7
45	1 14 4	1 15 8	3 9 4	1 15 3	0 17 11	3 17 0	1 19 2	0 19 11
55	2 10 9	2 19 1	5 5 6	2 13 10	1 7 6	5 17 2	2 19 10	1 10 6
65	5 5 0	6 0 4	8 10 5	4 7 6	2 4 11	9 9 4	4 17 3	2 9 11

SPECIMENS OF DEFERRED ANNUITIES.

BENEFITS.				PREMIUMS.			
Options Secured, on attaining the age of Fifty-five, by an Annual Premium of £2 12s.				To secure, on attaining the age of 65, the option of....	Annuity..... £10 0 0 Cash ..... 113 5 0 Policy..... 160 6 0		
Age.	Annuity.	Cash.	Policy.	Age.	Annual.	In One Sum.	Disparity.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
20	16 16 6	190 11 0	269 15 0	20	1 11 0	27 5 11	0 0 0
30	9 0 11	102 8 0	145 0 0	30	2 17 7	43 15 3	20 4 10
40	4 4 3	47 14 0	67 11 0	40	6 3 5	70 17 5	53 2 6

Also Deferred Annuities commencing at the Ages of 50, 60, and 65, and Immediate Annuities for all Ages.

Two-thirds of the Premiums paid, at all times available to the Assured, by way of loan; and the same proportion returnable, in case of premature death.

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Prospectuses may be had at the Offices, or any of the Branches in the principal Towns.

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ARGUS LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

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EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, BRISTOL, LIVERPOOL, AND MANCHESTER.

ESTABLISHED 1833—and *Empowered by Act of Parliament.*

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The following are among its Advantages:—

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Charging the Lowest Rate of Premium for the Sum Assured; thereby, in effect, giving to ever policy-holder a fixed and certain bonus, without responsibility or risk, in lieu of the deferred an frequently delusive prospect of a periodical division of profits.

ANNUAL PREMIUM TO ASSURE £100.

Age.	For One Year.	For Five Years.	For Seven Years.	Term of Life.
25	£0 19 7	£1 0 3	£1 0 7	£1 15 1
30	1 1 3	1 1 10	1 2 1	1 19 10
35	1 2 9	1 3 4	1 3 8	2 5 10
40	1 4 6	1 5 7	1 6 2	2 13 9

The varied and comprehensive Tables of the Argus Company are so framed as to suit the ci cumstances of all persons assuring, whether as a provision for their families, or as a collater security in pecuniary transactions; and, by comparison with those of other offices, they will b found decidedly superior in point of economy.

EXAMPLE FROM TABLE I. EQUAL RATES OF PREMIUM.

Annual Premium to Assure £1000.			Advantages by Assuring in the Argus Office.		
Age.	Argus Office.	Offices dividing Profits.	Annual Saving.	Equivalent to a Bonus of	Or a Policy for
21	£15 19 2	£22 5 0	£6 5 10	£400	£1400
26	17 19 2	24 10 0	6 10 10	370	1370
31	20 9 2	27 5 0	6 15 10	330	1330
36	23 12 6	30 13 4	7 0 10	300	1300
41	27 16 8	34 18 4	7 1 8	270	1270

By the above Table it will be seen, that a person 21 years of age may assure the sum of £1400 this office for the same amount of premium that he would have to pay for insuring £1000 in mc of the bonus offices, being an immediate saving of 40 per cent.

EXTRACT FROM TABLE II. INCREASING RATES OF PREMIUM.

Annual Premium for Assuring the Sum of £100.			
Age.	First Seven Years.	Second Seven Years.	Remainder of Life.
20	£1 0 3	£1 7 0	£2 0 6
30	1 6 6	1 15 4	2 13 0
40	1 17 0	2 9 4	3 14 0
50	2 17 3	4 5 11	6 4 1

This Table gives to the assured all the advantages of a policy for a short term, with the power continuing it for life at the least possible outlay.

No Entry-money or Charges beyond the stamp for the policy.
Persons may reside in any part of Europe without extra or additional charge.
Premiums payable yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly, on Life Policies.
Assurances granted upon lives up to the age of 80.
Tables upon an increasing and decreasing scale of payment.
Policies of this office purchased by the company.
Advances made on Policies when their value exceeds £50.
Claims payable immediately after proof of death, on allowance of three months' discount.
Policies assigned as *bona fide* security not void by death from suicide, duelling, or the hands justice. In case of death by the above causes, the value of policies not assigned allowed.
A Board of Directors with the Medical Officers attend daily.

*** Prospectuses, and every other information, may be had at the Office, or by Letter addresse

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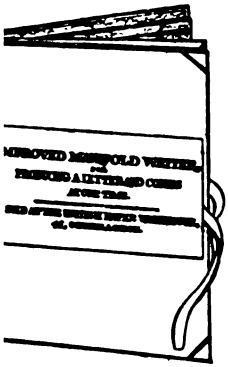

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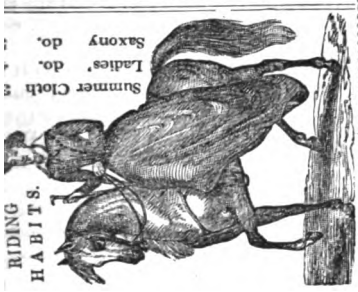

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Fig. 1 represents a shot made with a Blue Cartridge weighing 1¼ oz. of No. 6 Shot, and 2¼ drms. of powder on a target placed at 60 yards, divided into squares of six inches, each of which may be considered as the size of a partridge flying, showing that at this distance four pellets would hit a bird; and it must be remembered that every pellet is propelled with twice the force of one out of a loose charge.

Fig. 1.

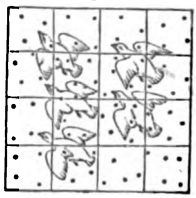

Fig. 2.

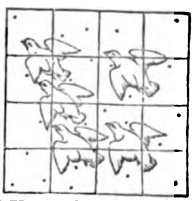

Fig. 2 represents a shot at 60 yards with a loose charge the same size and weight as the Cartridge; and any person may satisfy himself by actual experiment that no gun with the above charge will average more than the number given, *viz.* 24 pellets, thus showing that the probability of killing at this distance is very small indeed, and particularly when the diminished force with which the loose shot are propelled is taken into account.

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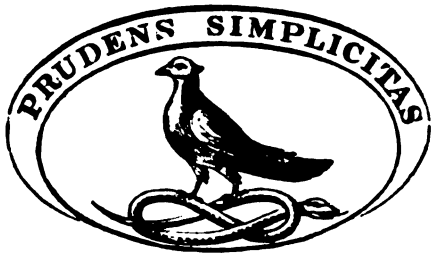

Corporation

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THE Corporation of the AMICABLE SOCIETY is the oldest institution in existence for granting Assurance on Lives.

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No commission is allowed to Agents, and the affairs of the Corporation are managed at the least possible expense; the profits are therefore the utmost the premiums taken admit of.

Persons whose lives are assured with this Corporation may travel to or from, or reside in, any part of Europe without paying any additional premium.

Assurances for terms of years, or on joint lives or survivorships, may be effected with the Society, either for specified sums without participation in the annual profits, or for shares with participation, at the option of the parties.

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LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

ESTABLISHED IN 1823, AND CONSTITUTED BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT.

CAPITAL—£500,000.

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This Company combines the advantages of the Mutual Assurance system with the security and influence of a Proprietary Body, who must themselves be assured with the Company.

1. The Assured may (Table I.) secure a precise sum at rates which *challenge competition with those of any other Company.*

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The first division of profits (1835), varied from 20 to 38 per cent. on the Premiums paid, according to the age of the Policies.

Assurances may be effected on an increasing and decreasing scale, on joint lives or survivorships, or *in any way the parties may require.*

No entry money or other charge, beyond the Policy Stamp.
Liberty to pass to any part of Europe, without extra Premium.
Annuities and reversions, present and contingent, to survivors, &c.
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The Prospectus, with every information, may be had at the Office.

Specimen of Rates for Assuring £100.

TABLE I. WITHOUT PARTICIPATION.				TABLE II. WITH PARTICIPATION.	
Age.	One Year.	Seven Years.	For Life.	Age.	For Life.
20	£0 17 3	£0 19 11	£1 14 2	20	£1 17 4
30	1 1 3	1 4 8	2 3 7	30	2 7 7
40	1 6 10	1 11 10	2 17 11	40	3 2 2
50	1 15 1	2 4 5	4 1 7	50	4 9 0
60	3 1 8	3 18 11	6 4 4	60	6 15 8

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Corporation of the London Assurance,

ESTABLISHED BY ROYAL CHARTER, A.D. 1720,

FOR FIRE, LIFE, AND MARINE ASSURANCES,

Offices—19, *Birchin Lane, Cornhill, and* 10, *Regent Street.*

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Persons effecting Life Assurances with this Corporation have the choice of two plans: The one entitling them to an annual Abatement of Premium, after five years' payment. The other at a lower fixed rate without abatement.

The leading features which distinguish the first of these plans from those of other Life Assurance Offices, are, that the business is carried on by the Corporation without any charge for management being deducted from the profits, and that the assured are exempt from all liability of partnership.

Annual Premiums required for the Assurance of £100 for the whole period of any single Life, under the plan entitling the Assured to an Abatement of Premium.

Age next Birth-day.	Premium.	Age next Birth-day.	Premium.	Age next Birth-day.	Premium.	Age next Birth-day.	Premium.
16	2 0 3	31	2 13 1	46	4 1 9	61	7 10 0
17	2 1 5	32	2 14 3	47	4 5 0	62	7 17 1
18	2 2 5	33	2 15 6	48	4 8 6	63	8 4 10
19	2 3 5	34	2 16 11	49	4 12 2	64	8 13 1
20	2 4 3	35	2 18 4	50	4 16 1	65	9 1 11
21	2 5 0	36	2 19 11	51	5 0 3	66	9 11 3
22	2 5 8	37	3 1 7	52	5 4 6	67	10 0 9
23	2 6 3	38	3 3 3	53	5 8 9	68	10 10 9
24	2 6 10	39	3 5 1	54	5 13 3	69	11 1 4
25	2 7 6	40	3 7 0	55	5 17 9	70	11 12 6
26	2 8 2	41	3 9 0	56	6 2 6		
27	2 9 0	42	3 11 2	57	6 7 4		
28	2 9 11	43	3 13 7	58	6 12 5		
29	2 10 11	44	3 16 1	59	6 17 10		
30	2 11 11	45	3 18 9	60	7 3 8		

The Abatement of Premium for the year 1840, on Policies of five years' standing, under the first of the above plans was £44 9s. 3d. per cent.

The future annual Abatement must vary according to the success of this branch of the Corporation's business.

In the Fire Department, Assurances are effected at the lowest rates.

Attendance daily, from ten till four, at both Offices, where Prospectuses and every information may be obtained.

Abel Peyton Phelps, Esq. Superintendent of the Office in Regent Street.

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ARGUS LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

No. 39, Throgmorton Street, Bank, London;

EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, BRISTOL, LIVERPOOL, AND MANCHESTER.

ESTABLISHED 1833—and *Empowered by Act of Parliament.*

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The following are among its Advantages:—

A large subscribed Capital, with an accumulated Premium Fund invested in Government and other available Securities.

Charging the Lowest Rate of Premium for the Sum Assured; thereby, in effect, giving to every policy-holder a fixed and certain bonus, without responsibility or risk, in lieu of the deferred and frequently delusive prospect of a periodical division of profits.

ANNUAL PREMIUM TO ASSURE £100.

Age.	For One Year.	For Five Years.	For Seven Years.	Term of Life.
25	£0 19 7	£1 0 3	£1 0 7	£1 15 1
30	1 1 3	1 1 10	1 2 1	1 19 10
35	1 2 9	1 3 4	1 3 8	2 5 10
40	1 4 6	1 5 7	1 6 2	2 13 9

The varied and comprehensive Tables of the Argus Company are so framed as to suit the circumstances of all persons assuring, whether as a provision for their families, or as a collateral security in pecuniary transactions; and, by comparison with those of other offices, they will be found decidedly superior in point of economy.

EXAMPLE FROM TABLE I. EQUAL RATES OF PREMIUM.

Annual Premium to Assure £1000.			Advantages by Assuring in the Argus Office.		
Age.	Argus Office.	Offices dividing Profits.	Annual Saving.	Equivalent to a Bonus of	Or a Policy for
21	£15 19 2	£22 5 0	£6 5 10	£400	£1400
26	17 19 2	24 10 0	6 10 10	370	1370
31	20 9 2	27 5 0	6 15 10	330	1330
36	23 12 6	30 13 4	7 0 10	300	1300
41	27 16 8	34 18 4	7 1 8	270	1270

By the above Table it will be seen, that a person 21 years of age may assure the sum of £1400 in this office for the same amount of premium that he would have to pay for insuring £1000 in most of the bonus offices, being an immediate saving of 40 per cent.

EXTRACT FROM TABLE II. INCREASING RATES OF PREMIUM.

Annual Premium for Assuring the Sum of £100.			
Age.	First Seven Years.	Second Seven Years.	Remainder of Life.
20	£1 0 3	£1 7 0	£2 0 6
30	1 6 6	1 15 4	2 13 0
40	1 17 0	2 9 4	3 14 0
50	2 17 3	4 5 11	6 4 1

This Table gives to the assured all the advantages of a policy for a short term, with the power of continuing it for life at the least possible outlay.

No Entry-money or Charges beyond the stamp for the policy.

Persons may reside in any part of Europe without extra or additional charge.

Premiums payable yearly, half-yearly, or quarterly, on Life Policies.

Assurances granted upon lives up to the age of 80.

Tables upon an increasing and decreasing scale of payment.

Policies of this office purchased by the company.

Advances made on Policies when their value exceeds £50.

Claims payable immediately after proof of death, on allowance of three months' discount.

Policies assigned as *bona fide* security not void by death from suicide, duelling, or the hands of justice. In case of death by the above causes, the value of policies not assigned allowed.

A Board of Directors with the Medical Officers attend daily.

*** Prospectuses, and every other information, may be had at the Office, or by Letter addressed to

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UNITED KINGDOM LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY

8, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, London.

THE *first Septennial Division of* Profits of this Company will be declared in the ensuing year on all policies of the participating class effected previously to the 31st of December, 1840. Parties who wish to insure their lives should avail themselves of the opportunity they now have of sharing in the bonus so soon to be declared, by immediately making proposals. The following are the annual premiums for the assurance of £100 for the whole period of life, on which half credit may be allowed for five years; which credit may remain unpaid, at 5 per cent. interest, to be deducted at death from the sum insured:—

	Without Profits.	With Profits.
Age 20	£1 13 10	£1 18 8
30	2 3 10	2 8 2
40	2 19 1	3 3 4
50	4 6 0	4 10 7

Annual premium for assuring £100, payable at a fixed age, or at death, should it occur before the party attains that age:—

Age when assured.	Age to be attained. Sixty.	Sixty-five.	Seventy.
20	£2 6 1	£2 2 4	£2 0 0
30	3 2 10	2 15 2	2 10 6
40	4 19 0	4 0 5	3 9 7
50	10 14 10	7 8 1	5 12 2

Example.—A person aged 20, by paying an annual premium of £2, becomes entitled to £100 on his attaining the age of 70, or to the same sum should he die before arriving at that age. For the convenience of parties residing in the city, they may make their appearance and pass the medical examination before the agents, Edward Frederick Leeks, Esq. 4, Scots Yard, Bush Lane, Cannon Street, and S. F. Youde, Esq. Surgeon, 9, Old Jewry. Every information will be afforded on application to the Resident Director, Edward Boyd, Esq. No. 8, Waterloo Place. Proposals accepted on Wednesday, at 3 o'clock, and any other day appearance may be made at half-past 2 o'clock, when Frederick Hale Thomson, Esq. the Company's surgeon, is in attendance.

EDWARD LENNOX BOYD, *Sec.*

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DIVINITY SCHOLARSHIPS.

THE PRESBYTERIAN BOARD, LONDON, give notice that they have established FOUR SCHOLARSHIPS, of FIFTY POUNDS per annum each, for Students for the Christian Minstry among Protestant Dissenters of the English Presbyterian Denomination, for the Prosecution of a Theological Course of Study of three years' duration, in such Theological School or Institution as the Board may select or approve.

Candidates to be eligible to these Scholarships must have attained the age of Eighteen years; must declare their intention to devote themselves to the Study of Sacred Literature, and the office of the Ministry; and produce the highest testimonials as to their moral character. They must also have taken the degree of B.A. at the University of Dublin or London; the degree of A.M. in one of the Scottish Universities; obtained a General Certificate in the Belfast Royal Academical Institution; or have passed, with the high approbation of their Tutors or Examiners, through a complete course at one of the English or Welsh Academies for the Education of Students for the Christian Ministry among Protestant Dissenters. Candidates will also be eligible who, having taken the degree of B.A. at the University of Oxford or Cambridge, may wish to devote themselves to the Christian Ministry among the English Presbyterian Dissenters. Preference will in all cases be given to the sons of English Presbyterian Ministers equally qualified.

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IMMEDIATE BENEFITS OFFERED TO THE PUBLIC:—

Life and Fire Assurance Rates reduced 30 per cent. per annum lower than any other office.

Life Annuity Rates calculated on equitable principles. For example: for every 100*l.* deposited, this Association will grant the Annuity placed opposite the age o the party depositing, from 50*l.* and upwards, in proportion.

30 to 40	40 to 45	45 to 50	50 to 55	55 to 60	60 to 65	65 to 70	70 to 75	75 to 80
Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cnet.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
£8 0	£8 10	£9 0	£9 10	£10 10	£12 10	£15 10	£20 0	£25 0

LIFE ASSURANCE RATES:—

Age	20 to 25	25 to 30	30 to 35	35 to 38	38 to 40	40 to 45	45 to 50
Prem.	£1 11	£1 15	£2 0	£2 6	£2 10	£2 15	£3 5

This Company makes no charges for intermediate ages under 50 years.

FIRE INSURANCE RATES.

Common Insurance:—

Private houses and shops (not hazardous)	1 0	per cent.
Hazardous	2 0	„
Double hazardous	3 6	„
Farming Stock	1 6	„

G. E. WILLIAMS, *Secretary.*

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Protestant Dissenters'
AND GENERAL
LIFE & FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

Empowered by Act of Parliament, 3 Victoria, chap. 20.

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Secretary.—Dr. Thomas Price.

Solicitors.—Messrs Walters and Reeve.

The PROTESTANT DISSENTERS' AND GENERAL LIFE AND FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY has been established with the view of calling the attention of a numerous and influential section of the community to the importance of providing, by means of Life Assurances, for the future interests of their families. It was thought that an Institution bearing their own name, and conducted principally by well-known members of the Dissenting Body, would be more likely to effect this object than other offices previously existing.

The following are among the distinctive features of the Company:

1. One-tenth of the entire Profits is appropriated by the Deed of Settlement, to reducing the premiums payable for insuring the lives of Dissenting and Methodist Ministers, or in other ways similar beneficial to their families.
2. Certificates of Age and Character, and of the amount of Loss in case of Fire, not required from Clergymen and Churchwardens.
3. A Table of Premiums for Policies payable at the age of 60, or of annuities to commence at that period, suitable to the case of Superannuated Ministers, or of other Professional Men.
4. The lowest rates of Premiums, consistent with security, and the payment of Policies guaranteed by a Capital of ONE MILLION.
5. Two Tables of Premiums, the one giving an interest in the Profits of the Company, the other, not.
6. Parties assured on the former Table entitled to participate *immediately* in the profits of the Company.
7. Every facility given on moderate terms to persons going beyond the prescribed limits of their Policy.
8. Premiums may be paid either Annually, Half-yearly, or Quarterly, in a limited number of Payments, or in one sum.
9. Loans advanced on Policies of the value of £50, or Policies purchased on liberal terms.
10. All claims payable three Months after satisfactory proof of Death: or earlier, on deduction of discount.
11. No entrance fee required.

Prospectuses, with every variety of Tables, may be had by application at the Office, or at any of the Branches which are established in most of the principal Towns of the United Kingdom.

FIRE POLICIES ISSUED ON THE REDUCED RATES.

No charge for the Policy on Insurances exceeding £300, or *on the transfer of Policies from other offices.*

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GOOD INVESTMENT.—To be Sold, Two Lots of Property, consisting of detached Cottages, with Gardens, near the Kent Road, inhabited by respectable tenants: one lot producing £106 a year above the Ground Rent, price £700; the other lot, £160, price £1100, term unexpired near 70 years. The property is in substantial repair, and would suit a respectable purchaser.—Apply to Mr. Hill, Ironmonger, 18, Sussex Place, Old Kent Road, opposite Marlborough Chapel, London; if by letter, prepaid, to T. S.

DEAFNESS.—MR. CURTIS'S NEW ACOUSTIC INSTRUMENT for DEAF PERSONS, Original Ear-Cornets, small invisible Voice Conductors, French, German, and Spanish Artificial Ears, &c.; also, improved Hearing Trumpets of every description, and the Toniferous Coronal, may be seen and obtained at Mr. Gifford's, Chymist to his late Majesty, 104, Strand, opposite Exeter Hall.—N. B. Curtis's and Abernethy's Ear Syringes, Respirators, and Domestic Instruments, &c. &c.

ELEGANCE and ECONOMY at the CITY CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT.

GOOD Fit, GOOD Workmanship, and GOOD Materials, having gain E. DOUDNEY and SON a GOOD Name and extensive Patronage for upwards of H CENTURY, in presenting their UNPARALLELED Low PRICES for Public Inspection, they beg to the Three Essentials to a GOOD Garment shall still have their unremitting attention, i their ambition to ensure an increasing Business and merit the appellation of being

"THE BEST, AS WELL AS THE CHEAPEST, TAILORS!"

CASH PRICES.

A super Cloth Coat, Trousers, and Waistcoat, fashionably made,	£3	3	per Suit.
Ditto Spanish Superfine, ditto	4	4	——
Ditto Extra Imperial Saxony, the best that is made, ditto	4	15	——
Superfine Frock Coats, Silk facings	2	10	0
Summer Waistcoats, beautiful patterns, 7s. each, or three for	1	0	0
Cantoon Drill (&c.) Trousers, 10s. 6d. per pair, or three pair for	1	10	0
Morning Coats and Dressing Gowns	0	15	0
Cloth Travelling Trousers	0	13	6
Footman's Suit of Livery, complete	3	3	0

CONTRACT PRICES.—(THE OLD SUITS TO BE RETURNED.)

Two Suits per year	£7	7	0
The best that is made	8	6	0
Three Suits per year	10	17	0
The best that is made	12	5	0
Four Suits per year	14	6	0
The best that is made	15	18	0

BOYS' CLOTHES,
(TASTEFULLY AND FASHIONABLY MADE),
SURPRISINGLY LOW!
Skeleton Suits, 18s.; Tunic Dresses, 25s.; Hussar Suits, 30s.

The CITY CLOTHING ESTABLISHMENT has long been celebrated for having the *Best* and C assortment of Shooting Jackets and Fishing Coats; Great Coats and Cloaks of every make; all sorts of C and-boots, and Gambadoes; India-Rubber Waterproof Cloaks, Capes, Air Cushions, Travelling Bags, &c. &c.

GENTLEMEN REQUIRING OUTFITS, on a comparison with the Style, Qualities, and Prices, of other ll prove the Advantages to be derived from giving their Orders to

E. P. DOUDNEY & SON,
9. LOMBARD-STREET—ESTABLISHED FIFTY YEA

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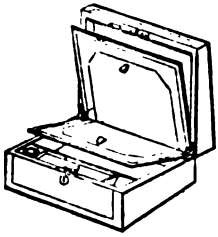
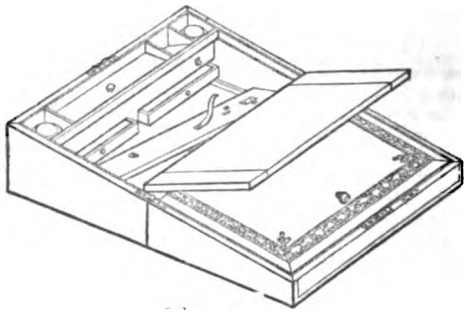
LADIES & GENTLEMENS WRITING DESKS.

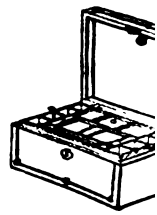


Rosewood Desks, 11s. 6d.

Rosewood Desks, Neatly inlaid, lined with Velvet, and French polished, 12 inches wide 11s. 6d.; larger sizes 15s. 6d. and 19s. 6d.



With Secret Drawers,
Rosewood Writing Desk,
Price One Guinea.



In Rosewood, n
ly inlaid, the
**Half Guin
Work Bo**
Lined with s
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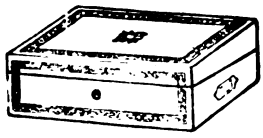
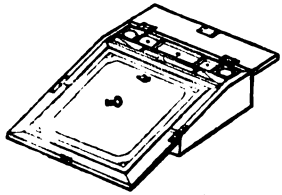
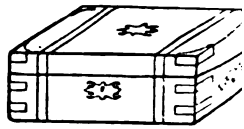
pocket in
.....10s.



In Rosewood, with round corners,
Ladies' Writing Desk.
Splendidly inlaid with delicately cut Pearl, containing Secret Drawers, price £3. 10s.



In Rosewood, neatly finished.
Ladies' Regency Desks.
12 inches wide ..... 18s. 6d.
14 „ „ ..... 22s. 6d.



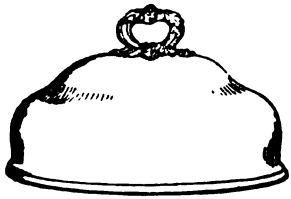
Eighteen inches wide,
The Three Guinea Des
In solid Mahogany, rou
corners, strongly bound w
brass, and with Secret Drawe

Show Room for Desks, Dressing Cases, &c. a

THE BRITISH PAPER WAREHOUSE,

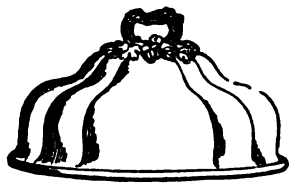
No. 46, CORNHILL, LONDON

SHEFFIELD PLATED DISH COVERS.—A. B. SAVORY and SONS, Manufacturing Silversmiths, 14, Cornhill, London, opposite the Bank of England, submit for choice in their Plate Rooms many patterns of Silver Plated Table Dish Covers, of Sheffield manufacture, from 15 to 20 guineas the set, viz.:—



THE PLAIN DOUBLE DOME PATTERN.

1 Dish Cover.....	20 inch.....	£	5	13	0
1 Dish Cover.....	18 inch.....		4	7	0
2 Dish Covers....	14 inch.....		5	12	0
Per Set.....		£	15	12	0



THE MELON DOUBLE DOME PATTERN.

1 Dish Cover.....	20 inch.....	£	5	17	0
1 Dish Cover.....	18 inch.....		4	14	0
2 Dish Covers....	14 inch.....		6	6	0
Per Set.....		£	16	17	0

The above and all the other various patterns have silver handles and mountings, and silver shields for engraving the crest or coat of arms.

The Show Rooms of this Establishment occupy several floors, and contain an extensive stock of Plated Goods, Silver Plate, Jewellery, and Watches.

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